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1973

Edited by

DR. GEORGE MORAES
DR. V. G. HATALKAR
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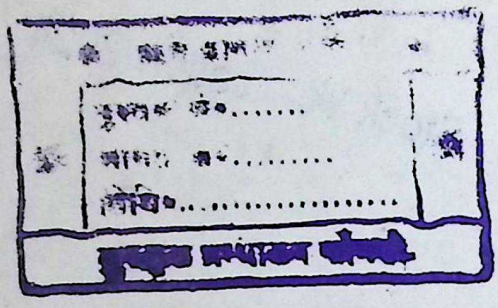

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INTRODUCTION

The twenty-first Session of the Indian History Congress was held at Trivandrum from the 25th to the 28th December, 1958, under the auspices of the University of Kerala. Apart from the intellectual treat that was provided by the hundred or more original papers from our usual contributors whose names are a byword for the high standard of their research, the Delegates were overwhelmed by the sumptuous hospitality of the university and the heart-warming reception accorded to them by their kindly countrymen from this bewitching part of India which MM. Prof. D. V. Potdar, the father of Indian History Congress, aptly described in his concluding address to the Sesson as the Kashmir of South India.

It was the kindly thought of the late Dr. John Matthai, the then Vice-Chancellor of the Kerala University, to have the Congress hold its Session at Trivandrum that made it possible for this distinguished assembly of Indian historians to gather at a place fraught with special significance as being the capital of a State whose people though widely differing in their religious outlook have yet practised peaceful co-existence over the years. As Dr. Matthai truly observed in his welcome address to the delegates : 'In my part of Kerala I can remember a spot where within a radius of a mile there existed a temple, a mosque, a church, and a synagogue, and between them there was not only a spirit of tolerance but of mutual respect.' It was perhaps as well that Kerala provided the main point of contact between India and the West. For it was the presence in their midst of the foreigners that was responsible for the development of the cosmopolitan culture which has ever been the distinguishing mark of the people of Kerala.

It is interesting to note that what brought these foreigners to Malabar was pepper—a typically Kerala product, which in those early days caused the drain of Roman gold to India, just as in our times it earns dollar credit for the Indian Union. We are told in the Akananura, a Tamil work which is assigned to the first or the second century A.D. that the Yavanas came in large vessels carrying gold and returned with pepper :

yavanar tantva vinaimāṇ nankalam

ponnoḍu vantu kaṛiyoḍu peyarum.

This drain of spice was, no doubt, highly inconvenient to Rome. For besides bringing about an unfavourable balance of trade, it caused

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severe currency difficulties, resulting in great embarrassment to government. The economic thinkers in Rome thundered against this trafficking in pepper. But despite their protests the trade went on merrily, yielding vast fortunes to producers, merchants and middlemen.

It was only natural what with this intimate maritime and commercial intercourse with the ouside world Malabar should have been exposed to the influence of foreign ideas since ancient times. And thus it was through Kerala that both Christianity and Islam entered this country.

In his learned address to the Local History Section Prof. Joseph Mundassery, the then Education Minister of Kerala State, observes that 'the Arabs and the Syrian Christians got mixed with the upper classes of Kerala during their stay in our emporiums, converted many from among them to their creeds and paved the ground for the growth of the Christian and the Muslim communities in Kerala.' In his contribution to this subject Fr. C. K. Mattom adds that the early Christian converts were recruited mainly from the Namboodiris and in support of his assertion points to the significant fact that among the women outside the Namboodiri fold it is the Christian women alone that dress like the Namboodiris. As to the Muslims Dr. K. S. Lal relates in his presidential address to the Medieval History Section that Islam grew so popular that early in the 9th century Cheruman Perumal, the King of Malabar, embraced Islam and adopted the name Abdur Rahmn Samri, and that the Zamorin went so far as to encourage the humbler castes of Hindus to embrace Islam in order that he may in course of time have able laskars from among his own people to man his ships. But long before this the Christian and the Muslims had stepped into the vacancy in the caste hierarchy of Malabar, arising from the non-existence in this part of India of the trader class among the Hindus, and had been integrated as *vaishyas* into the community.

The contributions appearing in the Local History Section further elucidate these interesting questions and add to our knowledge of the history of Malabar. In his very important paper Fr. E. R. Hambye investigates into the organisation of the Malabar Church in the early days and comes to the conclusion that it was at first affiliated to the bishopric of Basra and then to the patriarchate of Rēw Ardashīr and that it was only between A.D. 650 and 790 that the Indian Metropolitan see was set up under orders from the Patriarch Ishōyahb. Shri C. V. George speaks of the Christian chiefs of the Villalvettam family, whose territory was merged in the erstwhile State of Cochin when the family became extinct. Shri K. V. Krishna Ayyar gives an account of the Namboodiris and explains such customs as that of the younger sons of the family contracting mantra-varja marriages by taking non-dvija

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(non-Brahman) wives under the pretence of naiṣṭika Brahmacharya or life of a studious celibate. In a learned paper based on both the eastern and the western sources Prof. A. P. Ibrahim Kunju relates the history of the family of naval chiefs, the Kuñṅāli Marakkārs of Koṭṭakal, who had the distinction of engaging the best sea-fighters of the times, the intrepid Portuguese. In an able survey of the source material, Dr. T. I. Poonen discusses the utility of the Dutch and the English documents from Malabar now in the Record Office, Madras. These Dutch records relate to their factory at Cochin, and remaining as they do in much the same condition as they did at the end of the 18th century they constitute a rich unexplored source for the history of Kerala during the period. One of the interesting facts revealed by these documents is that the English officers of the East India Company made a systematic attempt to collect as much information as possible about the Malabar coinage. This information has been laid under contribution by Prof. P. K. K. Menon in his original study on coinage in the 18th century appearing in this volume. Finally, Shri Krishan Lal in his paper does honour to the memory of an early fighter in the cause of freedom, Vailoo Tambe, the Dewan of Travancore, who in 1809 planned an unsuccessful rising against the British allied with the French in far-off Mauritius.

II

And now coming to General History India, Ancient India has as usual attracted greater attention than the Medieval and the Modern periods. In his presidential address to the Session Dr. K. K. Datta pays a just tribute to the work of Dr. A. S. Altekar under whose distinguished guidance the K. P. Jayaswal Institute, Patna, recently conducted archaeological excavations. These excavations were first carried out at Pātaliputra, the results of which showed that the Maurya Hall was destroyed not in the post-Gupta period, as is generally believed, but in 150 B.C. The excavations conducted in the city of Patna revealed a square base of a round polished column the like of which had so far never been known. Other institutions like the Deccan College Post-graduate Research Institute and the Calcutta University, not to speak of the Archaeological Department, Government of India, have also done useful work and added to our knowledge of the periods they have covered.

Referring to prehistory in his presidential address to Section I Ancient India, Prof. S. K. Saraswati suggests that prehistory with proto-history should constitute a section by itself and that Ancient India should cover the period from 600 B.C. to A.D. 1206. This suggestion is reasonable in view of the fact that as elsewhere prehistory has come to a new importance in our country, and if the Indian Science Congress has been persuaded in recognition of the increasing popularity of the subject to accord to it a separate section, there is no reason why it

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should not have the same status in the Indian History Congress, specially because whatever may be its relations to other sciences, it has its principal bearings on past history. But unfortunately for the suggestion there is but a solitary contribution to prehistory in the present volume—an account by Dr. R. Mehta of the excavations carried out at the important archaeological site at Jokha in the Kamrej taluka of the Surat district. The artifacts unearthed reveal connections with the proto-historic cultures of Maharashtra, Malwa, and Saurashtra.

In his address Prof. Saraswati rightly draws the attention of the scholars to a neglected period in our history from the fall of the Guptas to the Muslim conquest, which he terms 'the medieval phase' of Ancient India. He sounds a warning against accepting the evidence of dynastic chronicles or even of the inscriptions as gospel truth, because most of these were produced by court-poets who, as experience teaches us, were not free from the normal failing of eulogizing their patrons.

Speaking of dynastic history, Dr. R. S. Sharma, writing on Kushāṇa polity maintains that in contrast to the Maurya administration which was highly centralized, the Kushāṇa political organisation was of the feudatory type in which the vassals owed nominal allegiance to their overlord. According to him the titles rājātirāja Sāhāṇu Sāhi instead of implying any exaltation of royal authority, as held by scholars, betokened tendencies towards decentralisation. However, this weakness of the Kushāṇa political system was compensated for by its close association with divine elements, as shown by the assumption on the part of these rulers of the title of Devaputra, *i.e.*, godson. A knowledge of the political and economic conditions during the period may be had from coins apart from other sources, a task which is successfully achieved by Dr. S. K. Maity in his paper entitled "the gold contents of the coins of the Kushāṇas, the Kushāṇa chiefs and the Sassanians."

Prof. Jagannath Agraval brings ingenious arguments in support of his view that the reason why Skandagupta gave anxious thought to the defence of Saurāshṭra was because he feared an impending invasion of that part of his empire by the Hūṇas who were entering India through the Bolan pass near Quetta. The whole of this region still goes under the name of Zabulistan, the land of the Zabols, and as the title Sāhi Jaubala assumed by Toramāṇa and Mihirakula occurs in the Ephthalite inscriptions of other rulers as well, it is evident that it was a tribal and not a personal name—thus making it appear that the land in which this tribe settled came to be called Zabulistan. The next paper on the Guptas is on Purugupta in which Shri Batindranath Mukherji asks whether this ruler ever issued coins and answers the question in the negative.

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Of pan-Indian interest is the paper of Prof. Sunitikumar Pathak on Indo-Tibetan relations in pre-Atisa period. It would appear that following the death of the powerful kings of Northern India like Harsha of Kanauj and Bhāskaravarman of Kāmarūpa Tibet imposed her suzerainty on Nepal and parts of Northern India for some time. But in the eighth century Lalitāditya Muktapida of Kashmir redressed the balance by annexing a part of Tibet. The cultural relations between the two countries, however, were maintained, and it is probably under the influence of the Indian Buddhist scholars that were invited to Tibet from time to time that the complicated Tibetan script was revised and simplified after the Indian models and Buddhist monasteries and temples were built on the pattern of Indian temples and monasteries. But the Tibetan monks also visited India. Dr. A. S. Altekar in his paper appearing in this section gives the biographical sketch of one of such monk-pilgrims from Tibet—Chos-rje-dpal (A.D. 1197-1264). We learn that at the time of his visit Nālandā was a ghost of its former self, but contrary to general belief the University had not been completely destroyed by the troops under Bakhtiyar Khalji.

The history of peninsular India has been treated in this Section by some of our veterans. Dr. M. Rma Rao continues to give us the benefits of his locubrations on the eluding history of the Sātavāhanas, and attempts in his present contribution to establish that 221 B.C. was the starting-point of their rule MM. Dr. V. V. Mirsahi publishes the Manor plates of the Rāshṭrakūṭa Dantidurga, the first great King of the dynasty, hailing from Aurangabad. The plates throw new light on the history of the Konkan, showing that the Chalukya Prince Vinayāditya-Mangalarasa was ruling in Konkan from his capital Mangalapuri. There is an inscription of his discovered at Manor itself dated in a year corresponding to A.D. 691. He continued to rule till A.D. 731-32, as is shown by another of his grants discovered at Balsad in Gujarat. Soon thereafter Konkan seems to have been conquered by Dantidurga. For at the time of the grant of the present plates (A.D. 749-50) Konkan was governed by Aniruddha, who, as he does not bear the title of Sāmanta or Māṇḍalika, was only a governor appointed by Dantidurga. About fifty years later in *c.* A.D. 800 the Rāshṭrakūṭas made over the Konkan to the Śilāhāra Prince Kapardin I, whose descendants remained loyal to their suzerain to the last.

A branch of the imperial Chalukyas who called themselves Chaulukyas ruled with power and glory over Gujarat, whose decline under Bhīmadeva II is generally explained as a result of the alienation of the Jainas. Prof. Nisit Ranjan Ray questions the soundness of this view, and after a review of the policy of these kings towards the Jainas, especially under kumārapāla and Ayyapāla, concludes that the alienation of the

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Jainas cannot be taken as a factor contributing to the decline of the Chaulukya power. There is yet another family claiming connection with the Chalukyas, the Vaghelas who supplanted the Chaulukyas as rulers of Gujarat. Dr. C. Das Gupta publishes an inscription of the Chalukya-Vaghela King Sārangadeva found at the Ramji temple in the former Idar State. The inscription belongs to the 15th century, and with the details furnished by it Dr. Das Gupta revises the genealogical table of these rulers, as given by the late Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar. The inscription whose object was to record the erection of a temple of the Sun by Vaijalladeva in memory of his parents also gives the historical information that King Viśvala of the family defeated the ruler of Dhāra, and destroyed the city.

Now adverting to the economic, social, religious and cultural history of the period—we may turn our attention to the paper of Dr. Shyam Chand Mukherji on the Lilāvati of Bhāskarāchārya, the reputed originator of 'Differential Calculus' in which from the coin-denominations and their weights and the ruling prices of the various commodities, the author seeks to draw information on the economic condition of India in the 12th century in the time of Bhāskara; and to the paper of Dr. Udai Narain Ray on the Apārajitapṛechā of Bhīmadeva in which Dr. Ray describes the ideas of town-planning current during the same period.

There is an important paper by Dr. Madan Mohan Singh entitled "Brahmanism as described in early Buddhist texts" which serves to give an idea of the vitality of this religion which despite the ground yielded to Buddhism, still continued to be the dominant creed of India and, as is shown in his paper by Dr. Baij Nath Puri, make new conquests in the far-off Kambūjadeśa and infuse itself into the socio-religious structure of that country. Even in the homeland it soon turned the tables on Buddhism, as is shown by Shri Sarat Chandra Behra in his paper on the beginnings of Vaishṇavism in Orissa, where in the new form it had assumed Brahmanism overthrew Jainism and Buddhism when the Māṭharas, who were the contemporaries of the Guptas, went there from the Deccan with their customs and faith.

Associated with the creeds are the icons used in religious worship. Although the characteristics of these images representing the various deities have long been settled, sculptures often come to light which set puzzles to the scholars, while old sculptures are re-examined with a view to check cases of mistaken identity. In the latter category falls the important contribution of Dr. José Pereira on a panel at Elephanta near Bombay which was usually described as 'Pārvatī in an attitude of māna'. Mr. Pereira holds that while the description is not

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incorrect the full identification of the panel should be with the dyūta-krīḍā, the sculptor at Elephanta having followed the theme as described in the Skanda Purāṇa. The new identifications are those of the ten images of Mahiśāsuramardhini from Alampur in Andhrapradesh by Shri Radhakrishna Sharma, and of the two images of Māhāśrī Tārā by Shri Pratapaditya Pal. The Mahiśāsuramardhini images do not conform to any of the known śilpa texts, such as the *śilparatna*, the *Vishṇudharmottara* and the *Kātyāyani*, nor do they agree among themselves. They are doubtless comparable to the Pallava, Chalukya and Choḷa examples in certain aspects but they differ from them in other respects, and thus these ten Mahiśāsuramardhini images from Alampur become unique. The two images of Mahāśrī Tārā were both found in Nepal, and conform to the description of this goddess in a Sādahna, which is quoted in full by Shri Pal.

III

In the section of Medieval History the papers are evenly distributed, and the Sultanate of Dęlhi, the Mughal Empire, Vijayanagara and the Marathas have all come in for their due share of attention. In his thought-provoking address to the Section Dr. K. S. Lal surveys the attempts made by the saints and the statesmen of the 15th and the 16th centuries to achieve Hindu-Muslim unity, all of which ended in a fiasco, addressed as they were only to a section of the people. The audiences of Nanak and Kabir, for instance, were composed largely of the unprivileged, while Akbar's appeal which was confined to the nobles and high officials left the mass of the people largely untouched. Moreover all these efforts, calculated to bring about unity on the basis of religion, were bound to founder on account of the unwillingness of the followers of each religion to admit the least change in their faith. Dr. Lal therefore concludes that, if we are to take to heart the lessons of Medieval Indian History, we should shift the emphasis from religion and politics and try other means of achieving the purpose. And he thinks that the study of our nation's history in its all comprehending cultural aspects is the answer.

The papers on political history commence with Mahmud of Ghazna whose victory over Jaipal in A.D. 1001 is described by Shri K. L. Akhgar. In his opinion the victory was due to the care taken by Mahmud in selecting a better ground and the efficiency of his system of espionage. The next paper by Shri Ajit Kumar Sen is on the Khalji period, and describes the rebellion of Hāji Maulah. The author ascribes the rebellion to the oppression of the people by the Kotwal of Delhi during Ala-ud-din's absence at Ranthambhor and not to any pre-conceived plan. This is followed by an important paper on the Tughlaq period by the veteran

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historian Prof. S. H. Askari entitled "Side-lights on Firuz Shah and his times", in which the author invites attention of the scholars to the corpus of literature produced during the period which may serve as a valuable, though indirect, source of information for the history of the Tughlaqs. The *Diwan* of Maulana Mutahhar of Kara, for instance, which is still unexplored, reveals the internal condition of Firuz Shah's empire, while the *Fatawa-i-Firuz Shah*, a rare work on civil and ecclesiastical law, affords glimpses into tne condition of the Zimmis (*i.e.*, protected non-Muslims), and discusses a hotly debated theme among the Muslim as among the Christian theologians of medieval times— the question of the tyrannicide.

Prof. K. H. Kamdar has brought to light an Arabic-Sanskrit inscription of H 807 and V.S. 1462 which is interesting in that the Takshata family it speaks of as having constructed a step-well at Vātāpura (Baroda) was the Tank Rajput family which, after it was converted to Islam, founded in the fifteenth century the independent Sultanate of Gujarat. The Takkas or Tank Rajputs are referred to by Hemachandra in his *Dwyasharaya* as the brave and dauntless soldiers moving majestically and defiantly in the city of Pāṭan. Of importance to the history of Gujrat and Rajasthan is the paper of Dr. Arya Ramachandra G. Tiwari on the second siege of Chittor by Bahadur Shah of Gujarat in which in the light of the unpublished *MSS.* dealing with the siege the author revises the chronology of the events.

The Mughal period has also been ably treated. Dr. Sukumar Ray publishes a letter of Humayun to his brother Mirza Kamran announcing the news of the death of Babar and his own accession, emphasizing the need for unity and concord in the difficult circumstances facing the Mughal State. In one of the best papers in the volume Shri B. P. Ambashthya indicates an important unpublished source for the history of Akbar, a Urdu *MS.* in the Khudabakhsh Library, Patna, in which Safdar Ali, the Mir Munshi of Raja Todar Mal, deals with the wars fought in Bihar, Bengal an Orissa in the reign of Akbar during the period from A.D. 1574 to 1576. In a very ably written paper Dr. S. Nurul Hasan critically examines the theory of the Nur Jahan junta and comes to the conclusion that the assumption that between 1611 and 1620 Nur Jahan, I'timad-ud-Daula, Asaf Khan and Shah Jahan formed a single faction does not conform to facts, and what is more Nur Jahan's political role starts only with he decline in the health of Jahangir and the death of I'timad-ud-Daula. Shri K. B. Singh gives a picture of the political and social condition of the Mughal Empire under Jahangir gleaned from the Chitrāvali of Usman, a Sufi poet from Gazipur in U.P.

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Of interest to the history of administration are the papers of Shri Queyam Uddin Ahmad, Dr. H. R. Ghosal and Dr. Urfan M. Habib. Shri Ahmad examines a portion of the *MS.* entitled *Dastur-ul-Amal*, compiled from official manuals, which contains information on the duties of officials and the forms of keeping public accounts. Dr. Ghosal examines the farmans of Aurangzeb and Shah Alam granting Lakhiraj lands to certain families. The documents, according to him, breathe a spirit of enlightenment in that the Mughal government evinced genuine solicitude in the welfare of the peasantry. He infers from the phrase, 'encouragement of the lower ranks of the people' occurring in the farman of Aurangzeb that it was the policy of the State to keep the vast masses of the agricultural population contented in order to win their good-will and support. The scholars will do well to read in conjunction with this paper that of Shri Saugata Mukherji on Lakhiraj lands, which shows how at a later day the Lakhiraj grants stood in the way of the general economic transformation of the country for the better. Prof. Irfan M. Habib maintains against the stand taken by certain writers that the zamindars were a universal feature of the agrarian life of Mughal India and that they were settled on a clan or caste basis and were commonly characterized by command of armed forces.

Four veterans have rushed to the support of the history of the Marathas which was completely neglected the previous year. Shri Setu Madhav Rao writes learnedly on *Besat-ul-Ganaim*, a history of the Marathas in Persian from the rise of the Bhonslas to 1761, the battle of Panipat, written towards the end of the 18th century by Laxmi-narayan Safiq of Aurangabad. The writer speaks with admiration of the bravery of the Marathas and the last desperate fight which Sadashiv Rao Bhau waged against the Afghans. But the work is uncritical and does not deserve much consideration as a book of history. Of interest to specialists in this period are the papers that follow: that of Prof. R. V. Oturkar on Jijabai in which the author contends that the mother of Shivaji was a copartner in the work of her illustrious son, handling difficult matters of state in his absence; that of Dr. A. C. Banerjee in which the different interpretations of article seven of the treaty of Purandhar are analysed with a view to decide the question of sovereignty of the Gaekwad, and that of Shri Satish Chandra in which the author disputes the opinion that Baji Rao I's primary object was the establishment of a Maratha domination in the North and that he was unmindful of consolidating further the Maratha domination in the Deccan.

Nor have Deccan and South India been neglected. Shri A. Krishna Swami speaks of the poets which the Tamil-nad produced

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during the 14th century—the twin poets Iraṭṭaiyars who collaborated to produce exquisite poetry of the Vaishṇava sect, and Villiputturālvār, the author of the Bhāratam, a monumental work of 4,339 stanzas. The patron of the former was Ekāmbaranātha Sambūvarāya of Padaiv-īḍu, who made himself independent in A.D. 3121 after defeating the Muslims and driving them away from the Tamil country. The patron of the latter poet was Varapati Āṭkoṇḍan, who is credited with saving the Tamil language when it was being overwhelmed by Kannada, apparently during the domination of the Tamil country by the Hoysaḷas.

Vijayanagara claims the attention of three of our historians, Kumari Jhansi Lakshmi, Shri P. B. Desai and Shri Y. Sriramamurty. After a thorough study of the inscriptions and other sources Kumari Jhansi Lakshmi indicates what, according to her, must have been the order of succession of the kings of the Sangama dynasty of Viayanagara. In a spirited contribution Shri Desai disputes the identification by Dr. N. Venkataramanayya of Ganga Selāra, son of one Bukkaṇa Voḍeyar, a warrior mentioned on a hero stone (ascribed to the 12th century A.D.) from the Shimoga district of Mysore State with Ganga Śalāra who is said in an inscription from Belur in the same district, but dated A.D. 1397, to have destroyed the gopuram of the Chennakeśvara temple, and the further contention of Dr. Venkataramanayya that King Bukka I had a Muslim son. Shri Desai argues that, apart from the disparity in dates, while the Śalāra of the Belur record is the same as Persian Sālār, meaning leader, the Selāra of the Shimoga *viragal* has to be taken as an appellation or a family title and may be composed to Silāṛa or Seḷaṛa which are variants of Śilāhāra, often met with in inscriptions. One was a warrior who fell in a raid, while the other was a general of the Bahamanis, and neither had any connection with Bukka I.

In the last paper that relates to Vijaanagara Shri Y. Sriramamurty describes the fortunes of the Gaṇḍikota fort in the Cuddpah district of Andhrapradesh, which was the headquarters of the adjoining territory constituted into a *sima* by Krishṇadevarāya of Vijayanagara. It was held by his son-in-law, Rāmappayyadeva for some time, when it passed to the Pemmasāni family. In 1544 it was made over to the Nandyāla chiefs who were related to the ruling family of Vijayanagara. When the Nandyāla chief rebelled against Venkatapatirāya II, his life was spared by the Emperor, but his territories were partitioned between the Pemmasāni and Maṭli chiefs, Gaṇḍikota falling to the share of the former. During the reign of Śrīrangarāya III Mir Jumla took it by treachery from the Pemmasāni chief Timmanāyaka.

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IV

The Modern India Section also has yielded a fairly good harvest. In his presidential address to the Section Prof. Kasim Ali Sajun Lal emphasises the importance of the newspapers as a source for the period, revealing as they do the inner history of the events of their time, great and small, and presenting historical personages and characters in their true perspective. 'To read their history,' observes Prof. Sajun Lal, 'is to enter into the life of the bygone days, and to accompany the editor, the correspondent and the news-letter writer through the nook and corner of the vast sub-continent of India, seeing it as they did through their eyes, watching their struggle with the local authorities through cumbersome proceedings of the courts of law.'

In one of the most interesting papers appearing in this Section Dr. K. K. Pillay speaks of Vīra Pāṇḍyan Koṭṭabomman, the hero celebrated in many a folk-song and ballad, the Polegar of Pāñchāla-kurihi, who towards the close of the 18th century organized a league of Polegars against the English and broke into rebellion. Dr. Pillay, however, thinks that he hardly deserves the celebrity of a hero or a statesman, considering the fact that he had not the vision and ability to engender any successful scheme for the expulsion of the British, and that his moral character was of a low order. In an entirely different category is the personage described by Dr. Bhabani Charan Ray, Sadashiv Rao, the last Maratha Governor of Orissa, who assisted in the passage of the British regiments safely through his territory from Madras to Bengal and helped the British in organising the postal system in Orissa. But he was not a pliant instrument in their hands, and was respected by them for the independence of his judgment. The third important personality of the period figuring in this volume is Alivardi Khan, who from the petty Deputy-Governorship of Bihar rose to the exalted position of the Mughal Viceroy of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. As told by Dr. Upendra Thakur, who bases his account on contemporary works, it is a tale of unflinching courage, genius for military organisation, intractability and vindictiveness.

In an important paper entitled "Grounds of Difference between Malcolm and Bentinck" Shri U. N. Datta holds that the conflict between the two was a conflict of ideologies—one based on tradition and sentiment, the other on reason and reform. Malcolm believed with Burke in conserving the past and going slow with changes; Bentinck imbued from Bentham his keenness in reshaping of society by applying new ideas to things antique. In the one case the object was to impove so long as it did not interfere, in the other it was to improve whenever necessary, whatever the consequences. Malcolm relied for the perpetuation of British rule and the progress of its subjects on the

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ability and competence of the ruling class, while Bentinck turned to the new youth who displayed proficiency in English literature to regenerate the country.

Two other papers of interest on the pre-1857 period are that of Dr. H. L. Gupta on Kashgarh Succesion, 1841, showing how on the death of Mohkam Singh, the ruler of Kashgarh, his widow adopted Sultan Singh, an infant scion of her grandfather's family of Udaipur in total disregard of the pretensions of the houses of Fatehgarh and Ralaota—an act which led to the study of the Rajput usages relating to succession in the event of a ruler dying without issue; and that of Dr. M. N. Das describing an act of benevolence on the part of Dalhousie in the bold step he took in adopting the half-anna post, in spite of the fact that it threatened a loss of revenue of nine lakhs.

Interest still lingered this year in the happenings of 1857, which attracted great attention last year. In his contribution on the character of the movement, Prof. D. Tripathi attempts to show that it was the result of religious grievances, which were capitalized by the princes who had been mediatized. He further contends that, if it were a popular movement, it would certainly have left an impress on Hindi literature. But far from condemning British rule the Hindi writers of the times actually praise its achievements. The opposite view is expressed by Shri A. P. Jha in his paper entitled, " A contemporary British officers views on civil administration of Bengal and Bihar in 1855." The officer concerned was none other than the Commissioner of Patna, William Tyler, who expressed the view that the government was out of touch with the people and that serious misunderstanding was growing between the rulers and the ruled. The last paper dealing with the same subject is that of Dr. Paresh Nath Mukherji in which he describes the role played by Bulandshahr where Walid Khan, a near relation of the Mughal Emperor, organzed a strong resistance, cutting telegraph wires and stopping the ' dak ' communication.

In his paper " Political background of the Dramatic Performances Control Act of 1876 " Dr. R. K. Das Gupta attempts to show that the Act was intended as a measure against the growing national stage and its political repertoire, and was thus a prelude to the Vernacular Press Act of 1878 through which Lord Lytton desired to suppress all Indian opinion against the British government. Of the three plays that precipitated the passing of the Act, the Chakar Darpan Natak was an attack on the European tea-planters which was taken by government as an attack on itself. The second originated from the exile of Malhar Rao, and was named Chakar Darpan Gaekwad Natak. The third was Surendra Bhodini Natak which was an intensely political piece of writing

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and seditious in character. When the persons responsible for staging the drama, who had been found guilty by a lower court, were acquitted by the High Court, Government got the Dramatic Performances Control Act passed, which empowered it to prohibit a dramatic performance in case it was likely to cause disaffection against it.

Among the papers on what is sometimes termed ' Current History ' the paper of Dr. Sukumar Bhattacharya on an intercepted letter of Keir Hardie to Bal Gangadhar Tilak, that of Dr. Nandalal Chatterjee on the first split in the Indian National Congress, and that of Dr. Dilip Kumar Ghose on frontier delimitation, 1885-87, are on well-worn topics needing no further introduction, and will all be read with increasing interest no less than profit. Attention, should, however, be drawn to the paper of Dr. P. L. Mehra to which special interest attaches itself at the moment. On a critical examination of Lord Curzon's Despatch of January 8, 1903, Dr. Mehra discovers in it the beginnings of a policy towards Tibet which found its ultimate logical development in the Younghusband Expedition to Lhasa, and the conclusion of ' peace ' on terms dictated by the victors. The Despatch also spells out Curzon's approach to the Tibetan question and affords a rare insight into the mind of the Viceroy.

The history of Assam has a paper devoted to it by its assiduous researcher, Prof. K. N. Dutt, in which the author discusses the causes of the decline of the Ahoms and describes the course that it took. It is only meet and just that reference be made before concluding this survey to a publication whose appearance coincided with the Congress Session at Trivandrum. Dr. V. G. Hatalkar's book *Relations between the French and the Marathas* is an important contribution to the subject, based as it is on a painstaking study of the state paper of three powers—the French, the English and the Marathas—besides published literature. In a methodical, systematic and all-embracing survey the author reviews with critical thoroughness all contacts between the two nations in every sphere in India where they met, or had anything to do with each other.

It is now my pleasant duty to thank the Trustees of the Sir Dorabjee Tata Trust for their kind contribution towards the publication of this volume and that of its predecessor; and the authorities of the University of Bombay, and in particular Prof. G. D. Parikh, the

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Rector, for the facilities which they most graciously offered to have the present volume printed at the University Press. I am also thankful to Mr. V. G. Moghe, Superintendent, and Mr. A. M. D'Souza, Assistant Superintendent, and their efficient staff for executing the work with their usual skill and care.

Elphinstone College Day.
23rd December, 1959.

GEORGE MORAES,
General Secretary.

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WELCOME ADDRESS

BY

DR. JOHN MATTHAI, D.Sc. (ECON.) LONDON

Vice-Chancellor, Kerala University and Chairman of the Reception Committee.

I SHOULD, at the outset, apologise to the Indian History Congress for my inability to be present at its Annual Session at Trivandrum. Some unexpected Commitments, which I could not well set aside, have made it impossible for me to be present at the Conference. It is a disappointment to me that I am unable to meet your members and extend to them personally the greetings and good wishes of the Kerala University. I am, therefore, asking my colleague Mr. V. Narayana Pillai, the Dean of the Faculty of Arts, to convey to you our appreciation of the fact that the Congress is meeeting at Trivandrum this year and our hope that its proceedings held under the auspices of this University will mark a further step in the advancement of historical knowledge and the promotion of historical studies.

It is appropriate that the Indian History Congress should meet in Kerala. Kerala provides a vast and promising field of historical research. Its history, reflecting its geographical position, its social conditions, the distinguishing features of its economy and its language and culture constitutes a fascinating subject of study.

From as far back as we can trace our history, almost until recent times, Kerala provided the main point of contact between India and the West not merely in trade but in cultural matters. It has developed, in consequence, a cosmopolitan outlook which has distinguished its people through all the varied phases of its long and eventful history.

The trade between Kerala and the West may be traced at least to the days of the Roman Empire and by reason of its geographical position and the enterprise of its people, this tradition was maintained and actively developed until the beginning of the modern era of mechanisation and large-scale organisation.

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The history of Kerala is specially interesting in the sphere of cultural relations with other countries. As a result of its contact at various periods of history with the West and the Middle East, most of the principal religions of the world are represented among its population. This is a factor which has stimulated the mental and spiritual life of the people. Kerala provides a remarkable example of religious tolerance and amity at a time when religious persecution was the order of the day in European countries. India practised then a degree of tolerance and mutual appreciation of religious beliefs which presented a striking contrast with the rest of the World. In my part of Kerala I can remember a spot where within a radius of a mile there existed a temple, a mosque, a church and a synagogue, and between them there was not merely a spirit of tolerance but of mutual respect.

Apart from its cultural relations with other countries, Kerala holds a pre-eminent place in the development of Indian thought. It was in Kerala that Sankaracharya began his life which ultimately laid the foundations of a philosophical system which constitutes one of India's profoundest contributions to human thought. Kerala has perhaps preserved Sanskrit culture and tradition in its literature to a larger extent than other parts of South India. This is partly a result of the fact that barring Tippu Sultan's invasion, Kerala was mostly free from Moslem invasion and occupation which helped it to maintain uninterrupted its interest in Sanskrit studies. But it is mainly due to the fact that the aristocracy of Kerala was not only an aristocracy of wealth and power but also of learning and maintained a vital and organic connection with the ancient founts of Aryan thought and culture in the North.

Unlike the rest of India, Kerala has never possessed a system of village communities. The land here between the Ghats and the sea, by reason of its diversified and broken surface, did not lend itself to the formation of village communities in the sense of little clusters of contiguous houses in small compact areas. The institutions of village self-government which prevailed throughout India were hardly in existence in Kerala. The people living in isolated homesteads have formed strong individualistic habits of life which have had their repercussion on the social life as well as the economic structure of the area. The system of local administration bore the characteristics more of a feudal society than of village communities.

The matriarchal system which in some respects is a derivative of a feudal type of society, organised for defence purposes, has had its effect upon the social life of Kerala. It gave women an opportunity of exercising their powers of leadership and organisation and have accustomed people to women being accorded their due place in society.

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The keen interest in education and child development, of which the high percentage of literacy in Kerala is a symbol, is to be traced largely to the predominant influence of women in society.

Speaking of the study of Indian history generally, I have little doubt that there has been a perceptible increase of interest in historical studies in India since the attainment of political independence ten years ago. Every nationalist movement seeks to base itself upon a sense of historical achievement and tradition from which inspiration could be derived for the maintenance of national unity. Whatever may be the causes which promote nationalism, its successful fulfilment in the form of a nation-state and its continuance in that form make it necessary to postulate an inspiring historical background. While the achievement of national independence therefore stimulates historical research and creates greater interest in the study of history, nationalism has its dangers against which it is well for students of history to guard themselves. The natural desire in a country with a strong nationalist feeling to stress the brighter side of its past and to turn a blind eye on its dark and dismal features will have unhealthy reactions on the writing of history. There is already some evidence of this happening in India and I conceive it to be one of the responsibilities resting upon this Congress to see that history is a truthful record of the things it narrates and interprets.

A distinguished Cambridge historian, writing in the latter half of the 19th century, emphasized the importance of history as a foundation for the study of political science. History without political science, he thought, had no fruit and similarly, political science without history had no root. While it is true that in a politically conscious society, the interest of the study of history centres largely round its political aspects, it is necessary to remind ourselves that the everyday life of common people, in which politics figure so little, is a more important and more interesting study than the instruments and achievements of Governments. So little is known today of the social and economic conditions of our people not merely in the remote but also in the recent past, that the subject deserves greater attention than it seems to receive at present. This is a difficult branch of history but its study is well worthwhile not merely because of its inherent interest but because of the guidance it would provide for social and economic progress.

I wish your Conference every success. I hope you will enjoy your visit to Kerala and take back happy memories of the land and the people. On behalf of the Kerala University, I offer you a most cordial welcome.

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INAUGURAL ADDRESS

BY

DR. B. RAMAKRISHNA RAO

Governor of Kerala

MR. PRESIDENT, LEARNED DELEGATES, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

I CONSIDER it a matter of genuine pleasure and privilege to have been asked to inaugurate the 21st session of the Indian History Congress in this city of great historical importance. I am not a historian and have never had an opportunity of becoming a scholar or even a serious student of history. The fact that you have invited a layman like myself to inagurate the session is indicative of the sincere desire of your learned body to enlist the interest and co-operation of all classes of people in your mighty endeavour. I have therefore very great pleasure in welcoming this learned body to this city and to associate myself with the session by inaugurating its deliberations.

2. The Indian History Congress is a non-official body comprising learned scholars and eminent historians. Besides meeting regularly almost every year under the auspices of a University, this body has been continuously engaged in the investigation and solution of various problems of research in Ancient, Mediæval and Modern periods of Indian history. The study of history of mankind is the result of the perennial quest of man for knowledge, which is rooted in the memory of human race. This quest is coeval with human consciousness; but it receives special stimulus during periods when the self-consciousness of people awakens owing to political, economic or social factors. Man seems to have always interested himself in celebrating his conquests and victories, by engraving figures or composing heroic songs, or incising frescoes even in the caves and caverns, which he is said to have originally inhabited. All nations of the past have preserved such historical data in their literary, archæological, numismatic, and architectural remains. They constitute the raw material out of which history is produced. But most of the history of ancient nations may not be considered as pure history as distinguished from its literature, from the point of view of modern scientific methods of historical enquiry. I presume to think, therefore, that the difficulty which an Indian historian

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faces in reconstructing the ancient history of our land, namely, that of separating religion, mythology and tradition from pure facts of history as understood by modern historians, is not peculiar to our country. It has to be faced by historians of all countries who are engaged in reconstructing their past history in accordance with the scientific method of collation and interpretation of facts and reconciling them with the scientific principle of causation. While in some sense history is a science, because it also deals with facts as science does; it differs at the same time from science, because the latter takes as its basis the theory of causation and the notion of an eternal immutable universal law, which binds all particulars in a chain of cause and effect, and of reciprocity and transformation. But the facts with which the historian deals are not physical. They are not directly perceived by him like the data of science. The historian deals only with the records of such data, documentary, archæological, numismatic, and others. They constitute his material and authority to prove his narration of event, as they happened in the process of history. It is, therefore, a kind of reconstruction of thought and a recreation of facts which are fragmentary and not continuous and very often shrouded in oblivion. The historian has therefore to rely very largely on his *a priori* imagination which has to restore the continuity of facts by its own interpolation and raise the dead to life and make them the object of thought. History is akin to science in so far as it is enabled to discriminate between facts that are good and facts that are evil and between the epochs that are progressive and those that are regressive. But its aim is to seek and understand what function a particular fact, or an individual, or an epoch has fulfilled in a given age, and what each of them has produced of goodness, truth and beauty. This interpretative function of history gives it a purpose, and to this extent history partakes of the nature of philosophy and synthetic thought in general. Historical consciousness grows wider and wider and includes within its purview all sectors of human experience—religious, moral, social, political, economic and cultural—so that history becomes the knowledge of the "infinite world of facts," and the "infinite whole of thought." But history is like man's memory; it preserves all that is significant about the past in the present moment. Therefore theoretically speaking, there can be no finality about history and each generation may have to re-write the narrative of the past from its own point of view. It is an eternal search for truth. But the thinking of history is always adequate to the moment at which it appears, and always inadequate to the moment that follows. The study of history is therefore of absorbing interest to those who desire to understand by the history of a country, its collective life-movement shaping through ages, the course of its destiny, and the determining character of its distinct form of culture and type of civilisation. The facts collected from all available sources

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are tested, classified and interpreted in their own laboratory by all historians, so that the further framework or structure may be built on those foundations.

3. Coming to the reconstruction of the history of our own country, the historians have to face special difficulties and handicaps. It is true that there is an unbroken continuity between the India of the Vedic age and the India of the 20th century, and yet the structure of society revealed in that remote age is profoundly different from what it is today. The comparative absence of historical record in ancient India is said to be due to two reasons. One is that having impenetrable and natural boundaries guaranteeing a fairly peaceful and quiet life, the ancient Indians did not feel the urge and necessity of recording historical facts. The second is that they were temperamentally disinclined to give any importance to evanescent events of life which they considered as insignificant when compared to the reality of the timeless age of the cosmos. It, therefore, becomes difficult to fix dates, though the continuity of history can be fairly established. Indian history-writing in the modern sense of the term had been practically the monopoly of foreign scholars for a long time. Indian scholars like the late R. G. Bhandarkar, Ranade, Romeshchandra Dutt, and others laid the foundations of the Indian school of history. Since then an increasingly large number of Indian scholars and researchers have laboured hard and devotedly, to uncover new materials and data and to examine them critically in the light of the archæological, numismatic, documentary and other valuable information collected through the labours of official and non-official agencies, dealing with the history of periods, dynasties, individuals, and also with movements and special aspects of life and culture. But still there are important lacunæ which have not been filled up. Much has been accomplished, but much more remains to be done. The most serious gap is the absence of a synoptic view of the social and cultural development of India. The history of our country has been presented by both European and Indian scholars largely in fragments; and historical works are largely devoted to the narration of political history in all its varied, chequered, and kaleidoscopic character which is itself sufficiently fascinating. Some notable scholars have made a serious attempt at a total survey of the social and cultural development of India. But in spite of the fullest sense of impartiality, their valuable researches suffer from a certain amount of cultural bias which it is not easy to overcome. It is always very difficult for foreign scholars to discover and develop that understanding of the innermost soul of a people which is the real object of history. For the ancient Indian mind, history was Purana and Ithihasa and the two together indicated almost similar substance. For the Hindu thinker, history included cosmology, mythology, biography, religion, and tradition. To them traditions relating to Gods and the genealogies of sages and

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Kings were all part of one larger whole, and they never made any distinction between these various branches of knowledge, and never gave them separate treatment. Even the Greeks who are supposed to be the first exponents of scientific history, like Egyptians and other ancient nations, seem to have conceived of history and of experience as being transmuted into a mythologically-fashioned background for the interpretation of the particular age in which they were interested. With the advance of historical thought, the mythological, the theological and the purely political interpretations were discarded, for a more comprehensive conception of history as being universal and embracing all phases of social life of humanity. The pursuit of this nobler ideal and the fulfilment of this great endeavour needs all the qualities of mind and the researches of knowledge and also to a certain extent a creative imagination which alone can transform the chaos of doubtful and irreconcilable facts into an intelligible cosmos of critical history.

4. Our own historians are faced with serious problems particularly in regard to the fixing of the chronology of the ancient period. Many of the old problems still await solution. When did the Aryans appear in India? When was the Mahabharata war fought? What is the exact date of Buddha's birth? What is the date of the Vikrama and Saka Eras? Who were their authors? What was the origin of Satavahana dynasty? What is the age of the Tamil Sanghams? These and numerous other crucial questions of history still await a final answer. In many cases the dates ascribed by both European and Indian Scholars differ very widely. Sometimes the difference is as wide as from 500 B.C. to 500 A.D. These are indeed problems which have to await further discoveries and researches for a final solution. There is a tendency to rely too much on contemporary references and other forms of external evidence, and to disbelieve long-standing traditions in regard to the chronology of events if they are not supported otherwise. I venture to think that the whole question of external and corroborative evidence and its importance and value for arriving at correct conclusions, deserves to be reconsidered. Historical research, especially concerning our own country, has the fullest support of the Central and State Governments in our country. It is being promoted in the Universities as well as in various non-official organisations of scholars in various parts of India. I do not name any particular institution, because I do not desire to make invidious distinction. I pay my homage to all the scholars who are engaged in this pursuit of knowledge. It is for the historians of our country, for all of you distinguished scholars, to re-write a correct history of India free from all bias and also free from the tendency to exaggerate our national achievements from a false sense of patriotism. An impartial, correct, and at the same time a complete and comprehensive history of the panoramic and glorious history of our

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country comprising the various life-movements and cultural processes that characterise the Indian people, has yet to be written, and I think this duty naturally falls on this august body.

5. Speaking of Kerala, I need not emphasise upon the importance of the history of this State. This land of Parasurama and Bali has its own traditional origin and a long and chequered history, various epochs of which still await detailed study. I may be pardoned if I say that except the Manual of Travancore by Shri Nagamiah and its later editions, and some other stray books, I have not been able to come across a book in English on the history of Kerala. I have no doubt that there is most valuable material which is available, and which has to be investigated for undertaking a project of this kind. I hope the historians of Kerala and the University will interest themselves in compiling a complete history of Kerala in English on such material as is available today. It would give a valuable account of the history of this beautiful land of Kerala.

6. Ladies and Gentlemen, I have already taken too much of your time and probably transgressed the limits of an inaugural address by indulging in general observations on the nature and philosophy of history. I crave your indulgence and thank you for the patience with which you have heard me. I have the greatest pleasure in inaugurating this session of the Indian History Congress and wish you all success in your deliberations. Thank you.

JAI HIND

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PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

Dr. Kalikinkar Datta, M.A., Ph.D., P.R.S.

Principal, Patna College, Patna University, Patna

Members of the Indian History Congress, Ladies and Gentlemen,

Words fail to express adequately my feelings of gratefulness to you for the honour you have bestowed on me by electing me as the President of this session of the Indian History Congress. No one is more conscious than myself of my own limitations and unfitness for this exalted position. Your choice of one like myself is a kind act of recognition of the humble services of a student of history to the cause of historical studies and to the Indian History Congress since its inception. For discharging the duties of the position in which you have placed me today, I crave your wholehearted co-operation.

Before proceeding further I would seek your permission to offer my most respectful homage to the sacred memory of late Acharya Jadunath Sarkar, who passed away from this world in May last. The late Acharya Jadunath Sarkar became a moral power in the world of historical scholarship and his exit creates a void. Through a long life of unflinching dedication to the cause of historical research of the highest quality, he inspired bands of scholars, and when he is no more he leaves behind him an imperishable legacy of inspiration for unnumbered generations.

"Let me not adumbrate myself through my own work,

"Let my life be a fulfilment of Thy mission,"

wrote Rabindranath in the first poem of his immortal *Gītānjalī*.

Fulfilment of this mission is possible only through a spirit of silent but honest devotion to the cause we are called upon to serve and through elevation of our minds by sound humanistic studies of which history forms undoubtedly a very important branch. Much has already been said by eminent historians of different countries about the scope, meaning, nature and utility of historical studies. For certain reasons

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it has become necessary to reiterate and assert emphatically the role and importance of proper historical studies in the moulding of a nation's destiny.

In our new India of today when we have high hopes and aspirations and also tremendous responsibilities, and when we are planning the reconstruction of the different phases of life, historians have a sacred trust and obligation to reveal correctly the past of our country so that we can supply thereby the truest beacon-light for the onward march of our nation. We are living in a stirring epoch, marked by highly significant trends in revaluation of the values of life and by a phenomenal consciousness of cultural renaissance. Out of the tears and toils of millions of Indians has emerged an independent India under the spiritual leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, the greatest prophet of modern humanity. This revolution in our status as a nation holds promise of a renovated society in which relation between man and man would be based on ties of love and cordiality. For this social adjustment on lofty ideals and progress of our nationalism on the right lines, we must take into consideration the traditions of our ancient land. Justice Mahadev Govinda Ranade, one of the prophets of Modern Indian Renaissance, very significantly remarked : " The true reformer will not write on a clean slate. His work is, more often, to complete the half-written sentence." Swami Vivekananda, who represented a highly creative blending of the old and the new, and was full of optimism for India's progress, remarked with his usual insight : " Out of the past is built the future. Look back, therefore, as far as you can, drink deep of the eternal fountains that are behind, and after that, look forward, march forward, and make India brighter, greater, much higher than she ever was.....out of consciousness of past greatness, we must build an India greater than she has been."

It is a pity that even now there is a gross misconception in certain quarters about the meaning and value of historical study. Some people very wrongly consider history to be a dry catalogue of political and military details. What Vinogradoff observed long ago (*Collected Papers*, Vol. I, p. 222) unfortunately holds good with regard to some even today. " It is not uncommon," he wrote, " in our days of superficial impressionism and unstable convictions to doubt the value of history. As the past never repeats itself exactly in the same way as before, modern sceptics come to discard its memories as useless stories. And yet history, if studied without prejudice, teaches the greatest lesson of all—to treat social life not as a mechanical combination, but as an organic process. We are constantly striving to shape and improve it, but it cannot be pulled to pieces and resettled at pleasure, because its roots are in the past and its functions stretch over centuries. Its growth and defects have to be studied in the light of social biology, social hygiene, social

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pathology, not in that of social mechanics. This is why thoughtful men are instinctively or consciously attracted by the 'links with the past' which are so numerous in our everyday existence."

History is not a mere narrative of the kings or their courts and of the military generals and their battle-fields, but is indeed a faithful record of the manifold aspects (political, economic, social and cultural) of human civilisation as they unfold themselves in successive epochs. Writing in 1913 Gooch observed : " The scope of history has gradually widened till it has come to include every aspect of the life of humanity. No one would now dare to maintain with Seely that history was the biography of States and with Freeman that it was merely past politics. The growth of nations, the achievements of men of action, the rise and fall of parties remain among the most engrossing themes of the historians; but he now casts his net wider and embraces the whole record of civilisation. The influence of nature, the pressure of economic factors, the origin and transformation of ideas, the contribution of science and art, religion and philosophy, literature and law, the material conditions of life, the fortunes of the masses—such problems now claim his attention in no less degree. He must see life steadily and see it whole."

Happily, historians in our country have gradually realised this wider conception and scope of history and we have growing numbers of workers in the field of historical investigations into the varied conditions of the life of the people in this land in different periods. The reconstruction of our country's history on sound and rational lines is a supremely important task before us. Genius, sound judgment and mature experience of master-artists must be applied to the outcome of laborious and intensive researches of bands of enthusiastic and well-trained scholars for the preparation of a correct history of the conditions of life of the teeming millions of India from the days of remote antiquity, which would be free from misconceptions and much-trumpeted falsehoods or heresies due to bias, prejudices or ignorance. It is in the fitness of things that the history of a country should be written by its own historians, who are expected to have a better acquaintance with the old traditions, and their continuous streams, and also the changing environments of the successive epochs, than those of distant lands. Sometimes lack of proper idea of the inner spirit of our culture and the real trends of our social life has been responsible for their misrepresentation.

Several archæological excavations like those of Mahenjodāro and Harappā, at Lothāl, Hastināpur, some regions in Rājasthān and Mālwā, at Nāgarjunakondā, at Kausambī, in Bihār at Sonepur (Gayā), Rājgīr and Vaisālī, at Jaugada in Orissā, and at Pāhārpur, Māhāsthān and Bangaḍ in Bengal have resulted in the discovery of numerous relics of

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our old civilisation, both for the proto-historic and historic periods, and have added to our knowledge regarding the material condition and culture of the people whose age is represented by the respective discoveries. Excavations at the "pre-pottery microlithic site at Birbhānpur in Burdwan district, West Bengal, successfully associated the microliths with the penultimate terrace of the Dāmodar river, thus establishing their comparatively high antiquity." (*Indian Archaeology*, 1956-57—*A Review*).

I am delighted to refer to the recent archæological excavations conducted by the K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute, Patna, under the distinguished guidance of my esteemed friend, Dr. A. S. Altekar. It first addressed itself to archæological excavations at Pāṭaliputra, the result of which showed that the Maurya Hall was destroyed not in the post-Gupta epoch but in c. 150 B.C., that the monastic structure of a courtyard, surrounded by rooms, had evolved as a result of the integration of smaller blocks of two or three rooms with a verandah in their front, and that Pāṭaliputra possessed monasteries-cum-sanatoria as described by the Chinese pilgrims. One of these structures was named Ārogyavihāra, as is proved by a seal. Excavations were carried out in the city of Patna also, where, near Sadar Gally under a metalled road, was discovered the square base of a round Mauryan polished pillar, the like of which had been so far unknown. This area is undoubtedly one of the administrative sites of the Mauryan period, but is so fully occupied by buildings as to render further excavations difficult and costly. In 1956-57 an excavation team of this Institute excavated a mound at Sonepur, three miles west of Belā Railway Station, on the bank of the Jamunāi river in the district of Gayā. As a result of it five successive periods were revealed. The limited quantity of pottery for the First Period consisted of the bowl, dish and vase in coarse black-and-red ware. The only other material, assigned to this period, was a crude sandstone bead. For the Second Period, besides the continuance of black-and-red ware, the other objects were bone points or styluses and a copper antimony-rod. Among the finds characterising the Third Period are N. B. P. ware with golden and silvery finish, beads of terracotta, glass, ivory and stone, a steatite weight, terracotta figurines of *nāgas* and other animal figurines with punched, stamped or notched circlets and nails, blades, etc. of iron. Some pottery-ovens and faint traces of mud-walls were found. The Fourth Period has been regarded as being essentially a continuation of the preceding one. Brick structures were found for the Fifth Period, the average size of the brick being $21'' \times 11\frac{1}{2}'' \times 3''$. The other finds of the period were punch-marked and cast coins, beads and ear ornaments of terracotta, bangles of stone and terracotta, some sealings of terracotta, a terracotta bull, copper antimony-rods and stone celts. Periods One and Two have been dated back to earlier than 600 B.C. and Period Five has been brought down

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to 50 B.C. This year the Institute undertook excavations at Vaiśālī, the seat of authority of the renowned ancient Lichchhavi Republic, and it has brought to light some highly interesting remains of the past, which, in the opinion of Dr. Altekar, make " it almost certain " that the stupa he has found " is the one built by the Lichchhavis over their share of the relics of the Buddha and that the casket, most probably, contains the relics of the Blessed One."

In 1957 the Deccan College Post-graduate and Research Institute, Poona, brought to light paleoliths of series I and II in several terraces of the Shivna river in Mālwā, notably at Māndāsor. A few months back the Institute carried out some important excavations at Māheshwar in Madhya Pradesh. A team of workers from the Allahabad University explored an area between the Vindhyas and the Kaimur hills to the north of the Son river. Excavation of the mound of Chandraketugarh (District of 24 Paraganas), 23 miles from Calcutta, under the auspices of the University of Calcutta, revealed five stages of occupation, from the pre-Mauryan period to that of the Guptas (about 320 B.C. to 575 A.D.).

The rediscovery of our past started under the influence of modern Indian cultural renaissance, in the history of which the foundation of the Asiatic Society in Bengal in 1784, due to the initiative of Sir William Jones, a profoundly learned scholar and linguist, was a significant landmark. In his inaugural address, Sir William Jones described India as " a noble amphitheatre.....which has ever been esteemed the nurse of sciences, the inventress of delightful and useful arts, the scene of glorious actions, fertile in the productions of human genius, abounding in natural wonders and infinitely diversified in the forms of religion and government, in the laws, manners, customs, and languages as well as in the features and complexions of men." The object of the Asiatic Society was " enquiry into the history and antiquities, arts and sciences and literature of Asia," and it has been well fulfilled. Even in 1849 a writer thus estimated the value of its work : " To the fostering care of the Asiatic Society of Bengal the world owes a large debt of knowledge on various subjects, that otherwise might have still remained in obscurity or have been lost to the world altogether. It afforded, and continues to afford, a stimulus to exertion, in order to rescue from oblivion, much that is worthy of the attention of rational beings, that has been preserved by means of the art of printing, to excite a spirit of philosophical enquiry in others." The Bombay Literary Society, started on the 26th November, 1804, under the guidance of Sir James Makintosh, who came to Bombay as the Chief Judge in 1803, and transformed in 1829 into the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, has also helped the cause of Indological researches considerably. The pioneers of the Deccan Education Society, which was started in 1884, and their worthy

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successors, have given much impetus towards the progress of cultural renaissance and the discovery of historical antiquities in western India. Highly commendable work in this respect can be deservedly attributed to the Viśvabhāratī of Rabindranath, the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute at Poona, the Oriental Institute of Lahore, the Bihar Research Society of Patna, some of our Universities and to the Department of Archæology of the Government of India.

We owe a heavy debt to some British and continental scholars for their valuable researches in Indian history and culture, from the closing years of the eighteenth century, when in other ways dark clouds enveloped our national destiny. An Englishman significantly observed in 1845: "What Rousseau and his co-objectors achieved, by the emancipation of original genius, for the literary republics of the West, the European adventurers on the plains of India found already achieved for them by the poets and sages of that gorgeous land. When the portals, which for unknown centuries had guarded the entrance to these flowery realms, were thrown wide open, it seemed like the revealing of new gardens of delight, the discovery of new and glorious worlds. It seemed as if the fountains of the great deep of an unfathomable antiquity had been broken up, disclosing pearls of inestimable price." The pioneer European scholars of the pre-mid-nineteenth century and some of their learned successors transmitted Indian knowledge to the West, where it received considerable appreciation in certain quarters.

It is a matter of gratification that in revealing India's past, a galaxy of eminent Indian scholars made valuable contributions from about the mid-nineteenth century. In fact, but for the studies of scholars like Dr. Rajendra Lal Mitra, Rev. K. M. Banerjea,[1] Shri Bhagwan Lal Indraji, Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, Mr. R. C. Dutt, Mahamahopadhyaya Haraprasad Shastri, Shri Sarat Chandra Das, Shri Pratap Chandra Ghosh, Shri Umesh Chandra Batavyal, Shri Manmohan Chakravarty, Shri Rakhaldas Banerjee, Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, and several others down to our own days, a proper study of the ancient period of our country's history would have been impossible.

As for the Medieval period we have to the credit of some of our own distinguished scholars a good number of useful original studies, including general histories, provincial histories, biographies and monographs of other kinds. We are particularly indebted for this to the Aligarh University which has continued to foster researches on various topics relating to this period and has also taken fruitful steps to re-edit

1. In the selections of papers read at the meetings of the Society for the Acquisition of General Knowledge from 1840 to 1843, there were two papers contributed by Rev. K. M. Benerjea, *viz*: (1) On the Nature and Importance of Historical Studies, (2) Reform, Civil and Social, among Educated Natives.

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some old works as also to secure originals or transcripts or photostats of contemporary historical works of different categories. By starting publication of re-edited volumes of Elliot and Dowson's *History of India as told by her own Historians*, this University has taken a very useful step, and we hope that it will duly fulfil our expectations by publishing all the volumes.

It would be ever a matter of pride and a source of profound inspiration for us to remember that our country produced the greatest historian of what we call Mughal India—the late Acharya Jadunath Sarkar. Students of history would always consider his monumental volumes as precious gifts for them as also for others who feel interest in knowing correctly the history of our country. His admirable volumes on the *Fall of the Mughal Empire* are full of reflective interpretations containing significant lessons for proper training of the human minds in a period of transition. He observes in the *Foreword* to Volume One of this work, which covers the period from 1739 to 1754 : " And yet our immediate historic past, while it resembles a tragedy in its course, is no less potent than a true tragedy to purge the soul by exciting pity and horror. Nor it is wanting in the deepest instruction for the present. The headlong decay of the age-old Muslim rule in India and the utter failure of the last Hindu attempt at empire-building by the new-sprung Marathas, are intimately linked together, and must be studied with accuracy of detail as to facts and penetrating analysis as to causes if we wish to find out the true solutions of the problems of modern India and avoid the pitfalls of the past." In the last chapter of Volume Four, this 'Bengali Gibbon', as Henry Beveridge called him in 1922, presents a critical analysis of the causes of the fall of the Mughal Empire. He significantly observes : " The Mughal Empire, and with it the Maratha overlordship of Hindustan, fell because of the rottenness of core of Indian society. The rottenness showed itself in the form of military and political helplessness. The country could not defend itself; royalty was hopelessly depraved or imbecile : the nobles were selfish and short-sighted ; corruption, inefficiency and treachery disgraced all branches of the public service. In the midst of this decay and confusion our literature, art, and even true religion had perished."

The eighteenth century is one of the most tragic periods in the history of our country, characterised by national insolvency in almost all respects. Gradual collapse of Mughal imperial authority, roughly speaking from the early years of the eighteenth century, afforded scope for the rise of highly disintegrating forces, which accelerated the country's tragic doom. Dreadful political turmoils, selfish group rivalries, bitter court intrigues, brutal crimes and horrors awfully distracted the country during this period, caused a breakdown of its administration, impaired its defence, and produced a widespread social anarchy.

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Both the later Mughal Emperors and the nobility were utterly degenerated and oblivious of the real interests of the State. Just as an individual, devoid of strength of character, inevitably falls a victim to ignoble influences and temptations, so a State, whose rulers do not possess sufficient strength of character or ability to govern and whose administration becomes consequently corrupt and ineffective, lies prostrate before uncontrollable forces within or attacks from outside. Ghulam Hussain, author of the famous contemporary history in Persian, entitled *Siyar-ul-Mutakherin*, makes the following poignant but apt comment: "Hence the guards being ill-paid abandoned their posts, and the garrisons being utterly neglected, invited the invaders, and the report of the Ministers' indifference and the weakness of Government being rumoured everywhere, everyone without fear of control thought only of the personal interests without minding any consequences. The roads and passes being neglected everyone passed and repassed unobserved, no intelligence was forwarded to Court (of Delhi) of what was happening and neither the Emperor nor the nobles ever asked why no intelligence of that kind ever reached their ears." In a feeling of frustration he uses a more severe language of indictment in writing: "It was in such an enfeebled state of the Empire, that there arose a new sort of men, who far from setting up the patterns of piety and virtue, or pretending to show the right way to others, squandered away the lives and properties of the poor with so much barefacedness that other men, on beholding their conduct, became bolder and bolder and practised the worst and ugliest actions, without fear or remorse; so far they are from thinking it a shame or an infamy to emulate and follow such examples. From these sprung an infinity of evildoers who plague the Indian world and grind the face of the wretched inhabitants. It is in consequence of such wretched administrations that every part of Hind has gone to ruin, and its discouraged inhabitants have broken their hearts. Life itself is become distastement to most."

Foreign domination comes almost as an inevitable nemesis of a country's internal bankruptcy. Poland in the eighteenth century being a weak state with a vitiated body politic paid a heavy price in the annihilation of her independent existence. China in the 19th century is a strong case in point. Decadent Manchu rule, demoralized administration, lack of sound governance, and recurring internal rebellions aggravated the woes of China, once a fair land of high culture and civilisation, subjected her to defeat and humiliation at the hands of Japan in 1894-1895, and exposed her to the new imperialism of the western powers, which cut her into pieces like a big melon.

Internal disunion, which followed as a natural sequel to the debased state of affairs then prevailing in India, gnawed at her national vitality and proved to be the major factor in helping the establishment of foreign

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rule. Commenting on the ruinous effects of domestic hostility on Rome, the celebrated Laureat, Petrarch, exclaimed : " Behold the relics of Rome, the image of her pristine greatness ! neither time nor the barbarian can boast the merit of the stupendous destruction which was perpetrated by her own citizens, by the most illustrious of her sons, and your ancestors (he writes to a noble Annibaldi) have done with the battering-run, what the Punic hero could not accomplish with the sword." Referring to India since the mid-eighteenth century, Malcolm, with lot of experience about Indian affairs, frankly wrote : " The want of union of the natives appears one of the strongest foundations of our power ; it has certainly contributed beyond all others to its establishment." Already several years back, Watts, who knew much about mid-eighteenth century Bengal politics, had observed that in the court of Sirājuddaulah " the only oracle that everyone consulted was self-interest." The French adventurer, Jean Law, exclaimed before the historian Ghulām Hussain in April, 1759 : " I have travelled everywhere from Bengal to Delhi, but nowhere have I found anything from anyone except oppression of the poor and plundering of wayfarers. Whenever I wanted that one of these famous potentates, like Shujā, Imād and their peers, out of a regard for honour or a desire for the regulation of the Government, should undertake to put in order the affairs of Bengal and suppress the English (usurpers of that province), not one of them felt any inclination to this task. They did not once weigh in their minds praiseworthiness or shame of their conduct...The Indian nobles are a set of disorderly inconsistent blockheads, who exist solely for ruining a world of people." Shāh Ālam II expressed in 1768 : " Through the perfidiousness of the nobility and vassals, this anarchy has arisen and everyone proclaims himself a sovereign in his own place and they are at variance with one another, the strong prevailing over the weak."

Besides the onslaughts of British political imperialism, India was confronted at this time with the new forces generated by the Industrial Revolution and the demands of the new-born capitalism of the West, which found outlets for its growing ambition and enterprises in India through the Charter Acts of 1813 and 1833. All this, along with the disorders caused by the quickly succeeding political revolutions here from the mid-eighteenth century, the baneful influences of the oppressions committed on the indigenous merchants and manufacturers by the unscrupulous servants of the East India Company, and the growing drain on India's resources in various forms, gave a rude shock to her old economy, which had been characterised by a fair co-ordination between agriculture and industries of diverse kinds, and doomed her to a pathetic economic decline causing general impoverishment of the people of the country.

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From an agricultural as well as manufacturing country, India was reduced very much to the position of a raw materials-supplying country to feed the growing industries of England. Burke had already foreseen the effects of the policy and had written that "its effect must be to change the whole face of that industrious country in order to render it a field for the produce of crude materials subservient to the manufactures of Great Britain." The Select Committee, appointed in 1765 to investigate into the state of affairs in Bengal at that time, made the following observation regarding it in 1767: "We beheld a presidency divided, headstrong and licentious, a government without nerves, a treasury without money and service without subordination, discipline or public spirit...amidst a general stagnation of useful industry and of licensed commerce, individuals were accumulating immense riches, which they had ravished from the insulted prince and his helpless people, who groaned under the united pressure of discontent, poverty and oppression." "It must give pain to an Englishman to have reason to think," observed Richard Becher, an experienced servant of the English in Bengal, in his letter to the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors, dated the 24th May, 1769, "that since the accession of the Company to the *Diwani* the condition of the people of this country has been worse than it was before; and yet I am afraid the fact is undoubted;.....this fine country, which flourished under the most despotic and arbitrary Government, is verging towards ruin." Warren Hastings' reforms were singularly unsuccessful in remedying the evils. Cornwallis wrote in a letter to the Court of Directors on the 2nd August, 1789, that "agriculture and internal commerce have for many years been gradually declining, that at present, excepting the class of shroffs and *benias*..... the inhabitants of these provinces were advancing hastily to a general state of poverty and wretchedness." Henry St. George Tucker, who with considerable experience of Indian affairs became a Director of the East India Company, observed in 1823: "What is the commercial policy which we have adopted in this country with relation to India? The silk manufactures and its piece-goods made of silk and cotton intermixed have long since been excluded altogether from our markets and of late, particularly in consequence of the operation of a duty of 67 per cent but chiefly from the effect of superior machinery, the cotton fabrics, which hitherto constituted the staple of India, have not only been displaced in this country, but we actually exported our cotton manufactures to supply a part of the consumption of our Asiatic possessions. India is thus reduced from the state of a manufacturing to that of an agricultural country." Karl Marx rightly remarked in 1853: "Till 1813 India had been chiefly an exporting country, while it now became an importing one and in such a quick progression that already in 1823 the rate of exchange which had generally been 2*s*. 6*d*. per rupee sank down to 2*s*. per rupee. India, the great workshop of cotton manufacture for the world since immemorial times, became now inundated

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with English twists and cotton stuffs. After its own produce had been excluded from England or only admitted on the most cruel terms, British manufactures were poured into it at a small or merely nominal duty to the ruin of the native cotton fabric once so celebrated." We may note here the following significant comment in a passage of Cowper :

> " Hast thou, though suckled at fair freedom's breast
> Exported slavery to the conquered East,
> Pulled down the tyrants India served with dread,
> And raised thyself, a greater in their stead ?
> Gone thither, armed and hungry, returned full,
> Fed from the richest veins of the Mogul,
> A despot big with power ordained by wealth,
> And that obtained by rapine and by stealth ?
> With Asiatic vices stored thy mind,
> But left their virtues and thine own behind ;
> And having trucked thy soul, brought home the fee
> To tempt the poor to sell himself to thee ? "

I have made an attempt to present to my co-workers in the field of historical studies and to others a critical review of the works of Indian scholars on the history of modern India, roughly speaking from the middle of the eighteenth century, in my book, entitled *Recent Studies on Modern Indian History*, which was published about a year back. Nothing much can be usefully added to it now. I would, however, most humbly solicit your indulgence to submit before you, as a student of history, some observations and views regarding further studies in the hope that these will receive your kind consideration, and more concerted efforts than what were made before would help the progress of sound historical studies in India and elsewhere.

Conscious and concerted efforts of our fraternity have become all the more necessary to arrest in time the most discouraging practice at some places to relegate historical studies to a minor position in the curricula at different stages. It shocks me very much when I notice how this has already begun to produce harmful effects on the minds of our youths. It is tragic indeed that by not being required to read history, particularly of their own country, even at the secondary stage, they are forgetting very much the culture and ideals which our land magnificently upheld for centuries to the benefit of humanity. They are being driven from their moorings into a whirlpool of confusion and chaos. I would like to strike a note of warning in this respect and would appeal to all concerned to see that study of the history of our country and also the history of other important countries becomes compulsory for all our youths, so that they are saved from proceeding along wrong tracks.

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Lack of encouragement and suitable arrangements for study of history would produce deplorable results by denuding human society of those virtues, the possession of which makes a man a man in the true sense of the term. One great utility of the study of history is that it provides a training for human mind by bringing to bear on the present the lessons which can be derived from the glories or pitfalls and the achievements or failures of the past. It broadens our vision, rationalises our outlook, promotes correct understanding of the community of man in different ages and helps the development of attitudes of sympathy and fellowship by removing ignorance about others, particularly in these days of widening world contact.

Further, for the proper study of almost all the subjects in what we call the Faculty of Arts, *viz.*, Literature, Philosophy, Political Science, Economics, a basic knowledge of history is absolutely necessary. Prof. G. M. Trevelyan very rightly observes in his thought-provoking booklet, entitled *History and the Reader*: "The older I get and the more I observe the tendencies and conditions of our latter day, the more certain I become that history must be the basis of humane (that is non-scientific) education in the future. Without some knowledge of history, other doors will remain closed, or at least ajar. For example, the reading of poetry or prose literature, other than current books, must rest on some knowledge of the times past when the older books were written..... Literature and history are twin sisters, inseparable."

We have yet before us the stupendous task of preparing a true, impartial, comprehensive and all-sided history of our people. With grateful recognition of the importance of what has already been accomplished in this direction, I feel the need of more zealous efforts to discover raw materials of history from hidden corners and to save them from the ravages of time, climate, insects and human ignorance, in order to solve some controversies about dates and sequence of events, to fill up the hiatus between this period and that, and to throw sufficient light on the thoughts, ideals, art, literature, social life and economic condition of our people in different periods.

You will pardon me for venturing to say that more of archæological discoveries and co-related studies by correct decipherment of the script found on seals, tablets, pottery, stamps and graffite are needed to establish with certainty the date and antiquity of the Indus Valley civilisation and its relation to the Aryans and to what has been called the Vedic civilisation. Referring to the subsequent periods, I may mention that we require more light to be thrown on some of the early eras relating to the history of north-eastern India. The dates of Kanishka and of the other Kushān kings are still uncertain. Our knowledge about the original homes of the Sātavāhanas and also of

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some important South Indian dynasties like the Pallavas, the Cholas, the Pandyas, the Chalukyas, the Rāshṭrakuṭas and the Gangas and of the starting points of their supremacy is still imperfect. Many points in the history of the period from 647 to 1206 A.D. appear to be obscure and await further elucidation.

The historical works for the period extending from 1206 to 1526 have been mostly on the political aspect. Economic and socio-cultural aspects have not yet received adequate attention. Further researches on the contemporary Religious movements, on Literature and on Arts deserve to be very carefully and systematically conducted. Thus, as I believe, a student of history would be able to understand that though the mediæval period was characterised by bitter conflicts in the political field, genial and creative currents of thought flowed beneath the surface and in the spheres which reflect the mind of the man there were features of a grand assimilation. Critical studies on the social life and economic transactions of the people in this period are overdue.

Contemporary historical works in Persian like Tabaqāt-i-Nāsirī of Minhāzuddīn Sirāj, Ta'rikh-i-Fīrūz Shāhī of Ziāuddīn Baranī, Ta'rikh-i-Fīrūz Shāhī of Shams-i-Sirāj Afīf, Fatuhāt-i-Fīrūz Shāhī of one anonymous author, Mirāt-i-Sikandari, Ta'rikh-i-Gujrāt of Abū Turāb Walī, Burhān-i-Maāsir of 'Alī Samnāni, and some others and accounts of foreign travellers like Ibn Batutah, Marco Polo, Nicolo Conti, Abdur Razzāq, Paes and Barbosa are no doubt valuable sources for the history of this period.

An additional important source is inscription from which definite evidence can be obtained on important points. We may note that besides the contributions in the *Ephigraphia Moslemica* and a few books on inscriptions of Hindu States in Southern India, some efforts have recently been made to discover and decipher a number of inscriptions.

During 1956-57, the Assistant Superintendent for Arabic and Persian inscriptions of the Archæological Department studied about one hundred and fifty inscriptions, the more important ones of which may be mentioned here. An inscription from Cambay, Kaira District, records the construction of a Jami mosque by Daulat Shāh Mohammad al-Butahari, dated 725 A.H. (1325 A.D.) in the reign of Mohammad Bin Tughlaq. It helps us in fixing the date of succession of that ruler. Another inscription of Mohammad Shāh from Petlad, Kaira District, refers to the construction of a well or water-tank by a lady named Kad Bānu, wife of Irān Shāh and daughter of Sayyid Shamsuddin Yāsin al-Alawi Tabataba in 731 A.H. (1331 A.D.). Four inscriptions of Fīrūz Shāh Tughlaq, all from Cambay, have been noticed. The earliest of these, dated 755 A.H. (1354 A.D.), mentions the title of a noble, *viz.*

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Malik Quaran Khwān, the Kotwāl of Cambay, who built a mosque there. The three other epigraphs, dated 782 A.H. (1380 A.D.), 787 A.H. (1385 A.D.), and 807 A.H. (1405 A.D.) respectively also mention the names of some officers and other persons in connection with the construction of mosques.

Some of the inscriptions relate to the Sultans of Gujrāt. The inscription of Sultan Ahmad I from Patan, dated 820 A.H. (1417 A.D.) attributes the construction of a mosque to Jamāluddin Bihamad, probably the Governor of the District. Another inscription of the same ruler from Cambay mentions the repair of a mosque by him at the suggestion of Malikul Umra Malik Marjan in 831 A.H. (1427 A.D.). In an inscription of Muzaffar II from Cambay, dated 918 A.H. (1512 A.D.), we get details of taxes abolished by royal orders for the relief of the inhabitants of, and travellers to, the district of Cambay. An inscription from Ahmadābād mentions two kings, Qutbud Dunyā Wad-Dīn Abul Muzzaffar Bahādur Shāh, during whose reign in 940 A.H. (1534 A.D. the construction of a step-well began, and Nāsiruddīn Mahmūd III, during whose reign in 946 A.H. (1539-40 A.D.) it was completed. It is in this inscription that we get for the first time the titles of Bāhādur Shāh in full.

A bilingual inscription of 'Alāuddin Shāh Bahmani, belonging to the State Museum, Hyderābād, and dated 848 A.H. (1444 A.D.), refers to the construction of a step-well by Makhduma-i-Jahān Bibi Shahnaz, mother of Khān-i-Muazzam Mahmūd Khān. An inscription referring to the construction of a mosque in 877 A.H. (1472-73 A.D.) by Malik Tāj, son of Kaila, mentions the contemporary Khāndesh ruler as " the great Khān and illustrious Khānqān 'Adil Khān ' and not as 'Adil Shāh. Two Qutb Shāhi inscriptions, both of the reign of Sultan Abdullāh Qutb Shāh, mention the construction of mosques. A number of miscellaneous inscriptions are epitaphs of some famous men, who died at Cambay during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

The September-December, 1930, issue of the Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society (now Bihar Research Society) published an article on *Old Muslim Inscriptions at Patna* by Mr. Syed Muhammad. In 1932 M. Hamid Quraishi wrote a note correcting a few inaccuracies in the decipherment of some of these inscriptions. Subsequently the untiring zeal of my esteemed colleague, Professor S. H. Askari, in this respect has brought to light several important inscriptions relating to this period and some for the period of the great Mughals in different parts of Bihar. I would like to refer in this connection to his critical review of many important inscriptions in his article *A Review of Bihar during the Turko-Afghan Period*, published in *The Current Studies* of the Patna College for the year 1954. My friend

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Prof. R. K. Chowdhary of G. D. College, Begusarai, Monghyr, discovered in 1955 at Begusarai a rare Arabic inscription of the reign of Ruknuddīn Kaikāus of Bengal, 1291-1301 A.D. This is the first epigraph of the early Sultanate period yet discovered in North Bihar. A Research Fellow of mine, Shri Brahmadeo Prasad Ambastha, has just discovered some important inscriptions in the Patna, Monghyr and Bhagalpur districts. Let me hope that much more of epigraphic evidence would be discovered and utilised to enhance our knowledge regarding this period.

For the history of about two hundred and thirty years from 1526 highly learned contributions on the political and administrative aspects have been made by some eminent Indian scholars. But for economic, social and cultural aspects our knowledge is still meagre. For social history there are only a few unpublished theses besides a very limited number of published books. For economic history, the works of Moreland, though of much worth, require revision in the light of information that can be collected from new sources. For the first half of the eighteenth century, besides a few chapters in late Dr. Balkrishna's book, entitled *Commercial Relations between India and England and Industrial Decline of India*, I can mention only one modern original work, namely, *The East India Company and the Economy of Bengal from 1704 to 1740* (published in 1954) by Dr. Sukumar Bhattacharya.

As regards the sources for the study of this period, carefully planned regional surveys by well-trained and faithful explorers will yet yield a rich harvest in the shape of hitherto unknown manuscripts of historical and literary value, and *firmāns* and *sanads* containing plenty of new information regarding administrative and economic aspects. Our searches in Bihar have enabled us to collect in the course of the last few years more than five hundred *firmāns* and *sanads* of much importance and some original manuscripts which are stored in the library of Patna University. I have pointed out the importance of a number of such records in an article published in an issue of the *Historical Journal* of the Nagpur University. I am tempted to urge that our Universities and learned Institutes should duly arrange for such work and Governments should help it with generous subsidy. Otherwise, these precious documents might disappear at the cost of truth and knowledge.

For a true social history, depicting the inner life of the people, religious as well as secular literature of both the periods mentioned above must be critically and exhaustively studied. Literature is indeed the mirror of a country's life for the period in which it flourishes. A poet, a novelist or an essayist cannot but be influenced by the ideas, tendencies and environments of his age, and his works are bound to reflect these to a large extent. Trevelyan has very fruitfully studied

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the literature of the different periods in the history of England for writing his valuable work on the social history of his country. A student of the social history of Bengal in the sixteenth century cannot afford to ignore Mukundarāma's *Kavikankan Chandī* and for a student of the social history of Northern India in this age Tulsīdās's *Rāmcharitmānas* is a source of great value. For understanding the activities and influence of the Sufis in Northern India, exhaustive and critical study of *Maktubāts* and *Malfuzāts* (collections of letters and sayings) of the mystics, *Diwāns* (collections of mystic poems), and *Taḍhkirahs* or biographies of the adherents of various *silsilās* or orders is absolutely necessary.

It is gratifying that increasing numbers of scholars are devoting themselves to the study of the modern period of Indian history on the basis of original sources. In fact, abundance of materials sometimes confuses a student of Modern Indian History. He has to exercise considerable judgment for a proper selection and scrutiny of the voluminous published as well as unpublished records in organised Archives or in District offices.

The little that I have studied with regard to this period strengthens my conviction that its rewriting is a pressing need for our scholars, as the discovery of fresh materials in various languages is disclosing the inaccuracy of many previously accepted views and interpretations. But at the same time we must be cautious against the unhistorical attitude of patterning history in tune with this or that point of view. For a student of history there is no other oracle than the oracle of conscience and no other objective so noble and high as a correct unfolding of a country's history in the broadest sense of the term. History made to order would amount to a regrettable travesty of truth causing more harm than good to mankind. Truth must be enshrined on the eternally bright and glorious pedestal to help elevation of human minds and development of closer links between man and man.

For political history of India, roughly speaking from the mid-eighteenth century, I can think of certain subjects on which further or fresh studies are desirable. One may attempt to write a critical and impartial biography of Sirājuddaulah by utilising exhaustively all available materials in various languages. Similar works may be prepared on some important personalities, who were closely associated with the political affairs of those days. For example, original studies on the careers of men like Durlabhrām, Rājā Nand Kumār, Shitāb Roy and his son Kalyan Singh, Muhammad Rezā Khān and some others will throw additional light on contemporary politics in Northern India, and such studies on personalities like Muhammad Alī, Chandā Sāheb, Nizām Alī and some others will supplement our knowledge of the history of

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Southern India in those years of rapid political changes. Relations between Benares and the English East India Company from about 1759 till the close of the eighteenth century require further elucidation. Writing of detailed histories of the different Indian States, which entered into subsidiary alliances with the East India Company, may be profitably undertaken to illustrate the process of the expansion of the British Empire in India during the closing years of the eighteenth century and the first fifty-six years of the nineteenth century. From Wellesley's subsidiary alliances to Dalhousie's annexations there is a continuous process.[1]

India's relations with Nepal, Tibet, Afghānistān, Persia and other regions of the Middle East, and with the different countries of South-East Asia, from the last quarter of the eighteenth century till our own days, deserve to be studied in detail with unbiased attitude. The Indian Council of World Affairs and the Institute of International Affairs, both located in New Delhi, are making laudable efforts to encourage such studies, which can be profitably supplemented by suitable steps taken by our Universities.

To foster among our youths a sense of disinterested intellectual devotedness helping their self-evaluation in relation to others is an imperative need today. Intellectual isolationism is an obstacle to progress and causes stagnation. If we desire to know rightly the history of our own country in all its aspects in modern times, we must pay due attention to the significant political changes and the great movements in contemporary epochs in other countries of the world. The War of Austrian Succession, the Seven Years' War, the War of American Independence and the Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars had significant repercussions on contemporary Indian politics. Plassey or Wandiwash were intimately connected with the Seven Years' War. Similarly, during the nineteenth century and for some years beyond that, course of European politics exercised much influence in reshuffling political relations among the Asiatic powers. The main events which determined these relations were the eastern ambitions of Russia and her designs in Asia, particularly since the treaty of Gulistān, concluded between Russia and Persia in 1813, and also French colonial ambition in the last three decades of this century. The tremendous effects of the two World Wars on India can be studied in minutest details with reference to varied topics.

The Industrial Revolution of the West, since the middle of the eighteenth century, was a highly potential movement generating new forces destined to transform the relations between man and man in

1. I may mention incidentally that a research scholar of mine is preparing a thesis on the History of Oudh from 1798 to 1856.

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different spheres of activities and to mould the destiny of the various countries of the East also, including India. The effects of the Industrial Revolution on India's economy were very significant and they are yet to be exhaustively studied. The Charter Acts of 1793, 1813, 1833 were, to a very large extent, the result of the new economic factors, which were responsible for economic transition in India in those days. Commercial relations of India since then with U.S., China, and the various countries of South-East Asia are important subjects for study.

Though I do not agree at all with the view that the history of modern India is but a history of the British in India, I must admit the remarkable influence of the new education, political thought and scientific knowledge of the modern West on Indian minds. Yet there is another side of the picture which we must try to understand fairly in this age of growing international contact. This is necessary in order to make a correct assessment of renaissant India's contributions to the stock of World's thought and culture. I have already noted how from the closing years of the eighteenth century, when India was passing through a period of agony due to vicissitudes in her political destiny and havoc on her economy, Inida's civilisation and ancient lore made a splendid appeal to bands of European scholars. "I fell in love with India," observed Max Muller. He wrote in the preface to his work, entitled *Rammohan to Ramkrishna* : "Though I have had but visions of the rivers, the mountains, the valleys, the forests and the men and women of India, having never been allowed to visit that earthly paradise, I have known for many years the beauties of its literature, and bold flights of its native philosophy, the fervid devotion of its ancient religion, and these together seem to me to give much truer picture of what India really was, and is still meant to be, in the history of the world, than the Bazars of Bombay or the Durbars of Rajas and Maharajas at Delhi." While delivering a course of lectures at Cambridge in 1882, Max Muller observed in his first lecture on "*What India can teach us*"?—"Is there not an inward and intellectual world also which has to be studied in its historical development, from the first appearance of predicative and demonstrative roots, their combination and differentiation, leading up to the beginning of rational thought in its steady progress from the lowest to the highest stages? And in that study of the history of the human mind, in that study of ourselves, of our true selves, India occupies a place second to no other country. Whatever sphere of human mind you may select for your special study, whether it be language, or religion, or mythology, or philospohy, whether it be laws or customs, primitive art or primitive science, everywhere, you have to go to India, whether you like it or not, because some of the most valuable and most, instructive materials in the history of man are treasured up in India and in India only."

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The stream of Indian culture flowed to other countries, through another channel, to irrigate human minds there. This was rehabilitated and enriched by the great apostles of awakened India like Rammohan, Ramkrishna, Vivekanand, Rabindranath, Aurobindo, and Mahatma Gandhi. Imbued with the true spirit of Indian culture, they were not only its best interpreters to the modern world but also ardent prophets of universal fellowship. In the post-Napoleonic period of world history when the reactionary statesmen, assembled at the Vienna Congress or organising the so-called Holy Alliance, were trying in vain to preserve the crumbling edifice of the *ancient regime* against the irresistible forces bequeathed by the Revolution of 1789 and Napoleon I, Rammohan had a conception of internationalism of the right type. In an intended communication to the Foreign Minister of France, dated 1831, he expressed: "It is now generally admitted that not religion only but unbiassed common sense as well as the accurate deductions of scientific research lead to the conclusion that all mankind are but one great family of which numerous nations and tribes are only various branches. Hence enlightened men in all countries feel a wish to encourage and facilitate human intercourse in every manner by removing as far as possible all impediments to it in order to promote the reciprocal advantage and enjoyment to the whole human race." With profound knowledge of the important classical languages of the East and the West and with abiding conviction in greatness and sublimity of India's old culture, Rammohan also felt the dynamic potentiality of the new education and thought of the West, and advocated a real synthesis of culture, so that out of this grand fusion might emanate creative forces for the benefit of his own countrymen and also the people of other countries. Referring to this aspect of Rammohan's personality, Shrimati Sarojini Naidu wrote in her unique style: "For us, Indians, the river is the true symbol of our civilisation, the river that moves and moves with its epic rhythm towards the sea, carrying the tidings of life and freedom to the world. And Raja Rammohan Roy conveyed the message of this great civilisation to the world. He had no exclusion. He had the all-inclusiveness which is characteristic of the universal quality of the Mission of India."

With universalism as its most striking feature, the Ramkrishna Mission has proved to be a highly potent agency for the diffusion of Indian culture to the modern world. Swami Vivekanand wrote to a disciple from London on the 20th September, 1896: "You must not forget that my interests are international and not India alone." He observed before a disciple in India in 1897: "The Universal teachings that he (Shri Ramkrishna) offered, if spread all over the world, will do good to humanity and to the world." In the address delivered by him at Madras on his return from the first visit to the West, he said, "Spirituality must conquer the world. Slowly they are finding out

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that what they want is spirituality to preserve them as nations ... The whole of the Western world is on a volcano which may burst tomorrow, go to pieces tomorrow. They have searched every corner of the world and have found no respite. They have drunk deep of the cup of pleasure and found it vanity. Now is the time to work so that India's spiritual ideas may penetrate deep into the West."

Probably no one else has left for the world such inspiring messages for promotion of human brotherhood as Rabindranath. In his numerous poems he has emphasised the cosmopolitan nature of Indian culture with its immense assimilative potentiality and the marvellous role it has to play in reshaping human outlook throughout the world.

The saint-patriot of India, Shri Aurobindo, said in 1909 : " Our ideal of patriotism proceeds on the basis of love and brotherhood and it looks beyond the unity of the nation and envisages the ultimate unity of mankind. But it is unity of brothers and freemen that we seek, not the unity of master and serf, of devourer and devoured." In his message on the inauguration of Indian Independence on the 15th August, 1947, Shri Aurobindo observed : "August 15 is the birthday of free India. It marks for her the end of the old era, the beginning of a new age. But it has significance not only for us but for Asia and the whole world, for it signifies the entry into the comity of nations of a new power with untold potentialities which has a great part to play in determining the political, social and cultural future of humanity."

The greatest prophet of modern humanity, Mahatma Gandhi, expressed : " I do want to think in terms of the whole world. My patriotism includes the good of mankind in general. Therefore my service of India includes the service of humanity." " Patriotism based on hatred," he held, " killeth " and " patriotism based on love giveth life." He had supreme optimism that the truest panacea for the ills of the bewildered and tormented world lay through right-mindedness, liberalism and humanitarian attitudes, for the diffusion of which free India was destined to play a significant role. " India awakened and free," he said, "has a message of peace and good-will to give to a groaning world." I would appeal to our scholars of today to pay due attention towards this international aspect of modern Indian history.

At the same time, the importance of making detailed and intensive original studies on local history of the different parts of India cannot be overestimated. A general history of India as a whole cannot be properly written, unless, as a fruit of the researches of bands of enthusiastic scholars, the details of local histories are fairly known to us. Take, for example, the history of the Indian Movement of 1857-59. From what I have tried to read and write about it, I have a definite opinion

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that more materials about it are to be discovered from various sources, official as well as non-official, in different regions. The sumtotal of knowledge based on these is to be utilised for its study as an Indian movement with reference to the whole country.

A word of caution for writers of local histories. It is absolutely necessary for them to be on their guard against feelings of local parochialism and narrowness, which sometimes cloud our reason and dwarf our judgment. Undue glorification or unmerited villification is equally antagonistic to historical research of the right type. Both trample on truths and foster falsehoods.

One great need for effective utilisation of historical records relating to our country in various languages is proper arrangement for their study by young scholars when they are initiated into research work. Researches on the history of early or later mediæval periods of Indian history, without the knowledge of Persian or Marāthī or Rājasthanī, cannot produce fruitful results. Similarly, knowledge of Portuguese, French and Dutch should be regarded as an essential pre-requisite for original studies on the modern period. It may not be possible for one to study many languages ; in that case proper guidance of persons having knowledge of this or that language and also at least a general knowledge of history should be secured. A mere linguist without knowledge of history sometimes gives incorrect renderings.

Research workers in our country have Himalayan handicaps before them. One of these is the difficulty of getting access into original manuscripts or other records, which are scattered in different parts of it and many of which are at places outside it. Some fortunate few may have the opportunities for journeys abroad to study records in foreign lands. But many have not the means or opportunities even to move for this from one part of India to another, though they may have in them genuine urge for research. It is only the Governments, the Universities and well-financed learned Institutes which can lend due assistance to the research workers under their auspices to overcome this difficulty by arranging to place at their disposal transcripts, photostat copies or microfilmed copies of such records. We are anxiously waiting to know what has been the result of our efforts to secure our historical records from what was called till recently the India Office. To bring them here would be a definitely well-calculated and salutary step. It is a matter of real anxiety for students of history that many old texts and books have gone out of print and are not available. It is high time that suitable steps were taken in proper quarters for the reprinting of such works to enable scholars to utilise these. Otherwise, a very important source of the stream of knowledge would dry up.

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We are grateful to the National Archives of India and the Indian Historical Records Commission for their works of inestimable value in collecting, preserving, editing, cataloguing and indexing old records of historical importance. A few volumes in the series of *Fort William—India House Correspondence* have come out. Students of history are anxiously awaiting the quick publication of the other volumes, which, we hope, would be expedited. It is gratifying that the National Archives have recently brought out Volume One of *Index to the Foreign and Political Department Records* 1756-1780. Organised Record Offices in some States and Regional Records Survey Committees are doing useful work in their respective areas.

But still we have not satisfactorily solved the various problems relating to the storage and study of our old records in the Divisions and Districts. In many places records are kept not under proper scientific conditions, their use is not regulated by the due cannons of Archives and sometimes non-experts take the fancy to publish some of these without proper selection or editing. All this is unacademic and undesirable. No time should be lost in shifting our valuable and irreplaceable records of historical value from the local areas to a centrally-organised Archives in each State, placed under the guidance of a qualified Director. All publications from such records should be arranged by proper planning with expert advice and help, in conformity with the general plans of publication sponsored by the Indian Historical Records Commission. Faulty reproduction of old records with indifferent and careless editing, or no editing at all, is a highly risky practice, which should be discouraged and stopped by all lovers of truth.

On the abolition of the Zamindaries or other intermediaries for land revenue collection, their records containing valuable historical information should be made available for the sake of knowledge by regular salvaging, collection and storage of these. Most of the members of the territorial aristocracy had with them old family papers, *sanads*, *firmans* or grants of other kinds, the proper study of which, as I can assert from my personal experience, would reveal many interesting and important details for political, administrative and economic history of the respective areas to which they refer. Some members of them possessed also good personal libraries with rich collections of manuscripts or rare books and copies of some State papers. All these had indeed their utility and value from the point of view of family interest. Should not these be thrown open to academic use for services of the community of man ?

In the task of rescuing records from oblivion, decay or loss, the post-graduate students of our Universities can render useful services. They should be made more research-minded by being encouraged to study original sources as far as practicable, and also to collect these,

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whenever they get opportunities for it, in their own rural areas. I have often thought why our Universities should not have something like a practical test for about one-fourth of an M.A. paper; credit in which would rest on the students' acquaintance with local records. This would also help to develop in them a spirit of enquiry and foster discipline, of which there is very great need to accelerate the progress of our new and free India.

Freedom has a supreme charm and also tremendous responsibility. "Freedom is the English subjects' Prerogative," said Dryden, and this view was well cited by Wilkes, an advocate of British constitutionalism, in his attack on Lord Bute in the famous No. 45 of the North Briton. We can well say that freedom of opinion is the prerogative of every student of history, for the conscientious and judicious exercise of which he must have a perfectly disciplined mind with unflinching regard for truth and uprightness and not uncritically and unhesitatingly servile to reactionary influences or benumbing inconsistencies. We cannot forget the following inspiring words of Rabindranath:

"May wisdom ever remain free and unfettered.
May devotion kiss nobody's feet on earth through fear;
May all noble endeavours brook no opposition
From any power whatever;
May the soul flow towards Thee day and night,
With all its might in unimpeded current,
Breaking all barriers.
May it be ever writ large on the heart:
It will be an insult to Thee,
If I allow that to be snatched away
Which thou has given me in trust."

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SECTION I

ANCIENT INDIA

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PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

S. K. Saraswati

Friends and Colleagues,

It is with mixed feelings of joy as well as woe that I have agreed to accept the high position that the Indian History Congress has called me to occupy. I feel grateful to the Executive Committee of the Congress for this kind and generous act, deeply conscious, as I am, of the honour they have done me. When the call came, I frankly confess, as a normal human being I felt certainly a little pleased. At the same time, I am not unaware of my own limitations, and this sense causes me, again, an extreme embarrassment. Nevertheless, I prize the honour more than I deserve, particularly as it offers me the opportunity of meeting you, my distinguished fellow-workers. In this congenial atmosphere I hope to profit by your wise deliberations and crave for your sympathetic co-operation to guide and direct me to make the business of this Section a success.

We meet this year under shadows of deaths. Acharya Jadunath Sarkar, Sir John Hubert Marshall and Dr. J. Ph. Vogel, three stalwarts who had done much to unravel India's past, passed away during this one year. You are all familiar with the outstanding nature of the contributions that each had made in his special field or fields of study. Acharya Jadunath, though his works do not pertain to our period, has set among us a high standard of historical scholarship that transcends the bounds of age or period, and the best way to remember him is to cultivate and emulate that standard. Historical and archæological studies, directly concerning our period, have suffered immensely by the deaths of Marshall and Vogel. For many years the Director-General of Archæology in India, Marshall had been singly responsible for much of what we know today of ancient India. An archæologist, numismatist, art-historian and classical scholar, he had shown rare abilities as a careful and scientific investigator and a critical and sober interpreter, with a phenomenal mastery over the intricate and often complex data, as archæological data invariably are. Vogel was equally eminent in the varied branches of Indological studies. His philological and linguistic equipment enabled him further to make

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notable contributions in the spheres of Indian epigraphy and iconography. All three died old in years and honours, and each, you will agree, is personally mourned by every scholar devoted to historical investigations. They hailed from different parts of the globe; but these veterans had one bond in common, and that is their desire to know India in all her facets by pursuing a path of meticulous and scientific investigation. Their lives and works, I have no doubt, will act as sources of inspiration to all seekers of historical truth.

Ancient India, until recently divided into two sections, has now been merged into one. The Section now covers the history of several millenniums, recorded as well as unrecorded. The scope, you will realise, is a vast one, and the problems as well as the modes of our investigations are necessarily varied and different. The past, especially the remote one, lies buried underground and it requires a specialised technical knowledge to dig it up and to correlate and interpret the evidences thus laid bare. It is gratifying to note the splendid work that the Department of Archæology of Government of India and the Deccan College Post-Graduate and Research Institute of Poona have been doing for the last few years with regard to the pre-history and proto-history of India. Such works have immensely enriched our knowledge and enlarged our vision of Indian history. Thanks to the patient labours of a body of able and trained scholars, many a brick has been added to the structure of our pre-history, and the gaps in the continuum between pre-history and early history are being steadily filled up. The pre-history of India, I hope I am not wrong in saying, has now acquired a definite shape and its relations with early history have been established. Investigations in pre-history depend entirely upon archæology and pre-historic archæology constitutes a highly technical and specialised branch of study. To give it the emphasis it deserves in investigations concerning the past, the creation of a separate section for pre-history within the purview of the Indian History Congress seems to me to be an imperative need. Pre-historic archæology, along with anthropology, has a separate section in the Indian Science Congress. There is no doubt that pre-historic archæology has its moorings in a number of sciences. But nobody can deny that its principal bearings are on past history, and this Congress, if by standing back it aims at comprehending the rise and fall of civilisations, must recognise pre-history as one of its important sections. With your leave I would like to plead for splitting up Section I, which now includes pre-history, in two sections—the first concerned with pre-historic and proto-historic India, and the second with ancient India up to A.D. 1206, with the year 600 B.C. as an approximately convenient point for separating the two. Such a measure would not only relieve congestion in present-day

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Section I, but would also add a stimulus to pre-historic and proto-historic studies that seem to be neglected nowadays by the majority of Indian historians.

Our scholars have been more active with regard to the historic phases, and one is really struck by the abundance of output by Indian historians in different aspects of ancient Indian history and culture. It is a happy sign further that gradually more and more scholars are being drawn to historical pursuits, and research publications on ancient Indian history in its varied branches are steadily on the increase. While this is quantitatively so, we must pause, I think, to consider whether qualitatively also we are maintaining the proper standard. You will excuse me, please, if I communicate to you frankly my own feelings on this question. I would request you, friends, not to misunderstand me.

Political history and chronology still claim our principal attention. The importance of such studies cannot certainly be denied. Such branches of archæology as epigraphy, palæography and numismatics constitute in this respect the chief tools for investigations on subjects within our period. It must be admitted, however, that one must learn to handle a tool properly before he can hope to use it in an efficient manner. From a number of recent publications and articles, some of which had been read in previous sessions of this Congress, it has been my feeling, and I shall be pleased if it is proved incorrect, that this golden rule is not being observed of late in a majority of instances. For reasons that you will not fail to understand I would refrain from particularising or specifying the instances by way of illustrating my point. I have been pained to notice, especially on the part of younger generations of scholars, very little familiarity, and not unusually a lack of familiarity, with the nature, content and import of the original source materials, particularly of an archæological character. The data seem to have been collected from secondary works without any attempt to obtain a clear acquaintance with the originals themselves. Not unoften, there may be observed wrong citations of data and new and startling theories built up on them; assumptions not warranted by the accepted laws of evidence; contrary and conflicting interpretations of the same or identical phraseologies in epigraphic passages in respect of different rulers to suit particular theories assiduously put forward; and such others. I do not intend to refer to or specify further instances as they would tend to be tiresome. What I would like to stress upon here is that such a tenor does not appear to me to be wholesome for purposes of historical enquiries.

Believe me, dear friends, I am not in a critical or disparaging mood. Clio, I beg to remind you, is a hard and jealous mistress. She expects

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of us exactness and precision in the presentation of data, logic and reasoning in their analysis and interpretation and sound and unprejudiced judgment. To fulfil these, we must have a complete control and mastery over all source materials that concern our investigations. We must also have a fair grasp of the various problems pertaining to the subjects of our enquiry. Otherwise, we cannot hope to evaluate our data in a proper and dispassionate manner and to render a coherent record of our researches, based, as they are, principally on evidences that are often fragmentary and incomplete.

Please do not misunderstand me as sermonising if I emphasise again the necessity for a proper acquiantance with the source materials for researches in history. A lack of such acquiantance is apt to lead us into pitfalls at every step. Among the source materials, those relating to different branches of archæology offer the toughest of problems that can only be correlated and interpreted coherently after we have obtained a substantial grounding in such studies. If we have to handle archæological materials in our investigations, I repeat, again, that we have to prepare and discipline ourselves, if necessary, by schooling under acknowledged specialists, for such works in order to have the best results out of our labours. This is a sound maxim which has to be scrupulously followed. We shall be failing in our proper functions if we forget or ignore it.

While on the subject of archæological studies I should refer, I think, to an antiquarian mania that has been growing of late throughout the country. This mania has created a class of people whom one may term as amateur archæologists. They are usually in the habit of discovering objects, assumed always to be of great antiquity and significance, on which they pass their startlingly valuable (?) opinions in a manner and with an emphasis that a professional specialist would hardly dare doing. What is more, such opinions, through the grace of some credulous journalist friend, find their way in newspapers and reach the ever-gullible public. This sort of news is now found to be a common and frequent occurrence, and leads to notions, often misconceived, which are hard to dispel. There is a further danger besides. Not unoften, these enthusiasts, in their misplaced zeal and with insufficient equipments, disturb objects from their proper contexts and thus destroy really valuable evidence that might have yielded fruitful results through proper scientific investigations. Again, these enthusiasts often tend to be collectors and do not hesitate to attack a mound or disfigure a monument for the possession of objects of their choice. This sort of spoliation has grown to be a disconcerting problem to genuine students of history, and this Congress, I may humbly submit, must consider seriously of the ways and means to check and stop this practice.

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Whatever the tenor today, I must remind you of the great progress that we have made during the last one hundred years in the recovery of our past history that had practically been lost in oblivion. The attempt to reconstruct this history may be said to have begun in 1784 with the establishment of the Asiatic Society in Calcutta. During the first fifty years work done appears to have been negligible, and Elphinstone was, to a great extent, correct when in 1839 he observed that "no connected relation of the national transactions can be attempted until after the Mahomedan conquest." The decipherment of the Brahmi script by James Prinsep in 1837 and of Kharoshthi almost simultaneously by Rochette and Lassen laid the foundations of Indian epigraphic and palæographic studies. Numismatic studies began also almost at the same time with the discoveries of large number of coins of different categories from various sites in India and Afghanistan. These had the effect of stimulating historical studies and the establishment of the Archæological Survey of India in 1862 and its reconstitution in 1902 led to an organisation of Indian archæological and historical scholarship on a clear and well-ordered basis. The University of Calcutta was the first to open post-graduate and research studies in ancient Indian history and culture and was followed by many other Universities in the country. All these resulted in a phenomenal development of a sound spirit of historical enquiry in India, and the Indian History Congress, as it is now, may be said to have inherited a rich and brilliant legacy of Indian historical lore. The history of the country has been reconstructed, bit by bit, by the painstaking researches of able and conscientious scholars, Indian as well as foreign, dead and living. The knowledge gained in various fields of history, by way of objective recording of data and logical interpretation according to laws of evidence, has been solid and not insignificant. We cannot afford to lose the standard and tradition that had been built up in historical scholarship. Nor can we allow the vision to be clouded by mists resulting from inadequate and insufficient handling of data and unwarranted assumptions.

I have already stated that what we have been able to achieve in course of the last one hundred years has not been insignificant. The basic facts of political history and chronology for the entire period covered by our Section seem to have been known and stabilised. There may yet be certain lacunæ and every one of us would feel happy to see them filled up in every detail. I feel, however, that the filling up of such lacunæ is not likely to be the kind and nature that might lead to a material revision of the facts known so far. For the early period, that is, up to the fall of the Guptas, the other aspects of history, for example, in respect of social conditions, economic factors, religion, cultural activities, and the like, have also received their proper share of attention, and in each one of these spheres we find one or more works dealing

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with these aspects of our history in their main outlines, and sometimes also in detail. There may be scope for further detailed investigations, and such investigations are always welcome to enable us to have a clear picture of the whole.

I may digress here from my present theme, for a little, to refer to the need for developing a knowledge among our historians of the history of the neighbouring territories. India, it is now an admitted fact, had been a great force in the history of Asia as a whole. The theory of ' splendid isolation ' does no longer hold good, at least for the earlier phases of our history. A knowledge of the history of the neighbouring territories, particularly West Asia, Central Asia, China, Japan and South-East Asia, seems to be indispensable for a proper perspective of Indian history and for a clear understanding of the mutual contacts and inter-relations. For such a knowledge our equipments are scanty and facilities entirely lacking. There have been discovered important contacts between the Sumerian civilisation in West Asia and the Harappan in India. The inscriptions of Darius refer to a part of north-western India as included within the empire of the Great king and of this we have also the testimony of Herodotus. Alexander's historians refer to many Indian tribes inhabiting the eastern fringes of Afghanistan, and in this territory, ever since the time of Masson we hear of the discoveries of Indian antiquities in the shape of coins, inscriptions and art objects. It is from the steppes of Central Asia that the Sakas and the Yue-chis came to India. With China, Japan, Tibet and South-East Asia India had missionary and cultural contacts extending for centuries. In many of these countries there still remain important documents and materials of supreme significance for a reconstruction and elucidation of Indian history on a much wider perspective. I hope I voice your opinion if I say that competent scholars should be enabled to visit these territories for a first-hand acquaintance with such materials. Two years back I had the opportunity of visiting Nepal as the leader of the survey of her manuscript libraries. I have been struck by the wealth of materials in that small kingdom for a study of the history of Nepal and that of India as well. The results of these investigations are being published by the Asiatic Society. What I feel is that competent scholars, if given proper facilities for investigations, in one or more of the above-mentioned countries, may yet discover new and important materials likely to add to our knowledge of the history of our country. Incidentally, I may notice here, from my experience in Nepal and elsewhere, that old manuscripts, rather unlikely sources though, are known to have supplied in their colophons important facts of history and chronology, and I would like to plead for a search of the old Bhandars of India by our historians with this purpose in view.

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We may now resume our theme. The period from the fall of the Guptas to the Muslim conquest, it has certainly appeared to you, furnishes circumstances and happenings that may be found to differ substantially from those with which we are familiar by now in the earlier phase. I would like to designate this later phase of ancient Indian history as the 'mediæval' phase, though the term 'mediæval' may be questioned by many amongst us. This phase, I humbly submit, has received, relatively though, a rather scant attention, though it is no less important for a clear and comprehensive perspective of Indian history. It is true, our scholars have done much to furnish us with the chronicles of the various dynasties that parcelled out the country into numerous petty kingdoms, often in conflict with one another for political supremacy and suzerainty. It is this side of the history of this 'mediæval' phase that has been emphasised in the majority of the dynastic chronicles. There is usually no attempt to search for those forces and circumstances that might have been at the root of the perpetual dynastic squabbles. Recently, a predecessor of mine in this office, observed that "today the dynastic chronicle of the entire period stands on relatively solid foundations; the narratives of kings and their ministers and the wars that they waged and the description of the administrative machineries they evolved in their respective regions are more or less determined with relative precision of outline and contour." To my mind, however, it appears that such works as have been done on the various mediæval dynasties are, to a certain extent, one-sided and compartmental in the sense that, with very few exceptions, these works betray a lack of and disregard for perspective. For the chronicle of any of these dynasties the principal sources of information consist of the inscriptions of its rulers and whatever scanty information can be gleaned from literature. Mostly, such inscriptions were composed by the court poets who, experience teaches us, were not free from the normal human failing of eulogising their patrons and their dynasties and of exaggerating their achievements. We should always be cautious, hence, to accept an epigraphic statement until and unless we evaluate it according to the accepted laws of evidence and in the light of contemporary happenings elsewhere, particularly in the neighbouring kingdoms. It is not unusual to find the inscriptions of each of the rulers of contemporary rival dynasties claiming brilliant military successes over the other. A researcher, working on a particular dynasty and depending principally on the inscriptions of his dynasty, may seldom have the capacity to rise above the bias engendered by the evidences supplied by his principal sources. There is an apprehension, hence, that if he lacks a wider perspective and a sense of relatedness, his work is apt to become an apologia for the dynasty of his choice. The dynastic chronicles, only a few excepted, are not found to be free from such drawbacks. A broader perspective and sense of relatedness would necessarily demand a critical estimate of the dynasty in relation to contemporary history and politics; but we

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have yet to see a chronicle having such a chapter or section. An inquisitive reader trying to have a picture of India in this 'mediæval' phase finds himself bewildered by the claims and counter-claims made in the different dynastic chronicles from which he seeks information. You will excuse me please, if in this sense I regard many of the dynastic histories produced by our scholars to be unreal, and "not determined with relative precision of outline and contour" as maintained by my predecessor.

Your president may be accused of failing in his duty if he does not refer to the publication last year of the second volume of the *Comprehensive History of India* which covers the period from 325 B.C. to A.D. 300. This history, you all know, has been planned by this Congress on a collaborative basis and is to be published in twelve volumes. The publication of this volume had long been eagerly awaited, and the expectations of the scholarly world, I humbly submit, have been amply fulfilled. The Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, has also a similar scheme in hand to be completed in ten volumes, of which the first five, covering the period of this Section, had already been published. These works published by the two organisations certainly testify to the high standard of historical scholarship in India, and judging from this standpoint, I think, we have reasons to congratulate ourselves. The first collaborative scheme of writing history was sponsored in this country by the University of Dacca with the *History of Bengal*, two volumes of which were published respectively in 1943 and 1948. Since the publication of the *History of Bengal* a few other schemes of regional histories have also been planned by institutions as well as individuals, and such schemes are now known to be in different stages of progress. It is a pleasant surprise to learn further that the Vidyodaya Library of Calcutta, a firm of private publishers, has just sponsored a second collaborative scheme of a *Comprehensive History of Bengal*, to be published in three volumes, fully documented and expected to cover more than 2,500 pages. This is a daring, but laudable, venture on the part of a private organisation and it sets an example for the publishers of other parts of India to follow and emulate.

I have tired your patience, I am afraid, by this uninspiring address. You will allow me, please to make one humble submission before I conclude. A re-orientation of our outlook is necessary, I believe, in the treatment of the history of what I have described as the 'mediæval' phase. This phase is found to be characterised by a strong regional consciousness that seems to operate in every sphere of activity. Along with this, there is noticed an attitude of rigidly separatist and isolationist tendency. This attitude is beautifully expressed by a terse statement of that keen observer, Al-Biruni. "The Hindus," he says, "believe that there is no country but theirs, no nation like theirs, no king like

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theirs, no religion like theirs, no science like theirs." He feels further that "if they travelled and mixed with other nations, they would soon change their mind." Our view of Indian history is that such was not the picture of our people in the earlier phase. Al-Biruni also concedes that "their ancestors were not so narrow-minded as the present generation." An all-India consciousness seems to have loomed large in every sphere of activity up till the fall of the Guptas. It is known to have maintained a precarious hold for some time more, but not much beyond the middle of the ninth century A.D., and was replaced by a strong and conscious regionalism. The liberalism of the early phase gradually gave place to rigid separatism and isolationism. These may be regarded as the distinctive tendencies of this 'mediæval' phase of Indian history. The growth and development of such tendencies were not unrelated and detached events, but had their roots deep in the various forces and factors that came to operate in the 'mediæval' phase. These forces and factors might also have been responsible for the rapid collapse of the Hindus before the onslaught of Islam. As historians, we must learn what such forces were, in order to have a comprehensive picture of 'mediæval' India in all its facets and to guard against similar circumstances in future. For the 'mediæval' phase, then, I feel that our investigations should be intensively directed to that end. I may only suggest that such an enquiry seems to be indispensable and imperative; but humbly I do confess that I am not yet in a position to give you an idea of the means and modes of this kind of investigations. All that I know is that it is not possible by the one-sided and compartmental outlook in which dynastic histories have been written and are being written. The necessary information for such an enquiry is certainly there, many of them embedded among the sources on which dynastic histories are dependant. It requires a scholar or scholars with a broader outlook, wider perspective and intellectual and imaginative approach to exploit such information for purposes of this enquiry which, again, must be conducted on an all-India canvas and in a chronological sequence.

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CHOS-RJE-DPAL—A TIBETAN MONK PILGRIM

(A.D. 1234-1236)

Dr. A. S. Altekar

Greek, Roman, Chinese and Arab pilgrims—or trade travellers to India are already known to us from the accounts they have left us of their travels in this country, which have thrown considerable light on its history. Tibetan monk-pilgrims of this category were so far not known. Recently however La-tso-ba (translator) Chos-rje-dpal, Dharmaswami has been discovered from a Tibetan work, which the K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute has sent to the press. This monk-pilgrim had visited only the sacred Buddhist places in Bihar during the years 1234-36 A.D. His biography is a short work covering only about 50 pages or so in print, but it gives valuable glimpse into the history of India of a period of which non-Muslim sources are indeed few. We here propose to give a brief account of the life and journey of Chos-rje-dpal.

Chos-rje-dpal was born in 1197 A.D. He began his studies at the age of 7 and continued them for 22 years before he decided to visit Nepal and India to complete them. In his time a vast number of Buddhist Indian monk scholars had settled down in Nepal where they had gone as refugees from the Muslim invasion. Chos-rje-dpal spent eight years in the Svayambhu Chaita in Nepal studying there under Ratnarakshita and Ravīndra. After finishing his education in Nepal, at the age of 37, Chos-rje-dpal resolved to go to India, although the country being unsettled, it was somewhat dangerous to do so. His own uncle had expired in India some years ago and many people dissuaded him. Ravīndra however encouraged him. "There shall be no danger; we father and son shall meet again. Chos-rje-dpal had cherished the ambition of visiting India from his childhood and he decided to go in the company of a motely crowd of merchants and pilgrims in 1234, probably in the spring, planning to be in Bodha-Gaya on the following birth-date of the Buddha.

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Chos-rje-dpal took three months to reach Bodha-Gaya. On his way he passed through Vaishali, which was deserted on account of an apprehended Muslim attack. Inhabitants used to resort to forest by day and come back to their houses at night. In one place the party was attacked by wild bulls; in another place an impudent woman 'attacked' them and some of fellow-pilgrims fell a victim to her charms. The danger of robbers was always there.

After crossing the Ganga probably near Patna, the pilgrim proceeded to Bodh-Gaya. He is silent about Patna; probably it was mostly a deserted city, as noted by Yuan Chwang. At Bodha-Gaya the pilgrim wanted to have the *darśana* of the Buddha. But to his great regret he discovered that the city was again deserted owing to an apprehended Muslim attack. He also had to take resort to forest. The real image in the Buddha temple had been screened off by a wall and a 'false' image had been installed against the screening wall. Within three weeks it appeared that the apprehended attack would not materialise and so the king of the place, named Buddhasena, returned back to his capital along with 500 soldiers. The false image was taken off; the screening wall was removed and then our pilgrim could have the *darśana* of the image to his heart's content.

Chos-rje-dpal has given a lot of interesting information about Gaya. The establishment was under the complete control of the Hinayanist Ceylonese monks; only they could sleep in the court-yard of the temple and none else. The Hinayanist Ceylonese pontiff had no soft corner for the Mahayanists; when Chos-rje-dpal went before the image to pay his homage, the pontiff asked, 'What is the book under your arm?' The pilgrim replied, 'Prajnaparamita.' 'Throw it in the river,' thundered the pontiff, 'Mahayāna books can never secure you salvation.' Pilgrims had to meet many pressing demands from the priests; the Tibetan pilgrim observes that in one place no temple was constructed over the stone feet of the Buddha because it was feared that if there was a temple, there would be a priest who would demand a fee and so fewer people could have the *darśana*.

From Bodha-Gaya the pilgrim went to Rajgir, where there was a famous Buddhist scholar named Yaśomitra, under whom he studied for a few months. There were a number of Buddhist Tāntrikas at this place as well as in the vicinity of Nalanda, who were believed to have superhuman powers.

After finishing his studies at Rajgir, Chos-rje-dpal visited a Kali temple and gives us a lurid account of the animal sacrifices that were offered there. He then came to Nalanda.

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Nalanda at this time was merely a ghost of its former splendid self. The usual belief that this University was completely destroyed by the troops under Bakhtyar Khalji is shown to be slightly wrong by our pilgrim's account. According to our pilgrim, there were originally seven temples and fourteen big and eighty-four small monasteries there. At the time of his visit they were all damaged by the Muslim invaders, and there was no one to look after them or to make offerings. Only two monasteries called Dhanaba and Ghunaba were in a serviceable condition. The surrounding wall however was still intact along with the eastern and the western gates, decorated with the painting of Tara and other deities. Hundreds of monks belonging to the establishment had fled away, but the chief abbot Rāhula-śrī-bhadra, who was more than 90, had declined to leave his post. At the time of the visit of Chos-rje-dpal there were only seventy monks reading under Rāhula-śrī-bhadra ; they were supported by king Buddhasena of Gaya and a rich lay Brahmana disciple named Jayadeva living at Odantapuri or Bihar Sharif. The final attack on Nalanda took place during the residence of Chos-rje-dpal and the Tibetan pilgrim carried his Indian Guru on his shoulders in order to save him.

Life in Nalanda was far from austere in mediæval times. The pilgrim was shown at Nalanda an image of Tara without ornaments. The local tradition stated that once upon a time a troop of singers and dancers had been invited to Nalanda from south India. The monks could not pay the stipulated fee. Tara image came to their rescue by offering her own ornaments to the troupe in payment of their fees.

Our pilgrim was attacked by severe fever while at Nalanda and his Indian Guru attended on him. The account makes no reference to any library at Nalanda, nor did Chos-rje-dpal carry away any copies of manuscripts with him.

As times were not very propitious and his own health very good, our pilgrim decided to return to his country. He recrossed the Ganga in the summer of 1236. On reaching Simraongarh, the capital of the contemporary Karnata king, he again fell severely ill, but was saved by the kind service of a Tibetan pilgrim that had just come there from Nepal. On recovering his health, he met the king who requested him to be his chaplain. Chos-rje-dpal politely declined this kind offer, but the king gave him gold and provisions for his journey. The pilgrim gives us a vivid account of the additional precautions taken by Ramasinha to repel any possible Muslim invasion.

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Chos-rje-dpal reached Nepal in 1237 and was warmly received there by his preceptors. He could not decline the request of his Guru Ravīndra and stayed in his monastery for four years, helping his Guru in his work. He received here several important manuscripts as presents from his disciples.

It was probably in 1241 A.D. that Chos-rje-dpal reached his own monastery at Iteura. His departure to this place was like a royal procession and several domestic yaks were required to carry his packages. His lay disciples thronged in large numbers. A few of them who had no issues were soon blessed with them and they attributed their good luck to the spiritual power of their Guru.

After reaching his own monastery, Chos-rje-dpal reorganised its intellectual and spiritual life and made it a great centre of Buddhist learning. His fame soon reached abroad and the famous Mongol emperor Kublai Khan sent an imperial embassy to request him to visit his court. He however politely got himself excused. In 1256 however a second embassy came with the same request and Chos-rje-dpal had to start for Mongolia. On the way he began to suffer from pain in the legs and the Mongol dignitaries agreed to his return hoping that at least Tibet would continue to get the benefit of his sermons and scholarship.

On his return Chos-rje-dpal visited several monasteries in his country lecturing on the Jatakas, Mahachittotpada, Samadhi-raja-Sutra, Bodhicharyavatara, Suhrillekha, Bhavanakrama, Paramarthabodhi-chittabhavana etc. He used to recite Gurustot and Mañjuśrīstotra at the beginning of every lecture.

As he began to become older and older, Chos-rje-dpal became more and more spiritual. He began to exhort the monks not only to study but also to meditate. He once spent three months in silence and meditation. He felt that in order to purify the Buddhism of Tibet, stress should be laid on the teachings of Mādhyamikāratnāvali and Pradīpodyotana. His spiritual reputation became higher and higher. He was asked to lay the foundation-stone of an ecclesiastical palace near Lhassa and lecture at a monastery near the same place. At this place he used to deliver five lectures a day and the usual attendance was 100.

When he felt that his end was approaching, he gave away all his wealth in charity. It consisted of three plates full of precious stones. He passed away on Wednesday, the 10th day of the bright half of Mārgaśiras in 1264 A.D. at the age of 67. At the time of his death he was regarded as a manifestation of the Buddha and his biographer

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reports how a number of rainbows appeared in the sky and began to shower flowers. People could catch the latter in their hands, but when they opened them out, they could see nothing.

Chos-rje-dpal was the author of 30 books in Tibetan. We have given above a brief indication of the light which his travels threw on the contemporary Indian history. The matter has been fully discussed in my long introduction to the Biography of Chos-rje-dpal which is now in the press.

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MANOR PLATES OF RĀSHṬRAKŪTA DANTIDURGA : ŚAKA YEAR 671

Prof. V. V. Mirashi

Nagpur

This set of two copper-plates was found some fifteen years ago while digging in a field at the village of Manor in the Palghar taluka of the Thana District in the Bombay State. Along with it was discovered another set of plates dated in the Śaka year 613 (A.D. 691), which belongs to the reign of Vinayāditya Maṅgalarasa, a feudatory of the Chālukyas of Badami. It has been edited by Mr. Krishna Dev of the Archæological Department in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 17-22. The present set of plates has, however, remained unpublished till now. Nearly ten years ago, while I was studying another copper-plate inscription of the Rāshṭrakūṭas, I wanted to see this record also. So at my request Mr. Krishna Dev sent me a set of its ink impressions, which is still with me. Some days ago, while turning over old papers I noticed these impressions. As the plates have remained unpublished for nearly fifteen years after their discovery and the information they furnish is important for the ancient history of Konkan I edit them here from the aforementioned impressions.

As stated before, this is a set of two copper-plates. They are inscribed on the inner side only. The inscription is in a good state of preservation. The characters are of the western variety of the southern alphabet as in other inscriptions of the time found in Konkan. The only peculiarities that call for notice are the form of the initial *e* in *ekā-saptaty-adhikeshu* in line 1, the cursive form of *ś* in *śri* in line 4 and the form of the lingual *ḍ* in *Boḍavarmma* etc. in line 6. The language is Sanskrit and the whole record is in prose. As regards orthography, we may note the use of *ri* for the vowel *ṛi* in *Prithivīvallabha*, line 2, the reduplication of a consonant following *r* as in *pravarddhamāna*, line 3 and the absence of concord in *kāle-pi-gachchhatā*, line 10. In some places the *sandhis* are either not done or are done incorrectly ; see *shaṭsu-ekā(ka)saptaty-adhikeshu* in line 1 and *-grāmo khaṇḍa-* in line 9.

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The object of the inscription is to record that in the year 671, during the augmenting reign of Prithivīvallabha, Khaḍgāvaloka, illustrious Dantidurga[1], who had obtained the *pañcha-mahā-śabda*, while the illustrious Aniruddha, meditating on his feet, was governing the town of Śrīpura, certain representatives of the Mahājana (Corporation) of the Traividyas of the place *viz.* Boḍavarma Bhogika Durga Bhogika, Devamma Bhogika, Goviyasaṅga Bhogika and Goviya, donated, near the footprints of the god Brahmā, the village Tambasāhikā situated in the *vishaya* (District) of Śrīpura to the temple of Bādeśvara which had been caused to be constructed by Bādaḍi Bhogika, who meditated on the feet of (*i.e.* was the son of) Svāmī Dharmabhaṭṭa. The gift was intended to be utilised for meeting the expenses of the repairs of the aforementioned temple. Then follows the imprecation that he who would dispute this gift would incur the five great sins. The record closes with the names of some persons who are evidently cited as witnesses. The engraver of the plates was the goldsmith Chanḍaḷhari and the scribe Devaka Tribhogika. As the grant was made by a Corporation, the usual verses of appeal to future rulers for the preservation of the gift are naturally not cited here.

Dantidurga was the first great ruler of the Later Rāshṭrakūṭa Dynasty. He was preceded by the following five princes whose names are mentioned in some early records. The reign-periods given below ear approximate.

Dantivarman
(A.D. 620-630)
|
Indra I
(A.D. 630-650)
|
Govinda I
(A.D. 650-670)
|
Karka I
(A.D. 670-690)
|
Indra II
(A.D. 690-710)

Indra II was followed by Dantidurga (*circa* A.D. 710-755). This family originally hailed from the Aurangabad District and seems to have first owed allegiance to the Chālukyas of Badami. Dantidurga was the first great ruler who made several conquests and raised the prestige of his family.

1. The name of this King appears here as *Dantiyadurga.*

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Only three records of the reign of Dantidurga have been discovered till now—of which one is a cave inscription and the other two copper-plate grants. The former is in the Daśāvatār Cave at Ellora and records Dantidurga's victories over the rulers of Kāñchī, Kosala, Kaliṅga, Śrīśaila, Mālava, Ṭanka and Lāṭa. Of the copper-plate inscriptions one was found in the fort of Samangad in the former Kolhapur State.[2] It is dated in the Śaka year 675 (A.D. 753). On account of the developed forms of letters and the decimal figures used therein, it is regarded as spurious. The second copper-plate inscription was found at Ellora.[3] Its date has been differently read. Mr. S. K. Dikshit, who has edited it, reads it as 663, which he refers to the Śaka era and takes as equivalent to A.D. 741. I have stated elsewhere[4] the reasons for reading it as 463, which I refer to the Kalachuri era and take as corresponding to A.D. 715. The present grant dated in the year 671, evidently of the Śaka Saṁvat, corresponding to A.D. 749-50, is the last record of Dantidurga's reign. He must have died soon thereafter; for only nine years later, his uncle and successor Kṛishṇa I granted the Bopkal plates in the Śaka year 680 (A.D. 758-59).

Though the present inscription is thus the last record of Dantidurga's reign, it does not mention any of his victories; for it was issued not by him but by the Corporation of the city of Śrīpura. It mentions his birudas *Pṛithivīvallabha* and Khaḍgāvaloka, which are also noticed in the earlier Ellora plates. Curious as it might appear, Dantidurga is described herein as one who had won the right to the five musical instruments. Such description is usually noticed in the case of feudatory princes and not of paramount sovereigns.

The present inscription is, however, important in several respects. It clearly shows that at Śrīpura in Konkan there was a temple dedicated to the god Brahmā, who was worshipped therein in the form of his foot-prints (*pādamūlas*). Temples of Brahmā are rarely mentioned. There is still a famous temple of Brahmā at the holy place of Pushkara near Ajmer, but generally the images of Brahmā are seen on the outer walls of temples dedicated to other gods like Vishṇu or Śiva. It is interesting to note that there was a temple of Brahmā at Śrīpura in North Konkan, which testifies to the cult of that god flourishing there in the 8th century A.D.

Another interesting information furnished by the present record is that the grant was made not by a king or a royal officer but by the Mahājana (Corporation) of the city of Śrīpura. The Corporation evidently consisted of the representatives of the city and managed the civic

2. *IA*, vol. XI, pp. 12 f.
3. *EI*, vol. XXV, pp. 25 f.
4. *JBBRAS*, N. S., vol. XXVI, pp. 163 f.

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affairs including charitable endowments of the city. It had evidently proprietary rights over the surrounding villages, of which it could donate one or more for charitable purposes. Such references to gifts of whole villages made by Corporations are rarely noticed. One such instance is the gift of the whole village Dhambhika made by the people of Nasik as recorded in a Nasik Cave inscription.[1] Another similar gift is recorded in an inscription discovered at Ukkal in South India.[2] It mentions that the Corporation of the place granted a village to a local temple and thereby renounced its right to levy taxes and to claim forced labour from that village.

This grant sheds also important light on the history of Konkan. The Chālukya prince Vinayāditya-Mangalarasa was ruling in Konkan from his capital Maṅgalapurī, which he himself had evidently founded, but the exact location of which has not yet been determined. As stated before, one of his grants dated in the Śaka year 613 (A.D. 691) has been discovered at Manor itself. That he continued to rule till the Śaka year 653 (A.D. 731-32) is known from another of his grants discovered at Balsaḍ in Gujarat. Soon thereafter, Konkan seems to have been conquered by Dantidurga; for at the time of the grant of the present plates (A. D. 749-50) it was governed by Aniruddha, who, in the absence of a title like *Sāmanta* or *Māṇḍalika*, seems to have been only a Governor appointed by Dantidurga. About 50 years later in *circa* A.D. 800 the Rāshṭrakūṭas made over Konkan to the Śilāhāra prince Kapardin I, whose descendants remained loyal to their suzerains to the last.

The present inscription mentions only two place-names *viz.* Śripura and Tambasāhika. Sripura is called also Śrīnagara in line 12. There is no place exactly corresponding to it in the vicinity of Manor. Perhaps Śrigaon on the sea-shore, about 14 miles west of Manor and 4 miles from Palghar, represents ancient Śrīpura. It is said to have an old fort and therefore seems to have been a place of some importance in former times. Tambasāhikā may be Tamsāhi which, according to the information supplied by Mr. D. D. Vaze of Ambarnath, lies about 2 miles from Manor. I have not, however, been able to trace it on the Survey of India maps available to me.

TEXT[1]

First Plate

1. सिद्धम्[2] स्वस्ति [1*] संवत्सरशतेषु षट्सु एका (क) सप्तत्यधिकेषु सं
2. ६०० ७० १ समधिगतपंचमहाशद्धप्रिं (पृ) थीवीवल्लभख—

1. Cf. *Nāsikakānaṁ Dhambhika-gamasa dānaṁ* in Lüders' List, No. 1142.
2. *South Indian Inscriptions*, vol. III, pt. I.
1. From ink impressions kindly sent by Mr. Krishna Dev.
2. Expressed by a symbol.

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3. ङ्गावलोक श्रीदन्तियदुर्ग्गराज[3]प्रवर्द्धमानराज्ये तत्पा—
4. दानुद्धचातो(त) श्रि (श्री)अनिरुद्धप्रभुज्यमाने श्रीपुर(रे) भगवतो
5. ब्रह्मण $^{v}_{\Lambda}$ पादमूले तत्रि(त्र)त्यत्रैविद्यमहाजनप्रमुख—
6. बोडवर्म्मभोगिकदुग्ग(र्ग) भोगिकदेवम्मभोगिकगोवियसं—

SECOND PLATE

7. गभोगिकगोवियप्रमुखमहाजनेन कौण्डिन्यसगोत्रस्वामिध—
8. र्म्मभट्टतत्पादानुद्धचातबादडिभोगिककारितबादेश्वरदेवायतनाय
9. श्रीपुरविषयो(या)न्तर्ग्गततंबसाहिकाग्रामो (म:) खण्डस्फुटितसंस्कारा [र्थं] उ—
10. दकपूर्व्वकेण दक्तः (त्तः।) तत्कालेपि गच्छता[4] न कैश्चिव्या(द्व्या) सेध: कार्य्य: [1*] य—
11. $^{\text{क}}$श्चिक्कुबु [ब्या] [द्व्या] वमानी विवदते[5] स पंचभिर्म्महापांतकै: संयुक्तो भव—
12. ति [1*] संगभोगिकसंगआचडिवैखकुण्णम्म-श्रीनगरप्रमु [ख*] दत्तबो[6]—
13. दडिभोगिकोत्र सामान्या[7]॥ सोनारचण्डहरि । लिखितं चेदं देवकत्रि—
14. भोगिकेण [1*]

3. Read दन्तिदुर्ग्गराज—
4. Read तत्काले गच्छति
5. The *mātrā* on this letter is cancelled.
6. Perhaps —श्रीनगरप्रमुखैर्दत्तम् is intended. Or दत्तबोदडि may be the name of a person.
7. Read भोगिका अत्र सामान्याः।

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THE INITIAL YEAR OF SĀTAVĀHANA RULE

Dr. M. Rama Rao

The chronology of the Āndhra-Sātavāhanas is a knotty problem and has evoked much controversy. Several conflicting views have been expressed by scholars regarding the duration of Sātavāhana rule and its initial year. This problem has received the attention of some writers recently and their views deserve careful examination.

Dr. D. C. Sircar suggests that the rule of the Sātavāhanas commenced in 30 B.C. taking his stand on the Purāṇas which mention that Simuka, the first king, slew Suśarman, the last Kāṇva king. He also holds that the total duration of Sātavāhana rule was 257 years and that this rule came to an end in 227 A.D. He states that the Nanaghat, Nasik, Sanchi and Hathigumpha inscriptions which mention early Sātavāhana rulers, all belong to a period subsequent to the commencement of the first century B.C.[1] and the end of this dynasty to 227 A.D.[2]

Prof. G. V. Rao,[3] and following him, Dr. O. Ramachandriah,[4] go to the other extremity and suggest that the rule of the Sātavāhanas commenced in 271 B.C. This view is based on the following suppositions—that it was Puḷumāvi I and not Simuka that killed Suśarman Kāṇva, that this Puḷumāvi had a reign of 15 years, that his predecessors from Simuka downwards ruled for 228 years, that Puḷumāvi overthrew Suśarman towards the end of his own reign, that the reign of Simuka commenced therefore in (228 + 15 + 28 B.C. =) 271 B.C., that the Sātakarṇi mentioned in the Hathigumpha inscription was Sātakarṇi II of the Purāṇic lists and that this Sātakarṇi lived in 181 B.C.

Dr. Radhakumud Mookerji ascribes the beginning of Sātavāhana rule to 30 B.C. and its end to 250 A.D.[6]

1. *The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 195.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 206.
3. *JIH*, 1949.
4. *Sir Jadunath Sircar Commemoration Volume*, pp. 222-251.
5. *History of South India*, pp. 89-90.
6. *Ancient India* (1956).

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The suggestion of a very late date, like 28 B.C. or 30 B.C., for the commencement of the rule of the Sātavāhanas is due to the fact that the writers who hold this view refuse to take into consideration (1) the unanimous testimony of the Purāṇas, whatever the details given by them may be, that there were thirty kings and a total duration of four and a half centuries of their rule; (2) the statement of the *Vāyu* that it mentions only important kings[7] and (3) the statement of the *Matsya* that the Āndhras were *paulomas*,[8] implying in a supplementary way that it gives full information from Puḷumāvi onwards. This unanimous testimony of the Purāṇas is discarded and the shorter list of kings and the shorter duration of their rule are taken into consideration just in order to fit in that short duration of Sātavāhana rule between 30 B.C. and the end of the first quarter of the third century A.D. This view cannot be accepted. It cannot, for example, explain Sātavāhana-Sunga rivalry for the possession of Mālava and central India which is indicated by the *Mālavikāgnimitra* and the Sanchi inscription of Sātakarṇi II. Even the *Vāyupurāṇa* assigns 23 years to Simuka, 18 years to his brother, Kṛṣṇa, and 56 years to Sātakarṇi II, thus placing the last king about 11-67 A.D. The Sungas did not flourish at this date. Again, according to the Vāyu, 219 years elapsed between the commencement of the reign of Simuka and that of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi. If this period is calculated from 30 B.C. the beginning of the reign of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi has to be ascribed to (219-30 =) 189 A.D. This date is against the unquestionable evidence of epigraphy and numismatics. Further, the Vāyu gives a total of 275 years for the duration of Sātavāhana rule and if this period is calculated from 30 B.C., we obtain 245 A.D. for the end of Sātavāhana rule. This date is rendered impossible by well established facts of contemporary history. For these very strong reasons the view of Drs. Sircar and Mookerji that the rule of the Sātavāhanas commenced in 30 or 28 B.C. cannot be accepted.

Then there is the other view that the Hathigumpha inscription of Khāravēla is later than the commencement of the first century B.C. and that this ruler of Kaḷinga and the Sātakarṇi mentioned in the inscription flourished therefore in the first century B.C. This inscription has been studied carefully and assigned, on grounds of paleography and historical synchronisms, to the first century B.C. and preferably to its earlier half.[9] There is no reason to doubt the validity of this ascription. There is the connected view that the Sātakarṇi of this record is Sātakarṇi II of the Purāṇic lists. This view also is untenable. The *Yugapurāṇa* states[10] that after the death of Oḍraka of the Sunga

7. *Prādhānyataḥ pravakṣyāni.*
8. Pargiter, *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p. 58; *JBORS*, III, p. 248.
9. *EI*, XX, pp. 73-77.
10. *JBORS*, XVI pp. 18-66.

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family, the Śakas occupied Pataliputra, that three Śaka kings ruled over the city for at least seven years, that they then invaded Kaḷinga, then under the rule of a Sātarāja, and that this Sātarāja destroyed the Śakas and held sway over Pataliputra for ten years. This Sātarāja may be identified with a Sātakarṇi because *Sāta* is a well-known contraction of Sātakarṇi. It follows that a Sātakarṇi was the ruler of Kaḷinga about ten years after the death of the Sunga king, Oḍraka and that he flourished in the early half of the first century B.C. Everybody is agreed about assigning an inscription on the southern gateway of Sanchi which mentions a Sātakarṇi to this period. This Sātakarṇi may then be identified with the Sātarāja of the *Yugapurāna*. It is evident then that Khāravēla could not have ruled over Kaḷinga at this time and that this Sātakarṇi or Sātakarṇi II of the Purāṇic lists could not be his contemporary. Khāravēla's contemporary must be taken to be Sātakarṇi I.

Then there is the suggestion that 271 B.C. marks the commencement of Sātavāhana rule. There are serious objections to our accepting this view. There is no evidence to show that Pulumāvi I killed Kāṇva Suśarman towards the end of his own reign. According to the *Kathāsaritsāgara*, Suśarman was a feudatory of Kuntaḷa Sātakarṇi, the predecessor of Pulumāvi I. Pulumāvi could therefore have overthrown Suśarman even at the beginning of his own reign. The addition of 15 years, presuming that Pulumāvi ruled for that period, thus becomes unnecessary. If these 15 years are cut we have the Vāyu total of 228 years. If this period is calculated from 30 B.C. we obtain 258 B.C. for the commencement of the rule of Simuka and not 271 B.C. Since the *Vāyu* gives a shorter duration its total cannot be relied upon in this connection. The *Matsya* which contains a fuller list gives an interval of 192 years betwen the commencement of Simuka's reign and that of Pulumāvi I. This would place the commencement of Sātavāhana rule in (192 + 30 +) 220 B.C. Another serious objection to this view can also be mentioned. Aśoka, the great Mauryan emperor, is known to have flourished between 273-236 B.C.[11] His edicts indicate that the entire Deccan was included in his dominions. The Āndhras are mentioned as living in his empire—*ITTHA RĀJAVIṢAYB*. The label inscription under the figure of Simuka in the Naneghat cave describes Simuka with the title *Rājan*. The Purāṇas also state the same thing. It is impossible that Simuka could have flourished as an independent king during the lifetime of Aśoka and conquered Maharashtra and contracted a matrimonial alliance with the Mahāraṭhis. Further, the discovery of four coins of an independent Sātavāhana king, named Sātavāhana or Sadavahana, shows that Simuka was not the first king of this family. If this Sātavāhana is taken to be Simuka's predecessor,

11. *The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 71.

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and he seems to be so, he has to be assigned to the period of Maurya Bindusāra's rule. This Bindusāra is supposed to have been the conqueror of the Deccan. Thus the date 271 B.C. for the commencement of Sātavāhana rule cannot therefore be accepted as correct.

The only satisfactory solution of this problem is what I have suggested previously,[12] *i.e.* to consider 221 B.C. as the starting point of Sātavāhana rule. This date is derived in two ways—(1) by calculating the *Matsya* total of 192 years from 28 B.C. and (2) by calculating the *Matsya* total of 352 years from 130 A.D. the last year of Pulumāvi II. The first calculation gives 220 B.C. and the second gives 222 B.C. Simuka's reign may be reasonably taken to have commenced in 221 B.C. Then there was his predecessor, king Sātavāhana. This king may be ascribed to the interval between the death of Aśoka and the commencement of the reign of Simuka *i.e.* 236 B.C. to 221 B.C. Thus it is evident that the rule of the Sātavāhanas commenced in 236 B.C., immediately after the death of Aśoka Maurya.

12. *Satavahana Commemoration Volume*, p. 51.

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KUṢĀṆA POLITY

Dr. R. S. Sharma

After more than two centuries of disintegration following the fall of the Maurya empire the Kuṣāṇas restored the partial political unity of Northern India and maintained it for about more than a century. But the Kuṣāṇa political organization did not possess that rigid centralization which characterised the Maurya administrative machinery. The inscriptions and, to some extent, the coins, which form the chief source of our study of the Kuṣāṇa polity, do not give any indication of the existence of numerous state officials, who are known from the epigraphs of Aśoka and the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya. The one striking difference between the Maurya and the Kuṣāṇa rulers is the use of grandiloquent titles by the latter. In the beginning Kujūla Kadphises, the founder of the Kuṣāṇa power in India, is described as a small chief (yavuga), but, with the expansion of their power, he and other Kuṣāṇa rulers use such titles as *mahārāja*, *rājātirāja* (*Sel. Inscrs.*, p. 149, No. 51, 1·2, cf. p. 124). Both these titles were used by the Parthian (*ibid.*, p. 123) rulers Gondopharnes and Azilises, who flourished in the first half of the first century A.D. (*ibid.*, p. 110), although in comparison with the Kuṣāṇa successors their power was very limited. The earliest epigraphic mention of the title *mahārāja* is to be found in the first century B.C. Hāthīgumphā Inscription of Khāravela, where his ancestor Mahāmeghavāhana is described as a mahārāja (p. 1). But the title *rājātirāja*, although Indian in form, was of foreign extraction and was apparently derived by the Kuṣāṇas from their Parthian predecessors, who adopted it from the Achæmenians. The first Parthian king to use the title 'King of Kings' was Mithridates II, 123-88 B.C. (*CII*, II, i, p. xxix). This seems to have been imitated by the Śaka chief Maues (*ibid.*) after 88 B.C., and was also used by the Parthian rulers now and then. A Jain text, the *Kālakācārya-kathānaka*, which seems to contain genuine traditions about the first appearance of the Śakas in India (*CII*, II, i, pp. xxvi-ii), uses the prakritised form *rāyāhirāya* in the case of a Śaka ṣāhi (Ed. H. Jacobi, *ZDMG*, 1880, p. 266, verse 62). Since lesser rulers such as the Śaka, and especially the Parthian, styled themselves as *rājātirāja* and *mahārāja*, these titles should not be taken to betoken greater royal authority. This also applies to the case of the

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Kuṣāṇas. Undoubtedly Aśoka's empire was far greater and his authority far stronger, yet he remained satisfied with the simple title of *rājā*. Therefore the above Kuṣāṇa titles perhaps betray a tendency towards decentralization rather than the exaltation of royal authority, as has been suggested by some scholars (Raychaudhury, *PHAI*, 5th end., p. 518; cf. Choshal, *Mauryas and Satavahanas*, p. 344). Such titles take notice of the existence of lesser kings and chiefs who stood in the relation of feudatories to the sovereign power, for the king is called *mahārāja* or the great king in relation to other kings (*rājās*), who do not enjoy that position. Similarly he is called *rājātirāja* or the supreme king of kings in relation to other subordinate kings in his Kingdom. Thus these titles indicate a feudatory organization consisting of tributary states or chiefs.

The rulers belonging to the Kaniṣka group generally prefixed to their names a title *ṣāhi*, (*Lüders' List*, Nos. 21, 69a, 72, 149a, 161; *Sel. Inscrs.*, i, 146, 1.10). The title appears as *shaonano shao* on the coin-legends of Kaniṣka and his successors (*CCIM*, i, pp. 69, 75-9, 84). The sanskritised form of the title, *ṣāhānu ṣāhi*, appeared in the famous Allahabad Inscription of Samudra Gupta. Although this epithet was ultimately derived from the Persian source, we are not certain about the intermediary from whom the Kuṣāṇa rulers adopted this title. Since the title on the coin-legends is written in pure Khotanī Śaka language (*CII*, II, i, p. lii), and ascribed in its prakritised form, *sāhāṇu sāhi*, to the Śakas by the *Kālakācārya-kathānaka* (*ZDMG*, 1880, p. 262, 11.35-36), most probably the Kuṣāṇas derived it from their Śaka predecessors, whom they supplanted in the area near about Mohenjo-daro. The administrative and political significance of this title can be brought out from the context in which it is used in the above-mentioned Jain text. It informs us (*ibid.*, p. 267 ff.) that the Jain teacher, Kālaka, whose sister was abducted by Gardabhilla, King of Ujjayinī, went to the *Śaka Kula*. There the feudatories (sāmanta) were called *sāhi* and their overlord (*sāmantāhivai*) *sāhāṇu sāhi*. Kālaka stayed with one of the sāhis, and as this chief together with ninety-five other sāhis fell into disgrace with the *sāhāṇu sāhi*, he induced them to proceed to Saurāṣṭra, which they divided among themselves. When the autumn came, the Jain teacher led them on to Ujjayinī, where Gardabhilla was made prisoner. A sāhi was established as overking (rāyāhirāya), and this led to the establishment of the Śaka dynasty. This story reveals three distinct elements in the Śaka polity, which seems to have been adopted by the Kuṣāṇas. Firstly, the ṣāhis were not independent kings who had been subjugated but chiefs who stood in the relation of feudatories to the great lord (*sāmantāhivai*). Secondly, the ṣāhis belonged to the same tribe as the ṣāhānuṣāhi, and, hence the overlord was only the first among the equals. Thirdly, as a natural corollary to this the allegiance of the ṣāhis to their overlord

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rested on a slender basis, and at the slightest provocation they could withdraw their allegiance from him and seek their fortunes independently. We have some information about the nature of obligations of the ṣāhis towards their overlord. In A.D. 90 the Yüe-chi sent their viceroy Sie, *i.e.* according to M. Sylvain Lévi a ṣāhi, to attack Pan chao, who, however, succeeded in defeating him (quoted in *CII*, II, i, p. lxxii). This shows that to render military aid to the overlord was an important obligation of the ṣāhi. Unfortunately the existing data neither mention the names of the lesser rājās, ṣāhis, etc. nor indicate the nature of their relations with their Kuṣāṇa overlord. But for a conquering minority from outside the feudatory organization was apparently a suitable form of political system.

The feudatory character of the Kuṣāṇa political system can be also inferred from some other titles. Thus the title *mahīśvara* adopted by Wema Kadphises II (*Sel. Inscrs.*, I, p. 123) means the great lord. The title *sarvaloka-iśvara* (*ibid.*) means the lord of the whole world. Although these titles were not adopted by the Kaniṣka group of Kuṣāṇa rulers, they were different in spirit. Significantly enough the generally prevalent Kuṣāṇa titles such as *rājātirāja* and *ṣāhi* were not adopted by indigenous rulers, but the term *Iśvara* associated with the titles of the Kadphises group came to be common with post-Gupta rulers, who styled themselves as *parmeśvara*, the supreme lord.

At one stage the Kuṣāṇas were influenced by the Roman system of administration inasmuch as Kaniṣka adopted the stile of *Kaiser* (*ibid.*, p. 149, No. 51, 11.1-2), which was obviously used to challenge Roman power. But this was superficial imitation. They do not seem to have been influenced by the Roman system of provincial administration, which was an important Roman achievement. The Kuṣāṇas could not evolve any sound provincial system either on Maurya or Roman lines. It is doubtful whether they exercised any direct administrative control over any sizable part of their territories. The Sārnāth Buddhist Image Inscription of the year 3 (11.1-10) of Kaniṣka I (A.D. 81 ?) refers to the rule of two kṣatrapas Vanaspara and Kharapallāna, ruling over the eastern-most province, including the Benares region of Kaniṣka's empire (*ibid.*, p. 132, fn. 4). That there prevailed the system of dual kingship in some parts of Northern India in earlier times is known from Greek and Jain sources. But the Kuṣāṇas seem to have introduced the curious practice of dual governorship in a province. Apparently it was intended that one kṣatrapa would act as a check on the power of the other. But probably Vanaspara and Kharpallāna could not remain on the same footing for long, since in another inscription the former is mentioned as a *kṣatrapa* and the latter as a *mahākṣatrapa* (*Sārnāth Inscr.* No. 2, 11, p. 1-2, *Sel. Inscrs.*, I, p. 133).

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What led to this change is difficult to say. Perhaps this was more in keeping with the hierarchical organization in the feudatory system than the equal position of the two kṣatrapas. The *mahākṣatrapa* (the great satrap) was made, as it were, the overlord of the *kṣatrapa* who assisted him in the work of administration. The names of Vanaspara and Kharpallāna clearly show that they were foreigners. It is suggested that they were the descendants of the Śaka *mahākṣatrapa* Ṣoḍāsa of Mathurā, and retained in their position by the Kuṣāṇas (S. K. Chattopodhyaya, *Early History of Northern India*, Calcutta, 1958, p. 84). If we accept this suggestion it would mean that even the kṣatrapas were not directly appointed by the Kuṣāṇa king but were reinstated in their position as vanquished chiefs. This may have been true in some cases, in other cases the kṣatrapas may have been appointed directly. At any rate it is clear that generally the scions of the ruling family were appointed to this position, thus in one case the son of a mahārāja was appointed a kṣatrapa (Taxila Silver Vase Inscr. of Jihnika, year 191, A.D. 134?, *Sel. Inscrs.*, p. 131, No. 36) probably in North-western India. The inscriptions do not give us sufficient idea about the functions of the kṣatrapas. As individuals they erected images of the Buddha as in the case of Vanaspara and Kharpallāna, or established several relics of the Buddha as in the case of kṣatrapa Veśpasi (*ibid.*, p. 138, No. 43, 11.2-4), who had appointed a donation master for this purpose. Except this they do not give any indication of the civil functions of the kṣatrapa as a governor.

The kṣatrapas exercised their powers through military officers, who seem to have occupied an important position in Kuṣāṇa polity. During the reign of Kaniṣka we hear of *daṇḍanāyaka* Lala, who served kṣatrapa Veśpasi as his donation master (*CII*, II, i, No. 76, 11.2-3). This military officer was a scion of the ruling family, for he is described as ' the increaser of the Kuṣāṇa race ' (*ibid.*, 1.2). Besides a Mathurā inscription apparently ascribable to Kuṣāṇa times mentions *mahādaṇḍanāyaka* Vālina (*Lüders' List*, No. 60). Another Mathurā inscription mentions a *mahādaṇḍanāyaka*, whose son served under Huviṣka (*JRAS*, 1924, p. 402, 1.5). Thus just as on the civil side, if we may so call it, we hear of *rājā* and *mahārāja*, *kṣatrapa* and *mahakṣatrapa* on the military side we hear of *daṇḍanāyaka* and *mahādaṇḍanāyaka*, a feature which seems to be in tune with the prevalent hierarchy. Thus the names of the Kuṣāṇa functionaries do not suggest any territorial or functional associations as we find in the case of Maurya functionaries but indicate a graded hierarchy of the same type of officers, the one being superior and the other subordinate.

As regards territorial units of administration under the Kuṣāṇas, the Allahabad Inscription of Samudra Gupta mentions the existence of *viṣaya*, *bhukti*, etc. The existence of the latter is not corroborated by

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any source and hence may have been a projection of Gupta units into Kuṣāṇa times, but that of the former is attested by a Buddhist Hahāyānist text of the third century A.D., which, while, defining a *devaputra*, refers to kings ruling in viṣayas (*JA*, 1934, p. 3). In the post-Maurya and Gupta inscriptions such units are generally mentioned in connection with land grants, which have not been found so far in the case of the Kuṣāṇa kings. We get, however, some idea of the revenue system of the Kuṣāṇas from the prevalence of the *akṣayanīvi* tenure during this period. The Mathurā Stone Inscription of Huviṣka (year 28 = A.D. 106 ?) refers to two gifts, one of *puṇyaśālā* (*Sel. Inscrs.*, I, p. 146, 11.1-3) and the other of 500 *purāṇas*, (*ibid.*, 11.11-12), according to the *akṣayanīvi* system, which means that these endowments were made on a permanent basis. During this period endowments of money were also made in Mahārāṣṭra according to the same system, as we learn from the Nāsik Cave Inscription of the time of Nahapāna (*ibid.*, I, p. 157, No. 58, 1.1), who was probably a kṣatrapa under Kaniṣka in the eraly part of his starapal rule. Land grants according to this system, which meant numerous exemptions in revenue, became frequent in the Gupta period. From the first century B.C. onwards we have epigraphic evidence of land grants made by the Sātavāhana rulers, but we have no such epigraphic examples in the case of Northern India. In all likelihood it was under the Kuṣāṇas that the practice of making grants according to the *akṣayanīvi* tenure was extended to land in Northern India. It seems that because of foreign conquest and occupation land came to be treated more and more as private possession, and hence it came to be regarded more and more partable. But the prevalence of this practice meant great loss in revenues to the state. There is, however, another aspect of the gifts sanctioned by the Kuṣāṇa and Sātavāhava rulers. Money endowments according to this system, both in the north and south, suggest that during the first two centuries of the Christian era money economy was in a very flourishing state. Money lending seems to have been sanctioned by religion, for religious needs were to be met out of the interest of money endowments. This fact together with the large number of copper coins attributable to Kuṣāṇas may lead us to think that revenues were largely realised in cash. In spite of money economy, which could have enabled the Kuṣāṇas to maintain their authority over the lesser lords, the practice of permanent grants, and the feudatory organization, were bound to set in motion the tendencies towards decentralization.

Perhaps the centrifugal forces were counterbalanced by the proclaimed association of divine elements with the ruler. Despite the fact that most Kuṣāṇa rulers were Buddhists, they tried to deify themselves by adopting the title of *devaputra* (son of God) and instituting the dead king's cult. The deification of the king was foreign to Buddhist theories of the origin of kingship as enunciated in the *Dīgha Nikāya*

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and hardly in accord with the early brāhmaṇical theories. Although the coronation formulas of the later Vedic period refer to prayers to various gods for conferring their respective qualities on the king, they nowhere describe him as the son of God. On the contrary the Vedic coronation formulas clearly mention the human parents of the king. In subsequent times the *Arthaśāstra* makes skilful use of religion for strengthening royal authority (*JBRS*, XL, 1954, pp. 223-31), but it does not lend divinity to the office of the king. The Buddhist ruler Aśoka prided himself on being called the *devānāmpriya*, dear to gods, a title which was continued by Dásaratha, the grandson of Aśoka (*Lüders' List*, Nos. 954-6), but it was abandoned in post-Maurya times when the title *devaputra*, mentioned in 21 Brāhmī (according to *Lüders' List*) and 3 Kharoṣṭhī (according to Konow's List) inscriptions seems to have been as popular with the Kuṣāṇa rulers as *devānāmpriya* with Aśoka ; the title *devavrata*, devoted to God, was confined to the Parthian king Gondopharnes (*Sel. Inscrs.*, I, p. 123).

Once the title *devaputra* had been adopted by the Kuṣāṇa rulers, theoretical justification came to be provided in a near contemporary Mahāyānist Buddhist text, *Savarṇaprābhāsottamā-sūtra*, to which attention was first drawn by Sylvain Lévi (*JA*, CCXIV, 1934, p. 1 ff.). Here the question is asked why a king born as a man is called God (deva) and why he is styled the son God (devaputra).[1] The answer is that before being born as a man he was living among the gods, and that, because the thirty-three gods (each) contributed to his substance, therefore he is called ' god-son.'[2] A similar explanation of divine origin of the king in the *Manu Smṛti* and the *Sānti Parvan* was probably inspired by Kuṣāṇa associations. Unlike the *Savarṇaprabhāsottama-sutra*. Manu does not use the term *devaputra* for a king but states that the king is vested with the respective attributes of eight gods (VII. 7), and asserts that even if a child the king should not be disregarded for he functions as a great divinity in the form of a human being (VII. 8). The *Śānti Parvan*, which has many verses in common with Manu and which poses the question regarding the origin of kingship practically in the same manner as the abovementioned Buddhist source, represents the original king to be the descendant of God (59th chapter in the Poona Critical edn.). Thus these three texts, one Buddhist and the other two brāhmaṇical, impart such divine character to the king as he never enjoyed before, and in all these cases the inspiration seems to have come from the Kuṣāṇa side. But the Kuṣāṇa royal title *devaputra* was not

1. *katham manuṣyasaṃbhūto rája devas tu procyate, kena ca hetunā rāja devaputras tu procyate.* Quoted by F. W. Thomas in *B. C. Law Volume* II, p. 313.

2. *devendrāṇām adhiṣṭhāne mātuḥ kukṣau praveksyati, purvam adhiṣṭhito devaiḥ paścād garbhe prapadyate. kim cāpi mānuṣe loke jāyate, śrīyate nṛpaḥ ; api vai devasambhūto devaputraḥ sa ucyate. trayastriṃśair devarājendrair, bhāgo datto nṛpasya hi ; putrastvaṃ sahadevānāṃ nirmito manujeśvaraḥ.*

JA, 1934, pp. 3-4.

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in accord with Indian tradition, and hence it did not find favour with other Indian rulers, subsequent or contemporary.

It has been contended by F. W. Thomas that *devaputra* was not an official title of the Kuṣāṇa rulers but a complimentary epithet given to them by their subjects (op. cit., pp. 305-320), a view accepted by U. N. Ghoshal in the *Mauryas and Satavahanas* (p. 345). Taking the hint from Lévi Thomas successfully establishes that *devaputras* are mentioned in earlier Indian literature and that they form a class of divinites (op. cit., pp. 306-310). But the use of the term in earlier literature as 'god-son' or as 'a class of divinity' does not preclude it from being used in a special sense by the Kuṣāṇa rulers. That *devaputra* was used to emphasise the divinity of the Kuṣāṇa rulers can be inferred from its justification given in the *Suvarṇaprabhāsottama-sūtra* and the explanation of the divine origin in near contemporary texts on polity. Thomas argues that this title cannot be regarded as official, for it does not occur in Kuṣāṇa coins which contain the official titles such as *mahārāja* and *rājātirāja*. On the basis of his consultation with Allan he holds that Cunningham's reading of *devaputra* on a coin of Kuyala Kara Kaphsa is an error (*ibid.*, p. 307). Even if this is conceded we may note that all the titles cannot be accommodated in the coins due to lack of space. Perhaps *devaputra* was not considered so important a title as to find place in the coins to the exclusion of such other official titles as *mahārāja* and *rājatirāja*. Thomas' contention that in India the term *devaputra* was never used as an appellation of royalty except in reference to the Yue-chi (*ibid.*, p. 319). does not lend support to his theory. Several other Kuṣāṇa titles such as *rājātirāja ṣāhi, ṣāhānuṣāhi* were also not used by Indian rulers, but for that reason they cannot be dismissed as unofficial epithets of the Kuṣāṇas. Thomas points out that direct communications in Kharoṣṭhī from Chinese Turkestan mention *mahanuava* and *maharaya* as the titles of the king but omit *devaputra* (*ibid.*, p. 308). But this line of argument does not sustain his thesis since the other Kuṣāṇa official titles *rājātirāja* and *ṣāhānuṣāhi* are also not mentioned in the preliminary to these communications. In the face of Thomas' negative arguments, which only refer to the omission of *devaputra* in some sources, we have positive evidence to show that the title was used not only in India, but also in Central Asia, where it occurs in the Khotanese documents in Kharoṣṭhī, especially in datings (*CII*, II, i, p. lxxiv).[1] In the Kuṣāṇa inscriptions *devaputra* is mentioned along with other official titles, and hence it cannot be treated on a separate footing from them. Besides, it is applied to Huviṣka by a state official, who held the title or designation of *bakanapati* and who was the son of a *mahādaṇḍanāyaka* (*JRAS*, 1924, pp. 402-3). It is but natural that the officers would prefer to use only official titles. Further, the title *daiva-*

1. Unfortunately I have no information about the contents of the coins of Kaniṣka and Vāsudeva, which have been recently discovered in Russian Central Asia.

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putra appears along with other official titles in the famous Allahabad Inscription, which was drafted by Hariṣeṇa, the official scribe of Samudra Gupta. He should have made no mistake in adopting an appellation which was confined to the subjects and not officially favoured by the Kuṣāṇa rulers. Finally, the evidence of a Buddhist sūtra of the third century A.D. translated into Chinese in A.D. 392, in which the king of India and the king of Yueh-chih each are described as "son of Heaven" (op. cit., pp. 314-5), and the testimony of a Chinese source of the third century A.D., in which the king of Yueh-chih is described as the son of Heaven (*ibid.*, p. 318) are almost decisive, and Thomas himself finds it difficult to refute their testimony (op. cit., p. 319). Thus it is pretty clear that the title *devaputra* was officially adopted by the Kuṣāṇas. But perhaps Thomas is right in suggesting that this title was not of Chinese origin. If with Allan and Thomas we reject the reading *devaputra* on a coin of Wima Kadphises, it would appear that this title was peculiar only to the Kaniṣka group of Kuṣāna rulers, who completely supplanted the Parthian rule in north-western India in the second half of the first century A.D. Whatever might have been the source, Semitic or Hellenistic, it is undoubted that the two Parthian rulers Pharaates II and III, who flourished in the first half of the first century A.D. and were the immediate predecessors of the Kuṣāṇas, had adopted the title 'god-fathered' (*B. C. Law*, Vol. II, p. 305). Apparently when Parthia had been conquered by the early Kuṣāṇas, the titles and dominions alike were appropriated by Kaniṣka and his successors. As the explanations given in contemporary texts show, in course of time the title came to be used as an important political weapon.

The Kuṣāṇas followed the practice of erecting devakulas, in which the statues of the dead rulers were housed. The term *devakula* is recorded in the inscription on the colossal image of Wima (D. R. Sahni *JRAS*, 1924, p. 402), and we have further reference to the repair of the devakula of the grandfather of Huviṣka during the reign of the latter (*ibid.*, pp. 402-3). On the basis of the *Pratimānāṭaka* of Bhāsa the term *devakula* has rightly been interpreted to mean the place where statues were erected in honour of dead potentates (Jayaswal, *JBORS*, 1923, pp. 98-9., H. P. Shastri, *ibid.*, pp. 558-61). Further, on the strength of the same source it is argued that this structure was a temporal temple and not a place of worship (Jayaswal, *JBORS*, 1919, pp. 98-9). But the fact that the temple in the drama bore no flag, had no divine weapons and other signs of an ordinary temple (*ibid.*) merely suggests that it was not as important as regular temples. Much should not be made of the fact that in the drama the brāhmaṇa keeper prevents Bharata from bowing before the images of his ancestors. Here we have to bear in mind the argument of the keeper that a brāhmaṇa should not bow before kṣatriya sovereigns taking them to be gods (*JBORS*,

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1919, p. 560). This plea is obviously inspired by his class prejudices and is irrelevant to the kṣatriya Bharata. The term *devakula* clearly means ' deity-house, and what is more important the Mathurā inscription of Huviṣka shows that the repair of the dilapidated devakula of his grandfather by a state official was an act of religious merit intended for the increase of the life and strength of the *mahārāja rājātirāja devaputra* Huviṣka (*JRAS*, 1924, p. 402, 11.2-5 of the inscription). The prevalent method of seeking the physical and spiritual well-being of the king was to erect some *stūpa* over the relics of the Buddha or to perform similar other acts of piety. Obviously in this case also the physical welfare of the king was to be achieved by performing the religious act of the repair of the devakula of his ancestor. Moreover, from the last line of this inscription (*ibid.*, 1.6) it appears that something was done for the daily guests, and brāhmaṇas (*ibid.*, p. 403) who were evidently attached to the devakula as priests. Cases of such priests are to be found in the *devagaḍhs* of Rajputana (*JBORS*, 1919, p. 559).

From where did the Kuṣāṇas derive the practice of setting up devakulas? It is suggested that this system was taken over from the Romans practising it on the bank of the Tiber. (*PHAI*, 5th edn., p. 5). But the cult of the dead king was in vogue not only in ancient Mesopotamia, but also in Egypt where mortuary temples were built to enshrine the statues of the Pharoahs. Probably the Romans derived this idea from these predecessors and passed it on to the Kuṣāṇas either through direct commercial contacts or through some intermediaries. On the basis of the pre-Kauṭilyan date of Bhāsa it would be wrong to suppose that the practice prevailed in India from pre-Mauryan times (*JBORS*, 1919, p. 560) and therefore was adopted by the Kuṣāṇa rulers. The correct position seems to be different. Reference has been made to *devapitṛapujā* in Kauṭilya (ii. 6, *PHAI*, 5th ed., p. 517, fn. 2), but this does not imply that the statues of the pitaras were worshipped. Besides, Kauṭilya does not specifically refer to the worship of the dead kings. Obviously this practice was introduced by the Kuṣāṇa rulers, who have left several royal statues. The writings of Bhāsa, who seems to have flourished during the period, merely reflect the existing practice. Clearly the practice of erecting devakula was in keeping with the official title of *devaputra*, and both contributed to the apotheosis of the Kuṣāṇa kings. That the adoption of the title *devaputra* and establishment of devakulas by the Kuṣāṇas were deliberate devices to deify the kings can be deduced from the representation of divine aura round the busts of the kings on their coins. On the gold pieces of Kadphises II the shoulders of the king are surrounded by luminous rays of flames, and his bust appears to issue from the clouds like the gods of Greece. The nimbus appears on some pieces of Kaniṣka, but is much more frequent on certain gold pieces of Huviṣka, who is at once ornamented with nimbus,

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flames and clouds. Vāsudeva has simply the nimbus round his head.[1] We know that the nimbus or *prabhāmaṇḍala* was especially associated with the divinities represented on the coins of Kaniṣka and Huviṣka (*IA*, 1903, p. 428). Therefore it was in order to indicate their celestial origin that the Kuṣāṇa kings got themselves represented on their coins with the nimbus, auraole, clouds or flames (*ibid.*, p. 432).

The deification of the Kuṣāṇa king served to secure him the allegiance of the subjects, of which we have sufficient evidence in the religious gifts made by some officers and individuals. Thus a Kharoṣṭhī inscription from Taxila refers to the establishment of the relics of the Buddha in the Dharma-rājikā *stūpa* of Taxila by a Bactrian for the bestowal of health on an unnamed Kuṣāṇa emperor, who is described as *māharāja*, *rājātirāja* and *devaputra* (*Sel. Inscrs.*, I, p. 129, No. 34, 1.3). Similarly another Kharoṣṭhī inscription from Afghanistan speaks of the institution of the relics of Śākya Muni for the spiritual merit of *mahārāja rājātirāja* Huviṣka (*ibid.*, I, p. 153, 1.2). The practice of making gifts by individuals and state officers for the spiritual and physical benefit of the rulers never took root in Northern India, but it continued among the later Kuṣāṇas of the north-west frontier. Thus a monastery (vihāra) was erected by a vihārasvāmin named Roṭa-Siddha-Vrddhi not only for the benefit of his relatives but also for that of the queen, princes and princesses of mahārāja Toramāṇa Shāh Jaūvla (*Lüders' List*, No. 5).

The Kuṣāṇa claim to divine power was accompanied by the unambiguous declaration of the religion they professed. The coins, which are always considered an important insignia of sovereignty, clearly indicate the faith to which they belonged. Thus the Kuṣāṇa *yavuga* Kujala Kasa, identified with Kadphises I, calls himself *dhramathidasa* (*Sel. Inscrs.*, I, 108, No. 19), a title which also occurs as *sacadhramathitasa* on the other coins of the Kuṣāṇas. This apparently refers to their devotion to the dharma of the Buddha. Besides, we have representation of Śiva on their coins (*ibid.*, p. 125, fn. 3; p. 155). But in spite of their proclaimed devotion to Buddhism or Śaivism the Kuṣāṇas never adopted a policy of religious persecution. On the other hand they seem to have worshipped numerous gods, Greek, Iranian and Indian, who are represented on the coins of Huviṣka (*CCIM*, I, pp. 76-84). Under their rule Mathurā was an important centre of Jainism, as would appear from the large number of the gifts of Jain images made there by lay and clerical votaries in the reigns of Kaniṣka and Huviṣka. Similarly the brāhmaṇical sacrificial religion was also tolerated. An inscription mentions the setting up of the

1. M. E. Drouin, "The Nimbus and Signs of Deification on the Coins of the Indo-Skythian Kings", *Revue Numismatigue*, 1901, pp. 154-66, tr. *IA*, XXXII, 1903, pp. 427.

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sacrificial post (yūpa) by a brāhmaṇa of the Bhāradvāja gotra after having performed a *sattra* of twelve nights (*Lüders' List.*, No. 191a). Apparently it was a policy of live and let live. But since the Kuṣāṇas showed preference for Buddhism possibly this contributed to brāhmaṇical resurgence under the Guptas, who took the place of the Kuṣāṇa power in Northern India within half a century of the end of their rule.

The above sketch of the Kuṣāṇa polity, though inadequate on account of lack of material, would show that the Kuṣāṇas introduced certain new elements in Indian polity. Some of them such as the practice of making gifts for the spiritual or physical well-being of the king, and the dual governorship in the provinces did not find suitable soil in India. But the idea of the divinity of the king made some impression on later rulers, for Samudra Gupta is compared to four different gods. Again, the office of the *mahādaṇḍanāyaka* and the practice of making land grants according to the *akṣayanīvi* tenure became regular features of the Gupta policy. Above all, the main characteristics of the Kuṣāṇa political system, namely the organization of hierarchical feudatory system, seems to have been adopted by Samudra Gupta in his imperial organization.

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THE GOLD CONTENT OF THE COINS OF THE KUSHĀNAS, THE KUSHĀNA CHIEFS, AND THE SĀSĀNIANS IN THE INDIAN MUSEUM, CALCUTTA

Dr. Sachindra Kumar Maity

The gold coins of the Kushāṇas, the Kushāṇas Chiefs and the Sāsānians offer very interesting side-light on the economic and political life of the day. For this purpose we have thoroughly studied all the gold coins of the Indian Museum, Calcutta. But unfortunately we have to reject some of them, which are attached with a ring or a hole inside.[1] Due to the negligence of the authorities concerned a few of them are missing from the cabinet. So the number of the coins utilised in this paper will not fully agree with the total number of V. A. Smith. In testing the coins we had the valuable assistance of Mr. Bose and Miss Khatun of the coin department, Indian Museum, Calcutta. Thus, a careful study of 99 coins of the Kushāṇas and others has thrown some fresh light on many problems of the Kushāṇas history.

From the point of view of gold content we may group our coins in the following categories :—

Group A

Imperial Kushāṇas

		Grains
1.	Kadphesis II	119·0
2.	Kanishka I	117·5
3.	Huvishka (= ? I gr. A.)	115·3
4.	Huvishka (= ? II gr. B)	110·7
5.	Vāsudeva (= ? I)	102·5—108·8
6.	Vāsu (= ? II. Vāsudeva) Kushāṇa	100·4
7.	Kanishko (= ? Kanishka II) ...	98·0

1. Smith's. I. P. 68-92.

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Group B

Kushāṇa Chiefs

		Grains
1.	Chhu	93·0
2.	Peyasa	91·5
3.	Sayatha	89·0
4.	Saṇa	86·6
5.	Sita	84·4
6.	Bhadra	79·5
7.	Bacharna	79·2
8.	Pāsaka	29·2

Croup C

Little Kuahāṇas

		Grains
1.	Kṛitavirja	76·7
2.	Viswa	75·5
3.	Not assignable	71·4
4.	Sarvyaśa	61·0

Group D

Kushano—Sāsānians

1.	Sāsānians	107·9 Grains

It can be very well suggested that they were minted in the same chronological order on the principle of Gresham's Law. Of course regarding the Sāsānians, their gold coins are even purer than Vāsudeva of the Imperial Kushāṇa dynasty. In this connection another economic implication should be profitably remembered. With the decline of a dynasty the gold content of their coinage are also declined. Such is the case with the Kushāṇas, the Guptas[1] and may be of many others.

With the exception of the Kushāṇa Chief Pāsaka (Table II) the average content of the gold of the K. Chiefs are definitely higher than the economically depressed little Kushāṇas. Both these groups of coins are economically much inferior to that of the early Gupta Kings.[2]

Kadphises I had probably issued no gold coins. His son and successor Kadphises II introduced gold currency along with other metallic coins. We have also to note that the average gold contents of his coins are very high. Among them number "2" of the Smith's catalogue

1. *Eco. Life of N. India* (Dr. Maity), p. 202.
2. *Eco. Life of N. India*, p. 202.

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contains 100 P.C. gold. From the point of view of purity the coins of Kanishka I are less than 1½ grains to that of his immediate predecessor Kadphises II. Thus, following the principles of Gresham we can very well suggest that the Kanishka group of Kings succeeded the Kadphises.

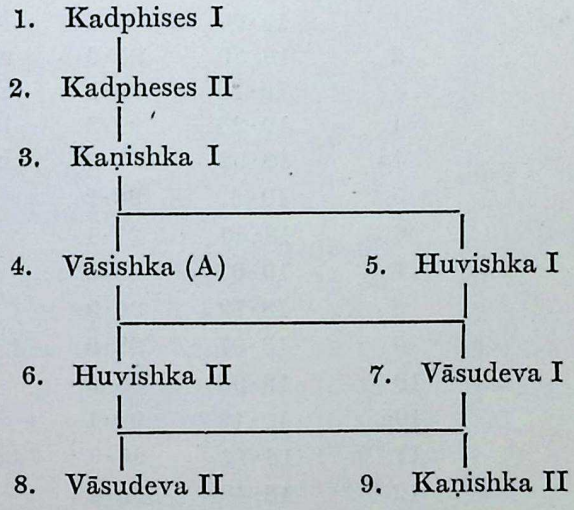
Moreover, from a careful study of the coins we can also classify the coins of Huvishka in two groups (A & B) which may suggest the existence of two Huvishkas as it is pointed out by Dr. A. L. Basham.[1] But from the point of view of design and fabric[2] we cannot so rigidly group them.

We have no gold coins of Vāsishka at our disposal. This may, however, point to the short rule of Vāsishka. As a result of the study of the coins we can point out the existence 2 Vāsudevas (I and II) and 2 Kanishkas (I and II).

The political history of the Kushāṇas after Vāsudeva I is very difficult to follow. The most important among them are perhaps Kanishka II and Vāsu or Vāsudeva II. The former is known to us from the Ārā inscription and from his coins and the latter is known mainly from his gold coins. Vāsu or Vāsudeva II may be identical with the Yuch-chi King Po-t'ito of the Chinese annals. He sent a political mission to the Chinese king in A.D. 230.[3]

From the findings of gold coins we can reconstruct a table of geneology of the Kushāṇa Kings :—

Genealogical Table:



1. *JSOAS*, p. 77-85 (1957).
2. V. A. Smith and my examination results.
3. *Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 151.

(A) We have no gold coins of Vāsudeva so far discovered. But we have excepted his existence from Dr. Basham (*JSOAS*, p. 84 ; 1957) *Age of Imperial Unity*.

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The Kushāṇa Chiefs, who had perhaps ruled under the sway of the Imperial Kushāṇas, had enjoyed peace and prosperity under them That is also reflected from their gold coins. But after the passing away of the great Kusāṇas, the little Kushāṇas for sometime somehow or other maintained their existence over the Punjab and Afghanistan.

They were ultimately defeated by the powerful Śakas and Sāsānians. This political termoil has some reflection on the debased gold coins of the little Kushāṇas (Table II). On the other hand, from this study of coins we can also notice the rising power of the Sāsānians.[1]

Laboratory report of the Kushāṇa, Kushāṇa Chiefs and the Sāsānian gold coins from the Indian Museum, Calcutta.

Sr. No.	*Name of king*	*V.A. Smith catalogue number*	*Specific gravity of the coins:— (sp. gr. of pure gold 19.32)*	*Percentage of pure gold*	*General remarks*
1.	Kadphises II	1	18·92	97·9	For the betterment of further studies I have kept them according to Smith's catalogue numbers.
2.	,,	2	19·32	100·0	
3.	,,	3	19·05	98·5	
4.	,,	4	18·88	97·6	
5.	Kanishka I	1	19·20	99·2	
6.	,,	2	18·50	95·6	
7.	,,	3	19·19	99·1	
8.	,,	4	19·25	99·5	
9.	,,	4a	18·92	97·9	
10.	,,	5	19·0	98·2	
11.	,,	6	18·80	97·1	
12.	,,	7	19·07	98·5	
13.	,,	8	18·72	96·9	
14.	,,	9	18·97	98·0	
15.	,,	10	18·58	96·0	
16.	,,	10a	19·19	99·1	
17.	,,	11	18·72	96·9	
18.	,,	12	18·48	95·4	
19.	,,	13	19·23	99·5	
20.	,,	14	18·53	95·8	

1. Table II and Age of Imperial Unity, pp. 151-58.

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Sr. No.	*Name of king*	*V.A. Smith catalogue number*	*Specific gravity of the coins :— (sp.gr. of pure gold 19·32)*	*Percentage of pure gold*	*General remarks.*
21.	Huvishka	1	18·78	97·00	
22.	,,	2	19·24	99·30	
23.	,,	3	18·97	98·00	
24.	,,	4	18·60	96·10	
25.	,,	5	19·19	99·20	
26.	,,	6	19·16	99·1	
27.	,,	7	19·09	98·7	*Group B.*
28.	,,	9	18·62	96 2	
29.	,,	10	17·68	91·4*	*very small coin.
30.	,,	12	18·41	95·1	
31.	,,	13	18·80	97·1	
32.	,,	14	19·15	99·0	
33.	,,	16	18·43	95·3	
34.	,,	18	18·71	96·7	
35.	,,	8	18·4	95·0	
36.	,,	11	18·24	94·3	
37.	,,	15	17·91	92·6	*Group A*
38.	,,	17	18·05	93·8	
39.	,,	19	18·15	93·8	
40.	,,	20	18·17	93·85	
41.	Vāsudeva	1	18·43	95·3	
42.	,,	2	18·57	96·0	
43.	,,	3	18·92	98·0	
44.	,,	4	18·51	95·6	
45.	,,	5	18·47	97·5	
46.	,,	6	18·98	98·1	
47.	,,	7	16·65	86·1	
48.	Vāsu (-? Vāsudeva Kushāṇa)	1	16·69	86·2	
49.	,,	2	15·89	82·1	
50.	,,	3	15·50	80·1	
51.	,,	4	16·91	87·5	
52.	,,	5	15·50	80·1	
53.	,,	6	16·79	86·8	
54.	,,	7	16·00	82·7	
55.	Kanishko	1	17·97	92·8	
56.	,,	3	17·86	92·3	
57.	,,	4	18·84	97·5	
58.	,,	5	17·03	88·1	
59.	,,	6	16·93	87·6	
60.	,,	7	17·16	88·6	

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Sr.No.	King	V.A. Smith's number	Sp. gr.	Percentage of pure gold	General remarks
61.	Vāsudeva	9	17·62	91·2	
62.	Sundry Chief (I) Bhadra	1	12·88	66·5	
63.	(Very doubtful)	2	12·36	63·8	
64.	(Very doubtful)	2a	13·60	70·3	
65.	S. Chiefs (II) Sayatha.	3	13·54	70·0	
66.	,,	4	14·58	75·3	
67.	,,	5	14·78	76·4	
68.	S. Chief (III) Sita	6	13·34	69·0	
69.	,,	7	14·09	72·8	
70.	,,	8	13·23	68·5	
71.	,,	9	14·15	73·15	
72.	,,	10	14·09	72·8	
73.	S. Chief IV. Saṇa.	11	14·05	72·6	
74.	S. Chief V. Bacharna.	12	13·09	67·6	
75.	S. Chief VI. Chhu.	13	15·91	82·3	
76.	S. Chief VII. Pasaka.	14	8·63	44·7*	*It is greatly alloyed with brass and looking almost black.
77.	S. Chief VIII. Peyasa.	15 (Addenda) (p. 127)	14·68	75·9	
78.	Little Kushāṇa I. Kṛitavirya.	1	12·31	63·7	
79.	,,	1a	12·38	64·0	
80.	,,	2	11·51	59·52	
81.	Little Kushāṇa II. Sarvyasa	3	10·44	54·0	
82.	L. Kushāṇa III. Viśwa	4	12·17	62·9	
83.	L.K. (IV.) Not Assignable.	5	11·95	61·8	
84.	,,	6	12·15	62·87	
85.	,,	7	12·42	64·3	
86.	,,	8	12·46	64·5	
87.	,,	9	12·39	64·0	
88.	,,	10	12·38	64·0	

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Sr.No.	*King*	*V.A. Smith's number*	*Sp. gr.*	*Percentage of pure gold*	*General remarks*
89.	Not Assignable	11	12·14	62·9	
90.	,,	12	11·92	61·7	
91.	,,	13	12·15	62·9	
92.	,,	14	12·39	64·0	
93.	,,	15	10·04	52·0	
94.	,,	15a	8·81	45·6	
95.	Kushano-Sāsānian	1	16·70	86·45	
96.	,,	2	16·20	83·75	
97.	,,	3	16·54	85·75	
98.	,,	4	18·70	96·6	
99.	,,	5	18·24	94·3	

Table II

Abstract of Table I, showing pure gold content of coins :—

Group No.	*King*	*Average weight in air (grain)*	*Average Percentage of pure gold*	*Average content of pure gold (gr. grains)*	*General remarks*
1.	Kadphises II	121·10	98·5	—119·0	
2.	Kanishka I	120·45	97·67	—117·5	For the betterment of further studies I have kept them according to Smith's catalogue. But for economic studies please see the re-arrangement in the front pages.
3.	Huvishka (B)	119·70	96·05	—110·7	
4.	Huvishka (A)	123·60	93·45	—115·3	
5.	Vāsudeva Kushāṇa	107·85	95·23	—102·5	
6.	Vāsu (-? Vāsudeva Kushāṇa)	120·30	83·66	—100·4	
7.	Kanishko	107·10	91·15	—98·05	
8.	Vāsudeva	119·20	91·20	—108·	
9.	Sundry Chief (I) Bhadra	119·01	66·86	—79·5	
10.	S. Chief II Sayasha	120·5	73·91	—89·0	
11.	S. Chief III Sita	118·30	71·25	—85·4	
12.	S. C. IV Saṇa	119·20	72·60	—86·6	

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Group No.	*King*	*Average weight in air (grain)*	*Average percentage of pure gold*	*Average content of pure gold (gr. grains)*	*General remarks*
13.	S.C. V. Bacharna	117·00	67·60	—79·25	
14.	S.C. VI. Chhu.	113·00	82·30	—93·0	
15.	S.C. VII. Pāsaka	65·30	44·70	—29·2	
16.	(VIII) Peyasa (Addenda)	120·25	75·90	—91·5	
17.	Little Kushāṇa Kṛitavirya	123·00	62·40	—76·7	
18.	L. K. Sarvyasa	112·80	54·01	—61·0	
19.	L. K. Viśwa	120·00	62·90	—75·5	
20.	Little Kushāṇas (IV) Not Assignable.	118·60	60·05	—71·4	
21.	Kushano-Sāsānian.	120·80	89·37	—107·9	

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DID PURUGUPTA ISSUE COINS ?

Sri Bratindra Nath Mukherjee

John Allan, in his *Catalogue of the Coins of the Gupta Dynasties*, published a gold coin from the Hoey collection which he described as follows[1]:—

Obverse : King, nimbate, standing left ; holding bow in left hand and arrow in right ; garuda standard on left ; beneath left arm the name '*Pura*' written vertically with a crescent above ; uncertain marginal legend.

Reverse : Goddess, nimbate, seated facing on lotus, holding lotus in left, and fillet in right hand ; symbol on left ; on right the legend '*Śrī Vikkrama*.'

Allan also attributed three other coins of similar type but without the legend '*Pura*' to the issuer of the abovementioned coin, because on these species the legend '*Śrī Vikramaḥ*' occurs just as in the case of the abovementioned specimen.[2] The said scholar also thought that the marginal legends on the obverse of these coins begin with 'para' or 'parama.'[3]

Thus Allan divided the Archer Type coins of Puragupta (?) into two varieties, variety 'A' having the name '*Pura*' in field and variety 'B' without having such a name.[4]

R. D. Banerji observed long ago that Rai Radha Krishna Jalan Saheb of Patna possessed two gold coins on which the name 'Pura' is very distinct.[5]

These are the only specimens which are alleged to have been issued by Puragupta (later discoveries show that the name should be Pūru or Puru, and not Pura as was thought by Allan, Banerji and others). Scholars are however not unanimous regarding the name of the issuer of these coins.

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Mr. S. K. Saraswati is the first scholar to observe that Allan was wrong in reading the name '*Pura*' on the coin of the Hoey collection. He points out that the first letter beneath the left arm of the king shows a square shaped figure with the right vertical line extended downward. Allan reads it as '*Pu*'. '*Pa*' in the Gupta alphabet is also like a square shaped letter, but without any horizontal top stroke. As the top stroke is clear on the specimen concerned, the letter in question looks like '*bu*', '*ba*' being a square shaped letter in the Gupta script.[6] The vertical line of the second letter has an upward bend, which one can imagine to be joining the apex of the line. Thus the letter cannot be '*ra*', but should be '*sha*' or '*dha*'. Mr. Saraswati prefers the latter.[7]

Dr. D. C. Sircar thinks that the *akshara* read by Allan as '*pa*' looks like a '*ba*', and that Mr. Saraswati may be right in suggesting the name as '*Budha*'.[8] Dr. R. C. Majumdar comes to the same conclusion on a close examination of a cast of the coin, though he thinks that the question cannot be finally decided till clear specimens of this type are available.[9] Mr. P. L. Gupta points out that the two coins of the same type as that of the Hoey collection specimen have the legend '*Budha*' clearly written on them, and as such Mr. Saraswati's reading is correct. One of the two coins, mentioned by Gupta, is acquired by Banaras Hindu University and the other by the Bharat Kala Bhavan.[10]

The B.H.U. specimen, described by Mr. A. K. Narain, has the figure of the king on the obverse dressed as an archer. The name '*Budha*' is written vertically below the king's left arm. The marginal legend reads as '*paramahitakārī rājā śrī Budhagu(ptaḥ)*'. The reverse is the same as that of the coin of the Hoey collection. The Bharat Kala Bhavan specimen is identical with the B.H.U. specie so far as type and devices are concerned, the difference being in the absence of the marginal legend on the obverse. Similarity between these specimens, which can be definitely ascribed to Budhagupta, and the coin in the Hoey collection leads Dr. Narain to support Mr. Saraswati's reading.[11] Dr. A. S. Altekar also thinks that though the first letter on the coin in the Hoey collection can be read both as '*pu*' and '*bu*' and the second letter can be taken as a mis-shapened '*dha*' or a blurred '*ra*', the abovementioned new specimens have proved that on the coin in question the intended reading is '*Budha*' and not '*Pura*'.[12]

Some scholars, on the other hand, do not accept Mr. Saraswati's reading. Sir Richard Burn observed that Mr. Saraswati's emendation was not beyond doubt. In his opinion closed '*pa*' can be found in the first letter of the word 'Prakasaditya' occurring on certain coins of Gupta fabric. Further, according to him, the second consonant of the king's name on the specie of the Hoey collection does not resemble '*dha*'.[13] Mr. Jagannath observes that the legend is definitely 'Puru'.

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and not 'Budha'.[14] Mr. N. N. Dasgupta fails to see eye to eye with Mr. Saraswati on this point, as he thinks that the second letter on the coin of the Hoey collection has the appearance of a 'ra', rather than 'dha'.[15]

Allan said in not too distant past that the legend in question may be read as '*Bura*', and, as such a word does not convey any sense, it should be emended as '*Pura*'.[16] In the opinion of Dr. B. P. Sinha the attempt to read '*Budha*' on the coin of the Hoey collection is palpably wrong. Examples of closed '*pa*', according to Sinha, are not rare in the Gupta epigraphy. He states that in the second line of the Nalanda seal of Vishṇugupta there is a close topped '*pu*'. The second letter in question cannot be '*dha*', as the semicircle of '*dha*' attached to the straight line is inward in the epigraphy of the period. On our coin, Sinha continues, if there is any faint trace of a semicircle, it is outward. So the name should be '*Pura*'.[17] Dr. H. C. Raychaudhuri was also inclined to think that Purugupta actually issued coins.[18] Dr. R. K. Mookerji does not pronounce any judgment on this point.[19]

Thus scholars are divided in their opinions regarding the reading of the king's name on the coin in the Hoey collection, which is now in the British Museum. The purpose of the present paper is to re-examine the reading and to offer a definite solution of the problem.

The first letter of the monarch's name on our coin is definitely '*bu*'. Dr. Sinha's argument that close topped '*pu*' can be noticed in the Nalanda seal of Vishnugupta does not prove his case. No doubt '*pu*' of the word '*putra*' in the second line of the said inscription has a horizontal stroke on its top, but the engraver here omitted the line of the letter on the left side.[20] It is probable that the scribe put inadvertently the left side stroke on the top of the letter. The value of this suggestion is enhanced by the fact that in other cases of '*pa*', inscribed in the abovementioned record, though the upper portions of right- and left-side strokes are ornamented by adding curved lines on top, there are discernible gaps between these upper lines. Such gaps between the horizontal stroke situated on the upper part of the left vertical stroke and the top of the right vertical may also possibly be found in the letter '*pra*' on the photographs of the coins of 'Prakāśāditya' published in the *Catalogues* of Allan and Smith. Even if the top of '*pa*' on these coins is closed, as according to Sir Richard's suggestion, the first letter of the sovereign's name on the coin of the Hoey collection cannot be read as '*pa*'. This becomes clear after noticing the general features of the letter '*pa*' of the Gupta script. It has the left line slightly curved outward at the bottom. Then the line moves with a slant to right and is again slightly curved inward at the top where it finishes with a little curved horizontal stroke. On some coins, however,

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the left vertical line moves almost straight upward without forming a curve, but it is never so much slanting to left as in the case of the first letter of our coin. Hence the last mentioned letter can never be considered to be a specimen of '*pa*'. In the case of this letter, two vertical strokes,—left one very much inclined to left and right one almost straight—, on the bottom-horizontal line have been joined by a top horizontal and thus have formed a hollow square which can only indicate '*ba*' of the Gupta alphabet.

About the second letter, the present writer likes to point out a new feature which has hitherto escaped the notice of scholars. A close examination of the letter shows that here two vertical lines, one straight at the right and the other slightly slanting at the left, are joined together by two curved lines one on top and another at bottom. Thus the figure has a squarish or an oval shape having open space in between the lines. This reminds us of the oval shaped '*dha*' occurring in the Kahaum inscription of Skandagupta.[21] These considerations indicate that the second letter on the coin in question seems very likely to be '*dha*'. Thus the name of the king should be read as '*Budha*'.

The reading of the first letter is beyond doubt, while that of the second, though very probable, may be questioned by some scholars. They can even argue that the right-side stroke of the second letter, which appears to the present writer as '*dha*', may be a part of a letter of the marginal legend, fragments of which can be traced on the coin in question. So, for the sake of argument, let us take the reading as '*Bura*'. The word has to be emended either as '*Pūru*', (and not '*Pura*')[22] or as '*Budha*'. If it is emended as '*Pūru*', then the engraver should be considered to have written the first letter wrongly, and also to have forgotten to supply the medial 'u' in the second letter. If, on the other hand, the intended reading is '*Budha*', then the only mistake committed occurs in the second letter. As the name consists of only two letters, acceptance of the first reading implies one's support to the absurd proposition that the scribe has committed mistakes in respect of both the letters. Such a thing will not happen if the legend is read as '*Budha*'. So the reading '*Budha*' should be preferred to '*Pura*'.

Thus the issuer of the coin of the Hoey collection is Budhagupta, as has been suggested by Mr. Saraswati. Regarding the two coins in the Jalan collection attributed by R. D. Banerji to 'Puragupta', it has to be noted that no such coins are now traceable, and in the absence of even casts or photographs of these species it is difficult to accept the proposed ascription. Mr. P. L. Gupta, however, offers a solution to solve this problem of attribution. He states that on one of the envelops of the coins in the Jalan collection is written in green ink the word '*Puraha*' with an interrogation. As R. D. Banerji was fond of green

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ink and used it all along his life, the word '*Puraha*' might have been written by him. While he took '*Pura*' as the name of the issuer, he could make nothing out of '*ha*' and hence put the note of interrogation. To this he probably referred while making statement on the coins of '*Pura*' in his article. Mr. Gupta thinks that what has been read as '*Puraha*' should be correctly deciphered as '*parahi*', a part of the word '*parahitakārī*'. The last mentioned word occurs in the legend '*parahitakārī rājā jayati divaṁ śrī Budhaguptaḥ*'. Mr. Gupta is of opinion that on the coins seen by Banerji only fragments of this legend had been preserved.[23] The probability of Mr. Gupta's assumption is indicated by the fact that an almost identical marginal legend occurs on a specimen, which can be definitely attributed to Budhagupta.[24] Mr. Saraswati informs me that there is a coin of Vainyagupta in the collection of Mr. N. Sing Singhi of Calcutta, on which the word '*parahitakārī*' occurs. If this information is correct, the coins seen by R. D. Banerji may be considered to have been issues either of Budhagupta or of Vainyagupta.

The above discussions show that the coin of the Hoey collection was definitely issued by Budhagupta. The specimens seen by R. D. Banerji were also very probably minted by Budhagupta. The B.H.U. specie, which has the name '*Budha*' and the marginal legend '*paramahitakārī rājā śrī Budhaguptaḥ*' on the obverse and the legend '*śrī vikkrama*' on the reverse, also belongs to Budhagupta. The same king is also alluded to on the B.K.B. specimen, which has the same type and devices as those of the specie of the Hoey collection, occurs the legend '*śrī vikkramaḥ*' on the reverse, but not the name of the king on the obverse. The identity between the reverse legend of these specimens and that of the coin of the Hoey collection, which Allan took to be an issue of 'Pura' (he knew the name as such), led him to attribute them to Puragupta (Pūrugupta). But as the coin of the Hoey collection is really an issue of Budhagupta, these species should also be assigned to that ruler. That this ascription is correct can be proved with the help of other evidences. The marginal legend on some of these specimens begins with '*parama*' and that on the coin of the Hoey collection commences with '*para*'.[25] These letters in the margin, as Dr. Narain points out, are nothing but parts of the word '*paramahitakārī*', which occurs on the B.H.U. specie of Budhagupta.[26] This fact renders the abovementioned ascription extremely probable.

We may now come to the conclusion that all the coins discussed in this paper were probably issued by Budhagupta. These Archer Type gold coins can be divided, as Dr. Narain says, into three varieties. The first variety has on the obverse the name of the king and marginal legend. The coin of the Hoey collection should belong to this category. The

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second variety preserves the name of the king but no marginal legend on the obverse. The third has only the marginal legend.[27]

The above considerations reveal that there is no coin available at present which can be definitely ascribed to Pūrugupta.[28] This absence may be explained by the assumption that he did not rule at all, or that he ruled for a very short period, which did not give him any opportunity to start his own coinage.

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2. *Ibid.*, p. cii, 134.
3. *Ibid.*, p. cxxii, 134.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 134.
5. *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, vol. I, part I, p. 75.
6. *Buhler's Palæographical Chart*, Tafel IV, Col. VII, No. 29.
7. *Indian Culture*, vol. I, pp. 691-92.
8. *Select Inscriptions bearing on Indian History and Civilisation*, vol. I, p. 323, f.n. 1.
9. *The Vākāṭaka Gupta Age*, p. 171, f.n. 1.
10. *Indian Historical Quarterly*, vol. XXVI, p. 255, f.n. 5.
11. *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, vol. XII, pp. 112-115.
12. Altekar, *Catalogue of the Gupta Gold Coins in the Bayana Hoard*, p. cxvi; *Coinage of the Gupta Empire*, p. 263.
13. *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archæology* (1935 A.D.), vol. X, p. 11.
14. *Summaries of papers submitted to the XIIIth All India Oriental Conference, Nagpur*, 1946, Sec. IX, p. 11.
15. *B. C. Law Volume I*, p. 618.
16. Sinha, *Decline of the Kingdom of Magadha*, p. 12.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 12; *Journal of the Bihar Research Society*, vol. XXXIV, Part III and IV, p. 19.
18. Raychaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India*, 5th ed., p. 586.
19. R. K. Mookerji, *The Gupta Empire*, 2nd ed., p. 103.
20. *Epigraphic Indica*, vol. XXVI, pp. 235 ff and plate.
21. Fleet, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, vol. III, pl. ix, 1.11; *Buhler's Palæographical Chart*, Tafel IV, Col. V, No. 25.
22. Scholars often forget that the name on the coin should be Pūru or Puru, and not Pura. The name 'Puru' is very clear on the seal of Narasimhagupta. (*Nalanda and its Epigraphic Material*, *MASI*, no. 66, pl. XIII, no. b). The name seems to be written as 'Puru' on the seal of Kumāragupta, son of Narasimhagupta (*MASI*, no. 66, pl. VIII, no. d). Hirananda Sastri's reading of the name as Pura is wrong. Dr. R. C. Mazumdar has pointed out the name as 'Pūru'.
23. *IHQ*, vol. XXVI, p. 225, f.n. 5.
24. *JNSI*, vol. XII, p. 113.
25. Allan, *CCGD*, p. 134.
26. *JNSI*, vol. XII, p. 114.
27. *Ibid.*
28. Whether the coins of Sri Prakasaditya should be attributed to Purugupta, as Allan has done (*CCGD*, p. 135), is a problem which still awaits final solution.

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A NOTE ON THE DECLINE OF CHAULUKYA POWER UNDER BHĪMADEVA II

Professors Nisith Ranjan Ray

The Chaulukyas of Gujarat, also known as the Solankis, came into prominence in western India after the decline of the Imperial Pratihars of Kanauj. They ruled over Gujarat and Kathiawad Peninsula for nearly three centuries and a half from the middle of the 10th to the beginning of the 14th Century. So far as western India is concerned the history of the Chaulukyas is the link between the so-called Hindu and Muslim periods of Indian history. That the Chaulukyas played a notable rôle in early mediaeval history of India, that under the auspices of this dynasty western India became the centre of political gravity for some time at any rate, that under Siddharaja Jayasinha (1094-1143) and Kumarapala (1143-1174), the Chaulukyas nearly succeeded in reviving the ideal of imperial unity bequeathed by the Pratiharas of Kanauj and that a fairly large number of rulers belonging to this dynasty were liberal patrons of art, architecture and religion—are facts well-known to students of Indian history. It is also well-known that towards the close of the reign of Bhimadeva II (1178-1241) the Chaulukya fortunes suffered an eclipse and that his rule from the second quarter of the 13th century became more nominal than real. Referring to the condition of the Kingdom during the later part of Bhimadeva's reign says one chronecter[1]—" The kingdom of the young ruler was gradually parcelled off by powerful ministers and provincial chiefs." In another chronicle[2] it is stated that " Bhima's position became serious as the chieftains forcibly ate away portions of the Kingdom." That there is substantial truth in these statements is borne out by the evidence of epigraphic as well as non-Chaulukyan literary records. While Prahladana, the author of Vyayago-Pārtha-Parākrama[3] refers to a conflict between Bhimadeva II and Prithviraja III of Ajmere, we have it on the authority of Sridhara's Devapattan Prasati[4] as well as epigraphic records[5] that some time between 1205 and 1215 the Paramara rulers

1. *Kīrti-Kaumudī*, ii, v. 61.
2. *Vasanta-Vilāsa*, iii, v. 37.
3. *Vyāoga Pārthaparākrama*, 3.
4. *Devapattana prasasti*, u. 42.
5. Piplainagar and Bhopal grants of Arjunavarman, *JASB*, 1836, vol. V, and *JAOS*, vol. VII.

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Suvatavarman and Arjunavarman won victories over Bhima Chaulukya. There is also evidence[6] in support of a claim of victory over the Chaulukyas on behalf of the Yadava King Singhana of South India. There is further evidence[7] to show that about 1225 A.D. a ruler name Jayanta Sinha ruled with Anahilapataka as his capital as Maharajadhiraja Parameswara. Thus the second half of Bhima Chaulukya's reign was a period of internal troubles as well as of conflict with the neighbouring princes, in which fortunes were generally on the side of the enemies of the Chaulukyas. Some time later a prince, named Lavanaprasad, went to the length of concluding a treaty with the Yadava King in his own name.[8] In the circumstances the conclusion becomes irrestible that though Bhima continued in name to hold the crown, the Chaulukya dynasty had practically lost all its power.

In accounting for the decline of the Chaulukya power under Bhimadeva Dr. Ray[9] holds, among other factors, the religious revolution in Ajayapala's reign and following it, the alienation of the rich Jain community as primarily responsible. The revolution referred to above is as follows :— Under Kumarapala there had been an ascendancy of the Jains, in general, and of Hemachandra in particular. Kumarapala, who had no son was caused to be poisoned to death by his nephew Ajayapala, who on succeeding to the throne reversed his predecessor's policy and began to prosecute the Jains. It is this reversal of policy towards the Jains which has been characterised by Dr. Ray as a 'religious revolution'. It appears, however, that more importance has been assigned to Kumarapala's association with Jainism than is due to it. Merutunga[10] and following him several Chroniclers claim that Kumarapala became a convert to Jainism. This is however opposed to epigraphic evidence. Most of Kumarapala's inscriptions begin with an invocation to Siva and not to any Jain deity. The Veraval Inscription[11] distinctly describes him as 'Māhesvaranripa-agrani'. Even Jain Chroniclers admit that he worshipped Somanatha whose temple he had caused to be re-built. The contention of the Jain writers to the effect that under influence of Jainism, Kumarapala prohibited the slaughter of animals altogether is not corroborated by the evidence of inscriptions, The two inscriptions[12] which forbade slaughter of animals on certain specified dates of the month were issued by two feudatories of the king and not by the king himself. Thus while the fact that Kumarapala abjured his faith and became a convert to Jainism or that he put a

6. *BE*, vol. I, part II, pp. 240-43.
7. *IA*, vol. VI, p. 198.
8. *Lekhapaddhatr*, *BG*. vol. I, pt. II, p. 241.
9. *Dynastic History of Northern India*, vol. II, p. 1025-1026.
10. *Prabandha-Chitāmani*, 129-133.
11. *Vienna Oriental Journal*, vol. III, pp. 1-19.
12. *Report on the search for Sanskrit MSS*, (R. G. Bhandarkar), pp. 205 and 172, *EI*, XI, p. 44.

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wholesale ban on the slaughter of animals cannot be readily conceded. it cannot be denied that he came under the influence of Hemachandra. Dr. Ray is inclined to the view that this partiality of Kumarapala for Jainism was due to political consideration rather than sincere love for Jainism itself. The Jains formed the backbone of the commercial, industrial and banking life and were the richest community in Gujarat. In Dr. Ray's opinion[13] it was probably with a view to securing the-aid of this prosperous community that he extended his patronage to the Jain faith and its adherents. Dr. Ray is further of the opinion[14] that the problem of succession towards the end of Kumarapala's reign came to be mixed up with the question of religious rivalry and that his nephew Ajayapala secured the throne in spite of the opposition of his enemies, among whom was included Amrabhat, son of Udayana, the Jain Prime Minister of Kumarapala.

Assuming that the relation between Kumarapala and the Jains was cordial and that the king was deeply under the influence of Hemachandra, it does not necessarily follow that the decision of Kumarpala to extend patronage to the Jains was actuated by any material consideration *viz.* "winning the support of the powerful and wealthy Bania corporations, who were predominantly Jain."[15] As a matter of fact Kumarapala in extending toleration to the Jains was merely following in the footsteps of some of his predecessors. There is epigraphic evidence[16] to show that during the reign of Mulapaja I Yuvaraja Chamundaraja made land-grants in support of a Jain temple. Chamunda's son, Durlabharaja, is also known, on the authority of literary records[17] to have extended patronage to the Jains. King Karna is also described in traditional accounts as a patron of the Jain faith. Siddharaja Jayasimha, too, extended his patronage to Jainism by causing a Jain temple to be built. If the fact of the patronage on the part of these rulers to Jainism has not been (and in fact it cannot be) ascribed to any material consideration, there seems to be hardly any justification for ascribing any motive of material interest to Kumarapala's patronage of the Jain faith. Nor is there much conviction in the suggestion that the alienation of the Jains was to any extent responsible for the decline of the Chaulukyas under Bhimadeva or that the alienation of the Jains was the outcome of their persecution at the hands of Ajayapala. The stories of Jain persecution by Ajayapala do not find mention in earlier Jain records. Merutunga (a much later authority) is the first among the Jain Chroniclers to refer to Ajayapala's anti-Jain activities. The early

13. *Dynastic History of Northern India*, vol. I, p. 997.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 998.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 997.
16. *Bhāratīya-Vidyā*, vol. I, p. 73.
17. *Kharatara-gachcha*, *IHQ*, vol. XI.
18. *Pārśvanātha-Carita*, Peterson MSS, 1886-92, XCI.

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Jain Chroniclers like Somaprabha, Arisimha, Balachandra and Udayaprabha have uniformly spoken in laudatory terms of Ajayapala. If the author of Parsvanatha-Charita is to be believed, Ajayapala was the patron of a Jain Scholar named Vardhamana, " who brightened his court by his disquisitions on the Jain doctrine." From the testimony of these writers it is clear that in spite of being a follower of the Brahmanical faith, Ajayapala was not intolerant towards the Jains. Both Merutunga and Jayasimha Suri, who refer to his anti-Jain activities, belong to a much later period and their evidence cannot reasonably be given more credence than that of the earlier chroniclers. It should also be noted that even according to Merutunga's own testimony the persecution of Ajayapala was not confined to the Jains alone. Kapardina, the orthodox Brahman minister of Ajayapala, was also a victim of royal persecution. In the circumstances the theory of Jain alienation is seen to rest on slender foundations. The rôle of a villain in which Ajayapala is made to appear in the pages of Merutunga and Jayasinha Suri is difficult to reconcile with the well-ascertained fact that he left to his successor an undiminished Kingdom and an efficient army which proved itself more than a match against the Muslim invaders. The decline of the Chaulukyas under Bhimadeva, as such, cannot be explained in terms of a theory of religious revolution culminating in the alienation of the Jains. Nor was the decline due to two consecutive periods of minority under Mularaya II and Bhimadeva, these being periods of success at home and against the muslims. The weak and vacillating personality of Bhimadeva (nick-named as Bhola Bhima) revealed on the attainment of his majority would perhaps afford a better and more convincing explanation of the decline of the Chaulukyas towards the latter half of the 13th century.

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INSCRIPTION OF THE CHĀLUKYA-VĀGHELA KING ŚĀRAṄGADEVA AT THE RAMJI TEMPLE, OLD IDAR STATE

Dr. C. C. Das Gupta

This inscription of the Chālukya-Vāghela king Śāraṅgadeva was found on the wall of the Ramji temple, Bhavanath Mahadeb, old Idar State. I edit this inscription from the fine estampage supplied to me by the Government Epigraphist for India.

This inscription which measures 3 ft. 6 in. in length and 6½ in breadth consists of 12 lines. The characters used in this inscription belong to the North Indian Nāgarī type and there is no doubt that they are to be referred to the 15th century A.D. as it contains a date of V.S. 1354 in line 12. (*Svasti śrī nṛpati Vikrama-kālātīta saṁvat* 1354 *varshe*). The language of the record is Sanskrit and the composition is in verse. The metres have been indicated at the beginning of the text.

The inscription in question belongs to the Chālukya dynasty. (*Chālukyā-nvaya-saṁjātaḥ*, 1.3, verse 5). The first ruler mentioned in this inscription is *Anāka*. In two other inscriptions he is called Arṇarāja.[1] There is no doubt that Anāka is to be identified with Arṇarāja as in the inscription under edition and in two above-mentioned inscriptions the successor is *Lavaṇaprasāda*. The son and successor of *Lavaṇaprasāda* is *Vīradhavala*. The son and successor of Vīradhavala is *Viśvala*. There is no doubt that Viśvala is the same as Viśāladeva mentioned in some other inscriptions.[2] His elder brother was *Pratāpamalla* who did not reign. (*Śrīmad-Viradhavalasya putro-bhud-vīralakshmaṇaḥ | Śrīmat Pratāpamallastu pratāpa-krāṁta-maṁḍalaḥ | 8 tasyā-nujanmā prathitaḥ pṛthivyāṃ śrī Viśvalākhyo nṛpatiḥ prachṃḍaḥ*). Therefore it cannot be understood by the late Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar called Pratāpamalla as the younger brother of Viśāladeva.[3] From this inscription there is no doubt that he is the elder brother of Viśvala identified with Viśāladeva. This shows that though Pratāpamalla was the elder son of Vīradhavala, yet he did not reign. Probably he breathed his

1. Bhandarkar's List, nos. 488, 1524.
2. *Ibid.*, nos. 547, 549, 556, 557, 577, 579.
3. Bhandarkar's List, Genealogical table of "the Chālukya-Vāghelas of Anahillapataka" as given on p. 385.

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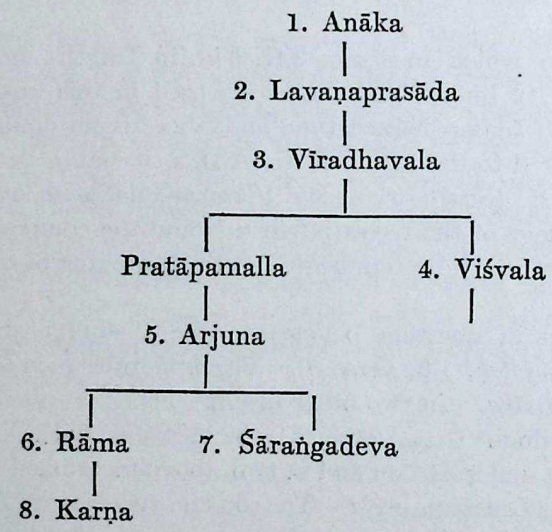
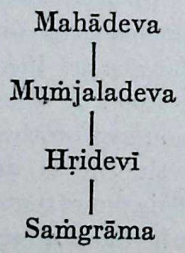
last during the lifetime of his father leaving behind his son Arjuna. After the death of Viśāladeva his nephew Arjunadeva became the king. Arjuna is succeeded by his son Rāma. (*Tasya = ṁgaṁjaḥ saṃpratirājate so = śrī-Rāma-nāma nṛpa-chakravartī | saṁtarpya dānair = dvijasatta-māṃ = śchenā = varuddha = valiru = gradhanvā* // 11). According to the late Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar Arjuna is succeeded by Śāraṅgadeva[4]; but this inscription gives impression of a different nature. It seems that Śāraṅgadeva is the younger brother of Rāma just as in the Rāmāyaṇa the younger brother of Rāma is Lakshmaṇa. (*Śāraṁgadeva(ḥ) śuśubhe dharāyaṃ Rāmānujo = Lakshmaṇa-sannibha = ścha*). According to the late Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar Arjuna is succeeded by his son, Śāraṅgadeva; but this inscription shows that Arjuna is succeeded by his son, Rāma. Rāma's younger brother was Śāraṅgadeva. After Śāraṅgadeva Rāma's son Karṇa became the ruler. Therefore we can form the following genealogical table which is different from that given by the late Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar :—



We can also form the genealogical table of another aristocratic family from the information supplied in this inscription :—



Information about this family is contained in verses 17-20, 31.

4. *Ibid.*

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We can also form the genealogical table of another family from the information supplied in this inscription :—

Rājiga
|
Rājyadeva
|
Nāladevī
|
Vaijalladeva
|
Rupī
|
Mandalika

Information about this family is contained in verses 22-25.

We can also form the genealogical table of another family from the information supplied in this inscription :—

Sūtravedha
|
Subuddhi

Information about this family is contained in verse 33.

So far as historical facts are concerned, there is one which is important. It is mentioned in line 9 that the king Viśvala, defeating the ruler of Dhārā, destroyed the city of Dhārā. This shows that he defeated the Paramāra ruler whose capital was Dhārā.

The object of this inscription is to record the erection of a temple of Sun by Vaijalladeva in memory of his parents. This inscription is dated 1354 V.S. as mentioned in l.12. Therefore this inscription is to be referred to A.D. 1296-97.

Text

(Metres : vv. 1-2, Sragdharā ; vv. 3, 6, Upendravajrā ; vv. 4, 5, 8, 13-15, 17, 22, 23, 26, 27, 30, 31, Anushṭubh ; vv. 7, 9, 10, 16, 18, 19, 24, Upajāti ; vv. 11, 12, 20, 29, Indravajrā ; vv. 21, 32, Śārdulavikriḍita ; vv. 25, 28, Vasantatilaka).

1. (Oṁ) namo Vighna-rājāya / Yenai-te dānaveṃ-drā nija-kara-nikaraiḥ suditaś-chāṃ-tarikshe nityam pratyusha-kāle rajanija-timiraṃ trāsitaṃ divya-bhātiḥ / chakre dhāmnāṃ gajenā-vani-talama-ruṇa sadro chhidyādororuka prathama-samuditaḥ sapta-saptiḥ sa sūryaḥ / *1* trasyate yasya nāmnā vividha-vidhikritā vyādhayaḥ sarbbadā.

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2. ptāḥ/saṃpadyaṃte tavai-vā-khila-mala-rahitā saṃpada-sarmasādyaḥ / aiśvarjjaṃ bhogayuktaṃ sa kṛda-pi hṛdaye dhyāna-matreṇa sadyaḥ (/) so-yaṃ vṛṃdārako vaḥ śamayatu duritaṃ bhūribhas-tīvrabhānu / *2* samasta-viśvasya vivodha-karttā ghanā = ṃdhakārasya tathāśuhaṁtā / abhishṭa-kāryyasya sadā vidhātā sa vo raviḥ pātu sadā prabhāte / *3* jagatāṃ mauli-māṇikyaḥ surā-sura-namaskṛtaḥ /

3. prāṇināṃ prānadaḥ sūryyaḥ pātu vaḥ puṇya-karmaṇaḥ / *4* Chaulukyā-nvaya saṁjātaḥ *Anāko* jagatī-tale / Surāshṭraṃ nijanāme-va śāsitaṃ nija-vikramāt / *5* tadaṃ-gabhutaṃ *Lavaṇa-prasādaṃ* dhura(ṃ)-dharaṃ vaṃśa-karaṃ nṛpāṇāṃ / samudhṛta yena rasatalāṃtat dvijāścha vedāś-cha punar-vabhūvuḥ / *6* tasyā-pya-bhūt sūnurudārakīrtiḥ śrī vīra nāma para-chakra-marddī arāti-saṃmohakaraṃ cha te-.

4. na kṛtaṃsusāreṇ a mahā-havaṃ cha / *7.* śrīmad-*Vīra-dhavalasya* putro-bhūd-vīra-lakshmaṇaḥ / Śrīmat *Pratāpamalla*-stu pratāpakrāṃta-maṃdalaḥ / *8* tasyā-nujanmā prathitaḥ pṛithivyāṃ śrī *Viśvalā*khyo-nṛpatiḥ prachaṃḍaḥ / *Dhārā*-dhināthaṃ samare vijitya purīṃ viśālāṃ sa-vabhaṃja *Dhārāṃ* / *9* svasye-shṭa-vaṃohoḥ sakalaṃ tanūjaṃ tama-*Arjunā*-khyaṃ nara-deva-pūrvyaṃ / saṃsthāpya rājye sakalaṃ gaṅgārṇavata prapede.

5. rāti-mukta-māṃsaḥ / *10* tasyā = ṁgaṁjaḥ saṃpratirājate so = śrī-*Rāma*-nāmā nṛpa-chakravartī / saṁtarpya dānair = dvija-sattamāṃ = śchaenā = varuddho = valiru = gradhanvā / *11 Sāraṃga-deva* (ḥ) śuśubhe dharāyāṃ Rāmānujo = Lakshmaṇa-sannibha = ścha / dushta-svabhāvaṃ samare cha *Gogaṃ* digaṃtareshu / *12* śrī Rāmādauras-jātaḥ *Karṇa*-nāme = ti viśrutaḥ / śruti-sāstrā = virodhena so = yam pālayati prajaḥ / *13*.....te..

6. ma bhavatu śāsvataḥ / gotreyaṃ gauravaṃ = yātu parjanyo = varshatu dhruvaṃ / *14* Chaulukya-vaṃśa-vistāraḥ saṃkshepāt kathito mayā / sāmagreṇā-samartho = haṃ stotuṃ vistarato guṇān / *15* vakshye samastaṃ-dhavalauka sāṃ taṃ vaṃśāṃ yathā pūrvvam = kalmasaṃ cha / rataṃ sadā Vishṇu-pāda pavitre utkaṃṭhitaṃ śaṃkarapūjane cha / *16* śaṃḍilye pravare gotre *Mahādevo-hya* = bhut purā / śaṃkarā = rādhane yukto = dāna-dharma-parāyaṇa / *17.*

7. (.) śvara kīrtimatāṃ varishṭhaḥ tasyā = ṃgabhūtaḥ pravala-pramāthī / sudhāṃśu-nāthasya lalāṭa-deśe vibhūshaṇasya = chchhalato = vatasthe / *18* tadaṁ = gasūr = bhūtala-bhūshano = yam *Muṃjāladevo* = mara-mārga-gaṃtā / āsvādya lokaṃ kapilāṃcha dhenuṃ-sa = go-grāhārthe maranaṃ jagāma / *19* khaḍga-tīvraghana-vāṇa-saṃyuto - yaṣṭi-śaktivara - kuṃḍa-paṭṭiśaḥ / vaddha-tūṇadṛḍha-śṛṃgiṇī karo = gogrāha-maraṇamā = śu so = gamat /

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8. *20* jātaḥ kāṃta-viśāla-bhāla-vadano-Muṃjāladevo-bhaṭaḥ kashṭaṃ kutsita-janma-jāla-gahanaṃ saṃtīryate gograhe / viṃdyād-bhārata bhāratīṃ kathama = haṃ Karṇaḥ suvīro yathā sha(kha)ḍgaṃ pāṇi-tale nidhāya paramaṃ sūryasya lokaṃ gataḥ / *21* kāśyape vimale gotre *Rājigo*-bhūn = mahāmatiḥ / raṃjitaṃ yasya rāgeṇa sakalaṃ gotra-maṃḍalaṃ / *22* tasye-ha naṃdano jātaḥ *Rājyadeva*-kriyāpa-

9. raḥ / tasyai = kā duhitā jātā *Nāladevī*-ti viśrutā / *23* atīva sā satya-ratā sukīrttiḥ dharme sthitā pūrvva-sati-svabhāvā / tasyāḥ prajajñe ripumauli-śūlaḥ *Vaijalladevaḥ* śava-śakti-bhaktaḥ / *24* vairachanā = rchana-rato nara-tosha-kārī *Vajalla* esha nara-kīrttita-kīrttiḥ kāṃtaḥ / dāna-pradāna-vimukhīkṛta-kalpa-vṛkshaḥ śikshā-karaḥ sakarayor = valato ripunāṃ / *25* tena śrī-bhṛgu-kuṃḍa-

10. sya jagatyāṃ deva-vāsaṇe / mātṛ-pitroḥ samuddiśya kāritaṃ sūrya-mandiraṃ / *26* go-bhū-tila-hiraṇyā-di pātre datvā = hya = ne= kāśaḥ / *Muṃjala-svāmī-devasya* tenā = kāri niketanaṃ / *27* saṃpadaḥ kalabha-karṇa-chanchalā jīvitaṃ cha jalajāṃshu dusthiraṃ / yauvanaṃ cha yuvatī-kaṭākshā-vat vīkshyayor = kka-nilayam nyakārayat/ *28* vā da.....vad = bhānu.....raśmi.

11. jālaiḥ / yāvat soma-sītatāmāva-heta tāvad vaija prāpayasvā = śva-bhīshṭaṃ / *29* yasya Vaijalladevasya naṃdanā-deva-*Rupiṇaḥ* / madano *Maṃḍalikā*-khyaḥ mahīpālo = (thā jāyata) / *30* sūtā *Muṃjaladevasya Hṛidevī*-tya = bhidhīyate / sutaṃ sā susvaye suraṃ *Saṃgrāmā* = khyaṃ mahābhujaṃ / *31* yasyā = sye = hṇivirājate suvimalā rāmasya vāṇī dhruvā / tasye = yaṃ vihitā pra.....chhā sā.

12. -rkka-tama-lakshmaṇa-yukta...palāsāksha-khayā yo saukshāntirataḥ kalāsu nipuṇaḥ kāvyeshu kartā svayaṃ / *32* *Sutravedhā*ṃgajātena nāyakena *Suvuddhinā* / iyaṃ praśastir = utkīrṇā prasādād = Viśvakarmaṇaḥ / *33* svasti Śrī nṛpati-*Vikrama-kālātīta saṃvat 1354* varshe Śobhana-nātha saṃvatsare dakshiṇāyana-gate surye kārttika sudi 11 ravau praśastiri = yam.....bhavat / maṃgalaṃ.

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CONFLICT BETWEEN SĀṄKĀŚYĀ AND VIDEHA AND THE FORMER'S IDENTIFICATION

Dr. Yogendra Mishra

The *Rāmāyana* of Valmīki records a conflict between Sāṅkāśyā under Sudhanvan and Videha under Sīradhvaja Janaka which may be summarised as follows :—

Sudhanvan, king of Sāṅkāśyā, invaded Mithilā, the capital of Videha, and demanded the bow of Śiva, a valuable possession of the Videhan kings, and the beautiful Sītā, the daughter of Sīradhvaja Janaka, the then reigning king of Videha. The aggressor was resisted and ultimately defeated. Sudhanvan was killed in battle. Sāṅkāśyā became an appendage to Videha. A branch dynasty was established there with Sīradhvaja's younger brother Kuśadhvaja as the king of the territory.[1]

Sāṅkāśyā is described as a well-defended city. Its ramparts were ranged round with pointed weapons. It was laved by the river Ikshumatī and resembled the celestial regions or the aerial car, Pushpaka.[2]

It is usually identified with "Sankisa or Sankisa-Basantapura, situated on the north bank of the river Ikshumatī, now called the Kālīnadī, between Atranji and Kanauj, and twenty-three miles west of Fatehgarh (in the district of Etah)[3] and forty-five miles north-west of Kanauj."[4] To us it appears that there has been some confusion between the famous Sāṅkāśyā which was a Buddhist[5] and Jaina[6] religious centre and the one which became the seat of the government of Kuśadhvaja after its aggressive king Sudhanvan had been killed in battle.

1. *Rām.*, I, 71. 16-19.
2. *Rām.*, I, 70.3.
3. Brackets inserted by ourselves to avoid confusion.
4. N. L. Dey, *The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Medieval India*, 2nd edition (London, 1927), p. 177. This 'famous Sankisa is situated in Farrukhabad district (Agrawala, *Paṇini*, p. 71). Also see A.G.I., pp. 420-427, 705-706. Rangacharya accepts this identification when he says : "That a scion of the Videha dynasty found himself seated in such a distant place beyond the intervening Kosala and other kingdoms indicates the political enterprise of the Videhan kings on occasions" (*Vedic India*, Part I, p. 418).
5. *Rām* A. G. I., pp. 423-424, 705-706.
6. Kamta Prasad Jain, 'Saṅkiśā as a Jaina Tīrtha', *IHQ.* 1929, pp. 142-143.

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The only strong argument in favour of the usual identification is that the river Ikshumatī flows there. But there are some serious difficulties which compel us to disagree with the usual view. One of them is that if Sudhanvan started for his campaign, what became of the several intervening territories between Sāṅkāśyā and Mithilā, especially Kosala, Kāsī[7] and Vaiśālī? Did they not put any obstacle in the way? The king of Kosala is reported to have had very cordial relations with that of Mithilā.[8] It would not have been profitable to make a campaign against such a distant king. It would have required much expenditure which the tiny state of Sāṅkāśyā would not have afforded. Moreover, from the context it appears that the messengers of Sīradhvaja Janaka went to Sāṅkāśyā and brought Kuśadhvaja to Mithilā the same day.[9] Thus if Sāṅkāśyā had been what it is identified with, the messengers would have taken more than eight days in going to that place and bringing Kuśadhvaja to Mithilā, because we know that the messengers of Janaka while going to Ayodhyā passed three nights on the way.[10] Hence the author of the *Rāmāyaṇa* also does not like us to believe that Sāṅkāśyā was situated at such a great distance from Mithilā; on the contrary it was near Videha probably somewhat near its border.

There are certain essential points which should not be lost sight of while discussing the identification of Sāṅkāśyā :—

(1) Many variants of the town are available, *e.g.*, Sāṅkāśyā,[11] Sāṅkāśya,[12] Sāṅkāśī,[13] Kāśya,[14] and Kāśī.[15] Was it situated on a road to Kāśī, or in an area which abounded in kāśa grass? [16]

(2) Sāṅkāśyā was situated on the Ikshumatī river. This river is known to the *Purāṇas*[17] also, as on its bank was the hermitage of Kapila. It is also mentioned at another place in the *Rāmāyaṇa*.[18] But we need not be discouraged by the mention of this river. The Ikshu is the name of the three rivers in the *Purāṇas*, while there are also rivers known as Ikshudā and Ikshulā.[19] Thus there might be another Ikshumatī river at this place[20] or it may simply mean a river in the sugarcane-producing area.

7. *Cf. Rām.* I, 13.23 ; A.I.H.T., p. 276.
8. *Rām.* I, 13.21-22.
9. *Rām.* I, 70, 5-8.
10. *Rām.* I, 68. 1.
11. *Rām.* I, 70.3.
12. *Ibid.*, I, 71. 16, 19.
13. *Vish.* IV, 5.29.
14. *Vā.* 88.18.
15. *Bd.* III, 64.19.
16. The Himālayas are said to abound in *Kāśa* and *śaśāṇka-kāśa* (*Mat.* 118.34).
17. *Bhāg.* V, 10.1. *Vish.* II. 13.53.
18. *Rām.* II, 68. 17.
19. V. R. R. Dishitar, *Purāṇa Index*, vol. I, pp. 182-183.
20. So says the *Mithilāmāhātmyakhaṇḍa* (quoted in *A History of Maithili Literature*, vol. I, Allahabad, 1949, p. 11, n. 30).

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(3) Probably the Sāṅkāśyā kingdom was near some mountain or forest[21] as we hear that a later king of this place visited his cousin in the forest. We are, however, not sure as to what extent this point may help us.

(4) There does not seem to be any intervening territory between Videha and Sāṅkāśyā, as otherwise the Sāṅkāśyā king would have been prevented from carrying out a raid against Mithilā.

(5) As already pointed out, a quick messenger from Mithilā might go to Sāṅkāśyā and come back the same day. Thus the distance was comparatively much shorter.

(6) It was a well-defended city and a seat of government. Later also, it continued to be so. There are in North Bihar some places of local importance which are famous as seats of government in former times. One such place near the Gandak or the Kosi might be Sāṅkāśyā. For example, Jankigarh (also called Chankigarh)[22] in Champaran district may be a probable site for this purpose.

Hence our conclusion is that this Sāṅkāśyā of the *Rāmāyaṇa* lay somewhere in Champaran or Saran or the Kosi Valley in North Bihar and not in the Farrukhabad district of Western U.P.

21. *Vish.* VI, 6. 11 (*durgāraṇya*), 20 (*vana*).
22. *CHĀNKĪ = SĀNKĪ = SĀNK(ĀS)I* ?
This is, however, only a tentative suggestion.

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BRAHMANISM IN ANCIENT KAMBUJADEŚA

Dr. Baij Nath Puri

The ancient History of Kambujadesadeśa, modern Cambodia, is a record of the achievements of Hindu Brahmanical rulers whose ancestors, the two Kauṇḍinya Brāhmanas, had gone from India at the Divine call. According to traditions, preserved in Chinese annals and ancient native records,[1] the first Kauṇḍinya Brāhmaṇa married the Kambuja empress after overpowering her. He got the ancient kingdom of Funan and in return gave to the native inhabitants Brahmanical thought, ritual and literature. This event dates back to the first century A.D. though there are traces of early Brahmanical settlements even in the second century B.C. The archæological remains at Oc-eo[2] about 16 miles from the present coast of the Gulf of Siam and at several other places suggest the immigrants found the native population in a stage of neolithic culture. The superior Hindu culture was carried to that country by the merchants and adventurous people. This movement remained unabated for a long time, as we find references to Brahmins from India coming every now and then, settling down in this country, and marrying in the Royal family. This gradual and progressive influx of the Brahmins was responsible for completely Indianising this country with Hindu names of cities, patronage of Brahmanical religion, and Sanskrit as the official language of the country. Caste system also found a place in the social organisation. The immigrants had infused new spirit in the country of their adoption which was derived from their rich heritage. Buddhism was rather late in reaching this country, but it had a few patrons like Sūryavarman I and Jayavarman VII who were true to the religion of the Tathāgata, but were equally devoted to the State religion—the cult of Devarāja.

Among the Brahmin immigrants may be mentioned the two Kauṇḍinyas who came here in the first and in the fourth or early fifth centuries A.D. According to the History of the Liang Dynasty[3] the

1. History of the Liang Dynasty: Pelliot, *BEFEO*; III. p. 263; *JGJS*, VI. p. 139; Majumdar, *Inscriptions* of *Kambuja* (Abbr. *MIK*, Nos. 2, 26 Ap. 34, No. 111, p. 283.

2. Malleret, *An.Bib.Ind.Arch.* 1940-47, p. LI f.; Coedes, *Les Etats Hindouises L'Indo Chine et D'Indonesie* (Abb. *Etas. Hind*, p. 69 ff).

3. *Op. Cit.*

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first Kauṇḍinya Brahmin belonged to India. He heard a supernatural voice asking him to go and reign in Funan. The people of the place welcomed him and elected him as their king. He introduced there Indian laws, manners and customs. This legend suggests that there was a new wave of immigration from India. According to a Chinese legend,[4] the kingdom of Touen-Sien, a dependency of Fu-nan had more than a thousand Brahmins, while a Khmer legend refers to Java Brahmins coming to Kambujadeśa. It seems that the influence of the Java Brahmins had some political repurcussion, and so a Brahmin named Hiraṇyadama was sent from India to teach Tantric rites to Sivakaivalya whose family honoured the post of Royal purohit for nearly two hundred and fifty years. This move was to curb the influence of the Java Brahmins, and that Kambuja might no longer be dependent on Java.[5] The Brahmin immigrants married Royal princess. Agastya from India married Yaśomati,[6] and a Brahmin Duvākara was wedded to Indralakshmī,[7] daughter of king Rājendravarman. This inscription mentions his birthplace on the river Kalindi (Yamuna) probably Vrindavana which was associated with the legends of Lord Krishna. Another Brahmin named Sarvajnamuni, born in Āryadeśa[8], came to Kambujadeśa, and his descendants occupied high ecclesiastical offices. There are references to Brahmins from Kambujadeśa visiting India. Śivasoma, the guru of Indravarman, was the grandson of Jayendrādhipativarman, maternal uncle of Jayavarman II, and he learnt Śāstras at the feet of Bhavagn Śaṅkara whose lotus feet were touched by the hands of all the sages.[9]

The inscriptions are decisive in suggesting that Brahmanism in all its phases—ranging from ritualism to Bhaktism, and from ascetism to Polytheism flourished in this country beside the worship of Siva in pantheistic as well as Linga forms, Vaishṇavism and the different forms of Vishṇu, the Trimūrti and numerous Brahmanical gods and goddesses. We find the installation of the compound deities Sambhu-Vishṇu, Śaṅkara-Nārāyaṇa, and Hara-Achyuta. These compound deities were also popular in Northern India in that period. There are also references to Vedic sacrifices, and ascetic orders with the result that one feels that ancient Kambujadeśa had a full-fledged Brahmanical society practsing the same pantheistic, ritualistic and eclectic form of worship associated with Brahmanism.

Here we might refer to some concrete instances on all these aspects as noticed in the records.

4. Pelliot, Quelquess texts Chinois hindouises : Et. Asiat : *EFOE*, vol. II, p. 248 ; Quoted Coedes, *Etats Hind*, p. 69.
5. *MKI*, No. 152, p. 362 ff.
6. *Ibid.*, No. 60, p. 76. V. 5.
7. *Ibid.*, No. 111, p. 285.
8. *Ibid.*, No. 191, p. 548.
9. *Ibid.*, No. 54, p. 58.

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Śaivism in a modified form was accepted as the state religion, and even the Buddhist emperors accepted it. The cult popularly called Devarāja[10] was in essence a synthesis of three particular streams of thought—the setting up of a Liṅga on a raised pyramid symbolising the essence of royalty, the deification of royalty, and ancestor worship. Tantrism was closely connected with this cult, and the Indian Brahmin Hiraṇyadāma particularly taught *Vrahvina śikha*, *Nayottara*, *Sammoha* and *Śirascheda*, to Śivakaivalya. Nothing is known about the first three texts, but the last one might have something to do with the head offering motif which is very well known in Indian sculptures, and is also mentioned in the *Kathāsaritsāgara* and *Hitopadeśa*. This cult represents simple Śiva-Śakti worship in addition to deification of ancestors and the divine element in the king linking the Church and the State. The famous temple of Bayon became almost like the West Minster Abbey in whose many shrines were commemorated the gods and great men of the country.

Pure Saivism in its pantheistic form is evinced from the references to the setting up of Śiva-Pārvatī statues in inscriptions as well as in sculptures. An inscription[11] from Vat Vihar is associated with a temple of the same name which contained a fine sculpture of Śiva and Pārvatī, the latter being seated on the left thigh of the god. King Indravarman also installed the statues of Śiva and three of Devi in A.D. 879.[12] A sage named Amarabhava who was honoured by Yasovarman and Indravarman[13] made an image of Śiva out of a golden disc, of the type called Utsavamurti, for taking out in a procession. The best sculptural representation of Śiva and Pārvatī is on a Tympanum from Banteai Srei showing Rāvaṇa shaking the Kailāśa which may be compared to the similar one from Ellora and Elephanta.

The linga form of Śiva worship is noticed in a number of inscriptions of different periods from the time of Citrasena,[14] another name of Mahendravarman, in the early seventh century A.D. to the time of Rajendravarman in the ninth century[15] A.D. numbering about ten. These two dates must not be construed as *terminus a quo* and *terminus ad quem* of the Liṅga form of Śiva worship in Kambujadeśa, although the popular god Śiva in later times took the form of composite deity Śiva-Vīshṇu, designated by various names, like Śaṅkara-Nārāyaṇa,[16]

10. Ref. Author's Paper, *Proc. Ind. His. Cong*, Cal. 1955, for consolidated references.
11. *MIK*, No. 7. p. 8.; BEFEO, XXXV, p. 36.
12. *Ibid.*, No. 55, p. 61ff.
13. *Ibid.*, No. 75, p. 157ff.
14. *Ibid.*, No. 14, p. 19ff.
15. *Ibid.*, No. 93, p. 193ff.
16. *Ibid.*, No. 51, p. 56.

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Śambhu-Vishṇu[17] (Liṅga), Hara-Achyuta,[18] Hari-Hara[19] and others. Various names are given to Śiva, as for example, Rudra, Śambhu, Girīśa, Trayambaka, Śaṅkara, Maheśvara, Iśāna, and certain other names given after the donors like Pīngaleśvara,[20] Siddheśvara,[21] Kadambeśvara[22] Srivijeśvara[23] etc. Siva is mentioned as the greatest god, a great ascetic. The Trimūrti—Brahmā, Vishṇu, and Maheśa—are also referred to in many records. One particular inscription[24] refers to the installation of the images of eight forms of Śiva, probably in eight temples.

The Śaivites were divided into a number of sects. An inscription[25] of the time of Jayavarman I mentions a sacrificer who was well-versed in the rites of *Pancharātra* sect. An earlier inscription[26] from Phnom Prah of the time of Bhavavarman records donations of Vidyapushpa, an official of the king who was the head (āchārya) of the Pāśupatas. This inscription is very important as it suggests the existence of this popular Śaiva sect in Kambujadesa, a fact which was also noticed by the Chinese traveller to that country, Chou Ta-Kuan (A.D. 1296) who visited Angkor Thom. This pilgrim seems to allude to the Pāśupatas under the name Pa-ssu-wei. It is suggested by Pelliot[27] that the Pāśupatas existed as distinct sect and there are some indications that the ideas which prevailed among the Lingayats also found their way thither.

The recognition of Śiva as a supreme deity, the ultimate spirit from which emanated both Brahmā and Vishṇu is unquestioned in the religious history of Ancient Kambujadesa. He is the presiding deity of the Bayon. The four heads surmounting the forty towers formerly supposed to represent Brahma, are according to Elliot,[28] meant for Lingas bearing four faces of Śiva, with three eyes in each head. Such a form of Śiva is not uncommon, and is noticed in several Indian icons. Śiva never had an exclusive character, but was also associated with other gods, and Brahmanical worship, too,was centred in several others like Vishṇu, Brahma and others.

Vishṇu is invoked in a number of records. He is given five names, *viz.* Vāsudeva, Trivikrama, Padmanābha, Madhudvis, and Puṇḍarīkāk-

17. *Ibid.*, No. 11, p. 13.
18. *Ibid.*, No. 72, p. 150.
19. *Ibid.*, No, 25, p. 30.
20. *Ibid.*, No. 46, p. 83.
21. *Ibid.*, No. 93.
22. *Ibid.*, No. 30.
23. *Ibid.*, No. 16.
24. *Ibid.*, No. 66, p. 67, v. 25.
25. *Ibid.*, No. 27A, p. 560.
26. *Ibid.*, N0. 10, p. 11.
27. *Op. cit.*
28. *Hinduism and Buddhism*, vol. I.

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sha. One of the earliest inscriptions[29] records a donation by prince Gunavaraman to the image of god Vishṇu who is called Cakratīrthsvāmin. He is also invoked by Kulaprabhāvatī, the chief queen of Jayavarman, who installed an image of the god in Kurumbanagar which was inhabited by the Brahmins. This is the earliest inscription from Kambujadeśa and the king has been identified with Jayavarman, the king of Funan who ruled from c. 475 to 514 A.D. Their son Guṇavarman consecrated a footprint of Vishṇu called Cakratīrthasvāmin in another record.[30] The deity is also given other names like Hari, Nārāyaṇa, Mādhava and Śrīpati. A temple of Hari was established in the year 883 A.D. by Amritagarbha,[31] son of Jayendravarman. Another record[32] of the time of Yaśovarman refers to the installation of an image of Vishṇu and some endowment to the temple by the maternal uncle of this king. Prithvīndrapaṇḍita, a relation of Yajñavara who was the preceptor of king Jayavarman V installed an image of Vishṇu.[33] Vishṇu is also invoked as Vāsudeva, Trivikrama, Padmanābha, Madhudvis, and Puṇḍarīkāksha An inscription from Bati of the time of Jayavarman IV records the invocation of Vishṇu which is in perfect agreement with the fresco paintings in two temples in the same region depicting Krishṇa lifting the Govardhana mountain, and Vishṇu covering the world in three steps.[34]

It is equally interesting to note a feeling of amity between Śaivism and Vaishṇavism in this country's history. There are several references to Śaiva and Vaishṇava benefactions by the same donor. An officer of King Bhavavarman who was probably the governor of a city or district set up a liṅga of Śiva, an image of Durgā, one of Śambhu-Vishṇu, and gave a donation to god Śiva of Dhanvipura, and another to Vishṇu Trailokyasāra.[35] The next part of the same inscription mentions an image of Lakshmī, another of Vishṇu, a donation to god Śiva of Dhanvipura, and a donation to Vishṇu Trailokyasāra. We also noticed that Śivāchārya, the head of the Śaivas was born in a Vaishṇava family. This spirit of amity is also evident from several contemporary records from Northern India, and Vaishṇava temples were placed in charge of Śaivāchāryas.[36]

The two deities were sometimes merged into one, and there are several references to the setting up of the compound deity. A vassal chief of Tāmrapura[37] installed an image of Śiva-Vishṇu. A temple was

29. *MIK*, No. 1, p. 1.
30. *Ibid.*, No. 2, p. 2.
31. *Ibid.*, No. 58, p. 71.
32. *Ibid.*, No. 77, p. 161.
33. *Ibid.*, No. 109, p. 282.
34. *Ibid.*, No. 88, p. 577.
35. *Ibid.*, No. 11, p. 18.
36. *Ibid.*,
37. *Ibid.*, No. 25, p. 80.

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dedicated to Hara and Achyuta, united in one body, *viz.* Hari-Hara and the limits were fixed by king Yaśovarman.[38] Another inscription[39] refers to the establishment by Krishṇamitra of the god Hari-Hara (Vishṇu-Śiva) called in the Khmer part Yajñapati Śiva. This is in conformity with the Indian tradition, as we notice several Hari-Hara images in Indian art, and the history of the Liang Dynasty also refers to the setting up of such images of Śiva and Vishṇu united in one body.[40]

Besides these, there are references to various other Indian gods and goddesses like Gaṇeśa,[41] Śālagrāma,[42] Āditya,[43] Svayambhu,[44] and a few others who may be synonymous of Śiva or Vishṇu, as they are named after the donors. They are Prahanteśvara, Candrāyananātha, Nīlakeśvara, and a few others. Brahmā, as a part of the Trinity is also mentioned in several records.[45] The goddesses propitiated by the people were Durgā,[46] Gaṅga,[47] Indrānī,[48] Vāgeśvari,[49] Bhagavatī,[50] Caturbhujā,[51] and Bhavānī. Their temples were set up either independently or along with other gods. It appears from a perusal of these records that Bhaktism was a dominating feature in the religious life of the country. People were conscious of the fruits of evil deeds, and hence were anxious to propitiate gods and goddesses.

It is interesting to learn that golden images were also set up in temples, as for example, that of Tripuṇḍamaheśvara, and of Vishṇu under the name of Tribhuvanarājña, and his consort Bhagavati.[52] Sri King Udayaditavarman gave a gift of a golden statue of Lakshmi. Jayavarman VII dedicated two golden images of Nāṭyeśvara (dancing Śiva) and an image of his father. We also notice references to Suvarṇa Liṅga and Maṇi Śiva.[53] This reminds us of the famous comment on the Sūtra of Pāṇini—*Jīvikārthe cāpaṇya*[54] which refers to unsalable images which were kept for worship in temples, but aso served incidentally as means of livelihood to their owners.

38. *Ibid.*, No. 72, p. 150.
39. *Ibid.*, No. 43, p. 42.
40. *Ibid.*
41. *Ibid.*, No. 60, p. 74.
42. *Ibid.*, No. 40, p. 50.
43. *Ibid.*
44. *Ibid.*, No. 94, p. 185.
45. *Ibid.*, No. 61.
46. *Ibid.*, Nos. 56, 60, 97.
47. *Ibid.*, No. 56.
48. *Ibid.*, No. 92.
49. *Ibid.*, No. 40.
50. *Ibid.*, No. 26A.
51. *Ibid.*, No. 148, p. 352.
52. *Ibid.*, No. 157, p. 400.
53. *Ibid.*, p. 564.
54. *C. Mahābhāshya.*

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The Pauranic deities had not overshadowed either the Vedic sacrifices or ascetic orders. Despite the fact that the worship of the popular deities associated with Brahmanism was notable in India at the time when the first batch of Brahmins came to this country, Vedic sacrifices continued to be performed by these Brahmins. Śivāchārya was the *hota* or sacrificial priest of four successive kings-Iśānavarman II, Jayavarman, Harshavarman, and Rājendravarman.[55] During the reign of Sri Udayadityavarmadeva, Jayendra Pandita was the Royal Guru, and he performed various religious ceremonies beginning with *Bhuvanādhva* and *Brahmayajña*. He performed the Mahotsavapūjā in accordance with *Vrahguhya*.[56] Sūryavarman celebrated his grand literary ceremonies (*sastrotsava*) and distributed to the priests large amount of fees. The king performed *Laksha-homa* and *Koti-homa*.[57] The hota of king Jayavarman was Vidyāsūrī.[58] There is a reference to a sacrificer versed in the rites of *Pañcharātra*.[59] A *Mālinī* named Madhyadeshā celebrated a sacrifice called *Brahmayajña*.[60]

Asceticism and ascetic orders were not unknown in ancient Kambujadeśa. A holy congregation of the ascetics of Śivasthāna is mentioned in the Phnom Sandak inscription.[61] Sūryavarman II honoured an ascetic named Binnachala,[62] while another one named Sikhasiva figured prominently in another record.[63] One inscription refers to Udasins[64] while another mentions the chief of ascetics.[65] They also led the life of an householder by marrying, Umā, daughter of Samgrāma, was the wife of the ascetic Mahidharavarman.[66] Generally people were dissuaded from this course. The ladies were not failing in ascetic practices.

It would, thus, appear that neither age nor distance stood in the way of the expansion of Brahmanical religion, thought, and culture in ancient Kambujadeśa, in all its phases from Vedic Yajñas to the worship of the popular deities. The theory of Karma and rigid rules of conduct were conterminous. Śaivism was the state religion with the cult of Devarāja as its most prominent feature. Vaishṇavism was equally popular. The two were sometimes merged into one with the compound deity. Hari-Hara as the venerated one. It is rather difficult to consider the religious history of this country except as a continuous process of that stream of thought which had been sweeping over the land of its origin for ages.

55. *MIK*, No. 129, p. 323. 324.
56. *Ibid.*, No. 152, p. 369.
57. *Ibid.*, No. 168.
58. *Ibid.*, No. 191.
59. *Ibid.*, No. 27 A.
60. *Ibid.*, No. 131 A, p. 667.
61. *Ibid.*, No. 147.
62. *Ibid.*, No. 166.
63. *Ibid.*, No. 78.
64. *Ibid.*, 100 E, p. 584.
65. *Ibid.*, No. 87, p. 175.
66. *Ibid.*, No. 175.

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BRAHMANISM AS DESCRIBED IN EARLY BUDDHIST TEXTS

Dr. Madan Mohan Singh

The 7th and the 6th centuries B.C. proved to be very fertile field for the rise and spread of new religious movements. An old Buddhist text speaks of 63 schools of philosophy,[1] many of which were probably non-Brahmanical. But such statements seem to be exaggerations. The early Buddhist texts generally refer to six main heretical sects, which flourished during the days of the Buddha.[2] There were no doubt several religious teachers, who had established their respective orders, but we find only the Buddha and Mahavira, who were able to gather large numbers of followers around them.

Though people favourably responded to the teachings of the Buddha and Mahāvīra, the exponents of the new religious ideaologies of Buddhism and Jainism, yet it is revealed from the Buddhist literature that Brahmanism remained the dominant religion of the age. Buddhism spread only in the region known as the Majjhima-desa in the Buddhist Canons. It no doubt proved to be an important religious sect in the Majjhima-desa, but the major portion of the population does not seem to have embraced Buddhism. The beliefs, superstitions and practices of the vast majority of the common folk had nothing to do with the doctrinal side of the various schools. Even the Buddha did not oppose the prevalent customs, except those which caused slaughter of animals. The social order remained unshaken; religious beliefs and superstitions of the masses remained practically as they were before the advent of the Buddha and Mahāvīra. In fact Buddhism was to a great extent genuine Brahmanism in its texture. It shared Brahmanism in its dominant religious ideas such as the conception of Sorrow, Deliverance, Desire, *Karman* and Rebirth. It did not share a few ideas with Brahmanism such as the latter's belief in the authority of the Vedas, the efficacy of animal sacrifices and so on.

The Buddha introduced radical reforms both in the doctrinal as well as the practical side of religious life, which were directed in good part against Brahmanism. Buddhism and Jainism both adopted in their

1. *CHI*, vol. I.
2. *DN*, I. 47-49, *MNI*, 198, 250; II. 2; Su. Ni. III. 6.

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ascetic practices and in their whole mode of life the rules which had been already fixed by their Brāhmaṇa antagonists. The rules laid down for Jain monks show closer similarity to those of the Brāhmaṇa mendicants.[3] In various matters of religious practices the Buddhists and Jains were not innovators.

Though the Buddhists and Jains revolted against the authority of the Brāhmaṇas and the efficacy of the Vedic Yajñas and rituals, they did not go against the prevalent customs and practices of the people, but they tried to replace a few of them by similar disguised practices in order to attract the masses. They tried to get rid of those Brahmanical practices which involved killing of life. In case of Yajña, the Buddha opposed the slaughter of animals, but approved a Yajña performed otherwise.[4] He is silent about the Pākayajñas and the Pañchamahāyajñas. People used to consult the Brāhmaṇas for interpreting their dreams.[5] This belief of the common folk was not overlooked by the Buddha; and hence he is described as one who could interpret dreams better than the Brāhmaṇas.[6] People believed in the efficacy of benediction by priests. The Buddhists prescribed chanting of the Maṅgalasutta;[7] the Jains introduced eight Maṅgalas.[8] They further praised the selfless and enlighted Brāhmaṇa. Though they challenged the orthodox view of the high position of the Brāhmaṇas, they placed the Kshatriyas above all, and valued the purity of blood. Thus we find that popular beliefs and customs did not die out with the advent of novel religious outlook. And, it can be said that Brahmanism, which had already assimilated all popular cults, did not receive a set-back due to the rise of Buddhism and Jainism and that the popular religion was in spirit nothing but popular Brahmanism.

It is obvious from the Buddhist texts that Brahmanism had two aspects, *viz.*, the Higher and Popular. The complete picture of higher Brahmanism is represented by the Āryaṇyakas, Upanishads, Gṛihyasūtras, Dharmasūtras and so on; it held good in the case of the Brāhmaṇas in particular and the Dvijas in general. The Buddhist writers also refer to the religious practices of the Brāhmaṇas; but the orthodox Buddhist literature refers only to those practices which it intends to criticise, and hence it does not reveal the complete picture of higher Brahmanism. But it adds to our knowledge of Brahmanism of the period during which it was compiled.

3. Jacobi, *Jain Su.* Introduction.
4. *DN*, I. 141-2.
5. *SN*, I. 76; Jā. III. 43-44.
6. *Jā.* I. 335.
7. *Khuddakapāṭha*, p. 8.
8. *Aup. Su.* Sec. 40.

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The Buddhist sources disclose that the Sotthiyas and the Brāhmaṇa Mahāsālas of the age were custodians of the Vedic religion or higher Brahmanism, which was mostly sacrificial. The Buddhist literature refers only to animal sacrifice which it vehemently criticises.[9] But it does not mention other forms of Yajñas which did not involve loss of life. As already observed, the Buddha was not against it.

Performance of Yajñas was an important aspect of Brahmanism as in Vedic period. The Brāhmaṇa Mahāsālas sometimes performed sacrifices for themselves, and sometimes officiated as priests in the Yajñas performed for kings. Descriptions of the preparations of the Mahāyajñas of the Brāhmaṇa Kūṭadanta of Magadha,[10] of the Brāhmaṇa Uggatasarira of Sāvatthi[11] and of king Pasenadi of Kośala[12] throw a good deal of light on the method of Yajñas. Animals sacrificed included cows, bulls, steers, heifers, goats, sheep, poultry, pig, horses, elephants and so on,[13] which shows that animals like elephants and bulls, which were not sacrificed during the Vedic period, were also killed in the Yajñas. The number of animals for sacrificing had also gone high; sometimes each in the number of 500 or 700 were killed. As the Buddhist writers give exaggerated accounts of the Yajñas like killing all living beings[14] on account of their Brahmanical antagonism, all that they say may not be true.

It is revealed from the Buddhist sources that performance took place of the Assamedha, the Purisamedha, the Sammāpāsa and the Vājapeyya sacrifices.[15] The interpretation of the term purisamedha as human sacrifice is doubtful. It appears that it has been mentioned by way of tradition. It has also been suggested that it meant corn sacrifice.

Yajñas were performed with grandeur. It has already been observed that animals in huge numbers were killed. Trees were cut for constructing sacrificial posts (Yūpas).[16] Sometimes a sacrificial pit was dug and the numerous victims were fastened to the stakes. Fastening animals to the stakes is not Vedic. Probably it was a new development. Multitudes of people must have gathered to witness the sacrifices. Brāhmaṇas enjoyed considerable respect of all sections of society, and when a Yajña like that of the Brāhmaṇa Kūṭadanta took place it was quite natural that people may have flocked to see it. The great Yajñas of the Kassapa brothers at Uruvelā were eagerly attended by the people

9. *e.g.*, Dhamma-charitya-sutta of *Sutta-Nipāta.*
10. *DN*, I. 127.
11. *AN*, IV. 41.
12. *SN*, I. 76.
13. *DN*, I. 127; *SN* I. 76; *AN*, IV. 41; II. 42; 207; *Jā.* III. 44.
14. *Jā.* III. 44.
15. *SN*, I. 76; *AN*, II. 42; *Su-Ni.* II. 7. 20.
16. *DN*, I. 142; *AN*, IV. 42.

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of Aṅga and Magadha.[17] Yajñas were attended by big feasts, offerings, gifts, distribution of charities and so on.[18] Brāhmaṇas received liberal gifts such as cows, beds, garments, women, chariots, carpets, and palaces filled with corn.[19] The picture of the Yajñas thus revealed by the Buddhist sources is similar to that disclosed by the Brahmanical sources, except a few exaggerations. There is mention of the Vedic *ṛishis*, like Aṭṭhaka, Vāmaka, Vāmadeva, Viśvāmitra, Yamadagni and Bhṛigu.[20] It is said that hymns composed by these *ṛishis* were sincerely repeated by the Brāhmaṇas.[21] Here we find that the Buddhists were acquainted with the Vedic *ṛishis* and that they were against the practice of repeating these Mantras composed by them. By this period Vedic texts had become more important than the gods. The Brāhmaṇas also appear as teachers representing various Vedic schools, such as the Addhariyas (Aitareyas), Tittiriyas (Taittiriyas), Chhandokas (Chhāndogyas), Chandavas (?) and so on.[22] It would appear from such references that a section of the Brāhmaṇa community sincerely followed the Vedic religious tradition. They worshipped Indra, Soma, Varuṇa, Iśāna, Prajāpati, Brahmā, Mahiddhi, Yama and son on.[23] Among these gods all are Vedic, except Iśāna, who is frequently referred to in the *Gṛihya Sūtras*.[24] The Brāhmaṇas invoked them and offered them prayer.

When the Buddhist sources use the terms Devadhammikas and Devavatikas to distinguish the masses from the ascetics as the worshippers of gods,[25] and when Pāṇini refers to the devotees of Vāsudeva-Kṛishṇa as Vāsudevaka[26] we are led to assume that the cult of Bhaktṛ was in existence.

The Vedic god Brahmā retained his popularity during our period. The Buddha is not found criticising his worship, but he is described as the highest god by the Buddhist writers. New development that took place as regards him is that various Brahmās were conceived for worshipping such as Sanat Kumāra, Prajāpati, Sahaṁpati and so on.[27]

The Vedic god Indra described in the Brahmanical as well Buddhist literature as the lord of gods, residing in heaven appears as the most

17. *SBE*, XIII. 124.
18. Law, *Early Texts*, p. 205.
19. *Su.Ni.* II. 7. 20-32.
20. *DN*, I. 239 ; *MN*, II. 200 ; *AN*, IV. 61.
21. *DN*, I. 104, 239.
22. *DN*, I. 237.
23. *DN*, I. 244.
24. *DN*, I. 245.
25. *Chulla-Niddesa*, p. 173 ; Law, *Early Texts*, p. 195 ; *IHQ*, vol. III, p. 251.
26. *India as known to Pāṇini*. pp. 358-60.
27. *MV*, I. 5.4. ; *DN*, I. 244 ; *SN*, I. 219, *KS*, 1. 281, 191-2, 298, *AN*, 11, 21.

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popular deity. He is mentioned by various names such as Sakka,[28] Vāsava,[29] Maghavā[30] and so on. The Buddhist literature enables us to know about the activities, his residence etc. more than the Brahmanical sources. It represents him as one whose throne grows hot when somebody performs extraordinary merit ;[31] and he is always under the fear of losing his Sakkahood.[32] He is also described as descending to this world for helping the virtuous[33] and punishing the evil-doers.[34] He is all-seeing,[35] and hence is called the thousand eyed.[36] But he is not eternal and one can be born in the heaven as the Sakka on account of his merit of virtue.[37]

The Buddhist literature gives us more information than the Brahmanical sources about his abode, gardens and so on. He resides in the palace known as Suddhammā,[38] Vejayanta[39] and Massakasāra[40] in the beautiful Tāvatiñsa heaven.[41] The Sudhammā palace is also the Assembly Hall of gods.[42] In the heaven there are beautiful gardens like chitralatā, Nandana, Phārusaka and Bhissaka for the enjoyment of Sakka.[43] His two constant companions are Mātali, his charioteer and Pañchaśikha, the musician.[44]

Agni occupied an important place in Brahmanism on account of the importance of Agnihotra. The Gṛihyasūtras and the Dharamasūtras prescribe a number of domestic sacrifices for which Agni is needed. Again Agni was given a high position due to its place in the Yajña which is referred to also by the Buddhist writers.[45] They no doubt ridicule Agni-worship, but from their statements the popularity of it among the Brāhmaṇas is revealed. When the Buddhist writers speak of the Brāhmaṇas retiring to the forest with the sacrificial fire,[46] describe Brāhmaṇas making offerings and worshipping fire at the Āśramas like

28. *Mahāvoginda-Suttanta of DN* ; Dia. 111. 259 f ; *MN*, I. 251, *KS*, I. 284, 293-307. *SN* IV. 101-2, *GS* I. 127 ; *AN* III. 370 etc.
29. *KS*, I. 285-302 ; Jā. VI. 289.
30. *Dhp.* 30 ; Jā. III. 145.
31. *Jā.* III. 129.
32. *Jā.* II. 312 ; III. 129, 132.
33. *Jā.* II. 123 and No. 186.
34. *Jā.* No. 540.
35. *Su.Ni.* II. 12.3-4.
36. *KS*, I. 295 ; *Su.Ni.* II. 12.4 ; *Vimāna.* IV. 10.10.
37. *Ja.* II. 101, 312 ; IV. 63.
38. *Ja.* I. 204. VI. 127, 278.
39. *KS*, I. 301-2 ; *Jā.* VI. 278.
40. *Jā.* VI. 289.
41. *KS*, I. 284-307, *Jā.* II. 312. (The thirty-three gods occur also in the Vedic mythology).
42. *DN*, II. 220 ; *KS*, I. 284, *Jā.* VI. 97, 126.
43. *AN*, III. 40 ; *Vimāna.* I. 13.6 ; 14.6 ; II. I.I. and 14 ; IV. 2.2., 10.10, *Jā.* VI. 132, 278.
44. *KS*, I. 284, *SN*, IV. 103 ; *Jā.* III. 222 ; IV. 63 ; VI. 126.
45. *Su. Ni.* III. 7.21.
46. *Jā* Nos. 144 and 162.

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that of Sundarika Bhāradvāja,[47] or when they speak of the Jaṭilas at Uruvelā performing Agnihotra,[48] they give true account of the place of Agni worship in Brahmanism. When they ridicule Agni worship as in the *Santhava Jātaka* they show Buddhist antagonism to it, which was probably due to its association with Yajña.

In the Vedas the Sun occupies an important position, but the Moon is insignificant. From the Buddhist literature it appears that the latter also had become a popular deity, because both are described as being worshipped by the people.[49]

The Vedic deity Parjanya (Pajjuna) did not lose his position during this period. He was worshipped as the custodian of rain water, whom people prayed for sending forth rains.[50]

Siri or Sirimā was a popular deity of our period.[51] She is described as the daughter of Dhataraṭṭha and the goddess of Fortune and Luck.[52] She manifested herself with raiment and ointment of golden hue and ornaments of golden brightness.[53] She is represented in Bharhut sculptures as seated on a full blown lotus,[54] which is the same as the representation of Lakshmī. Maṇimekhalā was regarded as the goddess of sea, presiding over ocean,[55] who protected victims of shipwreck.[56] This deity must have been worshipped by the seafarers for safe journey.

Some of the abstract deities were also worshipped.[57] Among them some were Vedic and some were new additions.—Śraddhā is a Vedic deity, but Āsā, and Hiri are non-Vedic.

There are four Lokapālas (Chātumahārājika Devas)[58] in the four quarters. Dhataraṭṭha Mahārāja, Virulhaka Mahārāja, Virupakkha Mahārāja and Vessavaṇa Mahārāja are the lords of the East, the South, the West and the North respectively.[59] There four Lokapālas appear in the Bharhut Jātaka scene.

47. *Su.Ni.* III. 4.
48. *SBE*, XIII. 129. 132.
49. *Therīgāthā*. 87; *Jā*. I. 474; VI. 1. 263.
50. *Jā*. V. 331.
51. She is referred to also in the Jain Canons, e.g., *Kalpasūtra—SBE* XXII. 232.
52. *Jā*, III. 262.
53. *Jā*. III. 261.
54. *B. and S.*, 186.
55. *Jā*. VI. 35.
56. *Jā*. IV. 17.
57. *Jā*. V. 392.
58. *MV*, 1. 6·30; *MN*, II. 194.
59. *DN*, II. 220-2.

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There is mention of various minor gods. There are picturesque descriptions of various heavens and hells. Those who perform virtuous acts attain heaven ; while those indulging in evil acts go to hell was the popular belief.

In addition to the above-mentioned aspects, Brahmanism embraced popular cults of Yakkha-Worship, Nāga-Worship, Tree-Worship and Bull-Worship, etc., but they are not included in this paper due to the lack of space. These cults occupied important place in the religious life of the masses and most of them were primarily non-Aryan in origin, but later on assimilated in Hinduism.

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BUDDHISM AS REFLECTED IN TAMIL WORKS

Shrimati P. K. Parvathy

In the *Puṟanānūṟu* there is just the faintest hint of the heretical sects; in *Manimēkalai* Buddhism is already senile; and in the *Tiruttoṇḍar Purāṇam* it is in its last gasp.

In the *Puṟanānūṟu* the Brahmin is as supreme in South India as he was in North India before the appearance of Mahavira and the Buddha. Auvaiyār compares the three kings of the south to the three fires which the twice-born preserve day and night with ceaseless vigilance, and exhorts them to shower gifts on Brahmins without stint, becuase the land belongs to the saintly (*Puṟam* 367, Nilakantha Sastri, *The Cōlās*, vol. I, p. 59). Viṇṇandāyan, who has performed the twenty-one sacrifices prescribed for the Brahmins, is praised as one who saw through the sophistry of the false doctrines, and shunning error, preferred truth (*Puṟam* 166, *ibid.*, 113). We seem to be still on the surface; doubts have not yet begun to stir the depths of the soul. Kōpperuñjōlan is far from sure whether there is a future birth or not. He is concerned only with doing good now. We may reap its fruits in this life or the next; and even *if there be no future birth* to do good is the highest asceticism (*Puṟam* 214, *ibid.*, p. 57).

In *Maṇimēkalai* we get glimpses indeed of the moral reformation which was one of the grandest achievements of Buddhism. The courtezan, who would sell her charms only for 1008 *Fanams* and ruined Kovalan, appears thoroughly reformed. Though she did not join him through death she did the next best, she became a hermit. Detesting the life of shame she had led, she would save her daughter from the life of a courtezan, and send her to Aravaṇa Aḍigaḷ to convert her in the fulness of time (*Maṇimēkalai in its Historical Setting* by Krishnasvamy Ayyangar, pp. 116-71). The ineffectiveness of acts, of blind conformity to rituals without *Śraddha*, or attention, seems also emphasized in the story of the magic seat of the Buddha (*ibid.*, 118-119, *Bk. iii*). But the whole atmosphere is one of magic and supernatural powers. Maṇimēkalai is taught various *Mantras* to be used as occasion arose (*ibid.*, p. 112, *Prologue*). Through these, she is able to change her shape at

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will and become Kāyasandikai to avoid the infatuated prince, Udayakumara (*Ibid.*, p. 158); and even fly across in the air from the island of Maṇipallavam to Vañji (*Ibid.*, p. 186). In addition to these we have the miraculous seat of the Buddha by worshipping which one knows the past (*Ibid.*, 132), the begging bowl that never fails (*Ibid.*, p. 138), and the speaking statuette in the pillar (*Ibid.*, p. 162).

In *Tiruttoṇḍarpurāṇam* the process of degradation is complete. To what extremes these shaven-headed monks (literally the hairs of whose heads have been pulled out) clothed in mats and with bunches of peacock feathers in their hands were prepared to go can be seen in their treatment of the blind Taṇḍiyaḍi, Tirunāvukkaraśu and Tirujñānsambandar. Taṇḍiyadi used to spend the day in removing the filth which had filled up the tank; with the aid of a rope tied to a post on the bank he guided himself up and down the tank, climbing up the bank with the basket of filth on his head and after emptying, it, coming down to fill it again. One day, while he was down in the tank, they cut off the rope which had enabled him to come up. The persecution to which they subjected Tirunāvukkaraśu finally recoiled on their own heads. Originally he was one of their own leaders under the name of Dharmasena. Striken with an insufferable pain and unable to find any remedy he was at last cured by his sister through her implicit faith in Śiva. Dharmasena thereupon became a staunch worshipper of Śiva; and on account of the sweetness of his songs he was called Tirunāvukkaraśu or the Lord of the Sacred Tongue. The Buddhists naturally appealed to their patron, Mahendravarman Pallava. At their instance he put him in the lime kiln. When he was found alive after a week, he was given poison. As it did not act, a rutting elephant was made to charge him; but instead of rushing upon him and tearing him to pieces, it humbly circumambulated him and went away. He was then bound hand and foot to a heavy stone and cast into the ocean; but the stone served him as a boat and he came riding upon the waves. Stricken with remorse, the Pallava himself became his disciple, and destroyed the Buddhist settlement of Pataliputram with its *Caityas* and *Vihāras*. The Buddhists of Madura tried to set fire to the house where Tirujñānasambandar was staying, and vanquished in the various tests proposed by themselves, were in the end put to death by being impaled on stakes—a punishment whch they themselves had settled upon before hand. The rank and file of the Buddhists had become so demoralized that they attributed the success of Sambandar (as well as of Tirunāvukkaraśu) to the superior magic of the Saivas! But the more learned however, under their leaders, Buddhanandi and Sariputra, challenged Sambandar to defeta them in argument. Though Buddhanandi suddenly died, the grand contest was held at Bodhimangai. As between Maṇḍana Miśra and Śankara, the contest seems to have

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been long, the protagonists fighting with their best weapons. At last, Sariputra admitted defeat and became a worshipper of Śiva with all his followers. Thus Buddhism disappeared from South India. Seeing how the simple doctrines of the Apostle of *Ahimsa* came to be riddled through and through with superstition, magic, and even cruelty and unscrupulousness, no one need regret its disappearance.

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BEGINNINGS OF VAIṢṆAVISM IN ORISSA

Shri Sarat Chandra Behera

From the Aśokan inscription and Hāthigumpha record, it is known that in the 3rd and 1st century B.C. Buddhism and Jainism were prevalent in Orissa. But with the rise of the powerful Māṭharas in Kalinga, Brahmanism was established in Orissa. They are known to have issued at least 15 copperplate grants* to Brahmanas of various *Gotras*. Palæographically those inscriptions may be ascribed to the 5th and 6th Century A.D. In their palmy days, they ruled over the entire Kalinga, roughly extending from the river Mahanadi to Krishnaveni. This is known to us from the Ningondi plate of Prabhanjanavarman.[1] The Māṭharas were the contemporaries of the Guptas and Parivrājakas, who were great patrons of Vaisnavism in the Northern and Central India.[2]

During the rule of the Māṭharas, Mahendra region occupied a prominent place in Kalinga. It was also considered to be a great religious centre. This is known to us from the Dhavalpeta grant of Umavarman referring to 'Mahendra Bhoga Vishaya.'[3] Purānas speak of Mahendra as a 'kulagiri'. Vāmana Purana (Chapter XIII, Vr. 14) records :—

> "*Mahendromalaya Sahyaḥ Suktimanṛiksha parvataḥ Vindhyaścha Pāripātraścha Saptātra Kulaparvatāḥ.*"

This puranic evidence is corroborated by the Cuttack Museum charter of Mādhavarāja,[4] which points out :—

> "Srīmān Merurivodgatah *Kula giri Kshāto Mahendra* Kshitau."

The same Mahendragiri, during the early Gangas of Kalinga became the famous religious centre on the summit of which Lord Gokarneśwara was established.[5]

* *Vide Inscriptions of Orissa* (recent publication) by S. N. Rajaguru.

1. See *EI*, vol. XXX, pp. 112-118.
2. *Vide* L. 19 of Blhiari Stone Inscription, *CII*, vol. III, p. 52, and L. 1 of Khoh C. P. grant of Samkhova. *Ibid.*, p. 114.
3. *JAHRS*, vol. X, pp. 143-44.
4. Vide *EI*, vol. XXIV, p. 148 ff.
5. See *JBRS*, vol. XXV (1949), pts. I. and II p. 2.

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Thus it is obvious that Mahendra was a great religious centre during the Śailodbhavas of Kongoda and Gangas of Kalinga, who were devout worshippers of Śiva.

Now the question arises whether Mahendra was famous during the presailodbhava period as a centre of Śaivism or Vaiṣṇavism? No conclusive opinion can be offered unless sufficient archæological survey is made in this region.

But from a study of the copperplate inscriptions of the Māṭharas, who ruled round this religion, we learn that Prabhanjanavarman was a devotee at the feet of Lord Nārāyana (Bhagavat Swāmi Nārāyana Pādānudhyātaḥ).,[6] that Nanda Prabhanjana Varman[7] and Chandavarman[8] declared themselves as 'Parama Bhāgavata.' The use of these epithets is very significant in the early history of Vaiṣṇava faith in Orissa. Here for the first time Vaiṣṇavism was patronised by Kalingan monarchs.

The Māṭharas also declared themselves 'Parama Daivata.'[9] The expression "*Daivataṁ Devatānāmcha*" in *Viṣṇu Sahasra-nāma*[10] leads us to assume that the epithet is Vaiṣṇavite in its character. Again the epithet "*Parama Daivata Parama Bhāgavata*" used by Bhūtivarman in his Baḍagangā rock inscription of (Gupta) Sam-vat 234[11] is another corroborating evidence to confirm our view cited above.

We further assume from the use of the name "Kṛṣṇachandra," a writer in the Baranga plates of Nanda Prabhanjana Varman (edited by me in the OHRJ, vol. VI, No. 2, pp. 106-14), that Kṛṣṇa had already become a popular god for worship in Kalinga in the 5th and 6th century A.D. Thus it seems that in all probability the theory of Bhāgavata "*Ete chāmsakala pumsaḥ Kṛṣṇustu Bhagavān svayaṃ*" had already gained ground in Orissa from this period.

Now the question arises how and under what circumstances Vaiṣṇavism appeared in Orissa? Māṭhara and Vāsistha[11a] are the two eponyms of the Dynasty of Kings, who patronised Vaiṣṇavism in Kalinga. The same eponyms were also used for Virapurisadotta in the Nagarjunikonda inscriptions.[12] From the Nasik cave inscription we know that a Satavahana king Pulamavi also used the epithet Vasisthiputra.[13] We

6. *Vide* L. 1. of Ningondi plate, *EI*, vol. XXX, pp. 117-18.
7. See L. 1 of Chicacole plate; *IA*, vol. XIII (1884) p. 49.
8. See Bobili plate in *EI*, vol. XXVII, pp. 33-36.
9. *EI*, vol. XXVI, p. 132.
10. *Viṣṇu Sahasra Nāma* (V. 10) Gīta press edition, pp. 16-17.
11. *EI*, vol. XXVII, p. 23.
11A. *EI*, vol. XXIII, p. 56.
12. *Vide EI*, vol. XX, pp. 16, 17.

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hazard, on these grounds, that very probably in the beginning the Māṭhara rulers of Kalinga belonged to the same stock to which the Sātavāhanas belonged. And from one of the Sātavāhana inscriptions at Nanghat, we know that Sankarshaṇa and Vāsudeva had already become popular gods for worship in the Deccan.[14] Thus we are disposed to believe that Orissa, a land of Buddhistic and Jain importance from very early times, witnessed the prevalence of Vaiṣṇavism, patronised by Māṭharas who in all probability migrated from Deccan to Kalinga with their customs and faith.

Just as the beginning of Vaiṣṇavism in Kalinga synchronised with the rise of the Māṭhara rulers in the coastal tract, likewise, the appearance of the same in South Kosala or Western Orissa synchronised with the rise of Nalas and Sarabhapuriyans in the same period *i.e.*, about 5th and 6th century A.D. Podagada inscription[15] reveals that Skandavarman of Nala dynasty constructed the footprints of Viṣṇu (Pāda mula kṛitam Vishno rajña Śri Skandavarmaṇā). In the same inscription Skandavarman prays for the grace of Vāsudeva. This in combination with the fact that 'Priti Bhāgavata' (*i.e.* one who is devoted and attached to Viṣṇu) was the name of the executive Officer of this inscription, leads us to assume that during this period Bhāgavata Cult had already become popular in South Kośala. Sarabhapurians, whose capital Śarabhagaḍa has been identified by Mr. L. P. Pandeya[16] with the chief town of the same name in the Sundargarh district of Orissa, also patronised Vaiṣṇavism during this period. The silver coins of Prasannamātra of this family bear the figure of Garuda together with the discuss and conch symbols.[17] Mahārāja Sudevaraja, *alias* Māna Mātra, grandson of Prasannamātra, called himself 'Parama Bhāgavata' in line 3 of his Arang Plates.[18] The Panduvansis, who ousted the Sarabhapurians, were also Vaiṣṇavite. Pānduvamsi Tinara, overlord of the whole of Kosala, is a 'Parama Viaṣṇava' in his Rajim plates.[19] That his nephew Harshadeva was also a Vaiṣṇava ruler is known to us from the verse 20 of the Sirpur Laxmana Temple inscription.[20]

But his son and successor, Mahāśiva Gupta Bālārjuna, calls himself 'Parama Māheśvara' in his Lodhia plates[21] and the seal of his Mallar plates[22] contain the symbols of Nandi and Triśula. This period is a turning-point in the religious history of Orissa. Vaiṣṇavism lost its

13. See *EI*, vol. VIII, p. 60.
14. *Vide ASWI*, vol. V, pp. 60-61 ; *Luder's List*, No. 1112.
15. *EI*, vol. XXI, p. 153.
16. *Proceedings of the fifth Oriental Conference*, p. 461 ff.
17. *Vide New History of the Indian People*, vol. VI, p. 87, fn. 3.
18. See. *EI*, vol. XXIII, p. 20. The same epithet was used by him in Nagpur Museum plates ; *vide JASB*, vol. XXXV, p. 195 ; *EI*, vol. IX, p. 283.
19. *CII*, vol. III, p. 296.
20. *EI*, vol. XI, p. 192.
21. *JKHRS*, vol. II, p. 121.
22. See L. 4-5 of the Plate, *EI*, vol. XXIII, p. 120.

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royal patronage and its place was occupied by Śaivism. A century prior to this period, Śailodbhavas and Gangas had become *Parama Māheśvara* in Kongoda and Kalinga. From Dharmalingesvara C. P. grant[23] we learnt that Āchārya Patanga Śambhu initiated its donor in Śaiva philosophy. Even before the Gangas, Anantavarman in his Sringavarapukota grant[24] and become *Parama Māhesvara.* Epigraphic sources do not throw any light as to the earliest Vaiṣṇava or Śaiva Āchārya in Orissa. But undoubtedly they inform us regarding the later Āchāryas who appeared in Orissa and played great roles in turning the faith of her people. The earliest known Āchārya, who contributed towards the growth of Śaivism in Kalinga, was Patanga Śambhu or Patanga Śivāchārya of Dharmalingeswar plate, belonging to the famous Mattamayura clan.[25] Similarly, Pramathāchārya, who migrated from Dvaita Vana, was responsible for the introduction of Śaivism in South Kośala. This is known to us from the Lodhia plate of Mahāśivagupta Bālārjuna, issued in the donor's of 57th regural year. Even the Buddhist Bhaumas of Wuta Country became Śaivas from the time of Śivakara[26] (Bhauma era 73-807 A.D.).

Thus it is evident that Vaiṣṇavism appeared in Orissa during the rule of Māṭharas, Nalas, Sarabhapuriyans and Pānduvaunsis. But as soon as the royal houses of Gangas, Śailodbhavas and Somavamsis arose in Kalinga, Kongoda and Kośala, Vaiṣṇavism lost the active royal patronage. Hence the period from fifth to the beginning of 7th century may be termed as first phase in the history of Vaiṣṇava faith in Orissa.

Towards the beginning of the seventh century A.D., Vaiṣṇavism no doubt lost the royal patronage. But it did not lose its hold over the people. Thus we notice traces of Vaiṣṇava influence in the C.P. grants of Śaiva rulers of Orissa. Although Mādhavarāja of Kongoda was a 'Parama Māheśvara', he compares himself with 'Bhagavāna Mādhava' in his Khurda plates.[27] According to the Vaiṣṇavite Chāturvyuha cult of Varāha Purāna, Mādhava is one of the 4 important deities. Again, Śaśānka, who is considered to be a staunch Śaivite according to Ārya Manjuśrī Mulakalpa and Ekāmra Purāna also refers to Lord Viṣṇu in the following manner in his Midnapur grant.[28] :

Viṣṇoḥ Pottrāgra vikshepa kshanabhāvita sādhavasāṁ
Seshāśesha śiromadhye mādhyāsīna mahātanam |
Kāmārāti śirobhrashṭa Gangaugha dhvastakalmashāṁ
Śri Śaśānke Mahīṁpāti chaturjaladhimekhalām || (L.1-3)

23. *EI*, vol. XXIII, p. 60.
24. *JAHRS*, vol. II, p. 275.
25. *Vide IHQ*, vol. XXVI, No. 1, pp. 1-16.
26. *JBORS*, vol. XIV, pp. 292-306.
27. *JASB*, vol. LXXIII, pp. 282-86.
28. *JRASB*, (Third Series), vol. XI, 1945, pp. 1-9.

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In the same manner, although the Gangas of Kalinga were definitely Śaivite, Hastivarma of Ganga era 79 refers to Lord Nārāyana as follows in his Narasimpapalli plates[29] :—

"*Bhagavato Saptāranava Śāyine Sapta Sāmopagitāya-Saptaloka-kaikanāthāya-Ranabhito daya-bhidhānāya-Nārāyanāya.*"

From this it seems although the Gangas were Śaivite, they paid no less importance to Nārāyana.

Even towards the 10th century rules like 'Śatrubhanja[30] declared himself to be 'Parama Vaiṣṇava' and observed the vaiṣṇavite ceremony like 'Devotsava Dvādasi'.

Thus from this account we are disposed to believe that long before the arrival of Sri Ramanuja during Chodaganga's reign, roughly right from the fifth century A.D. Orissa experienced the prevalence of Vaiṣṇavism. It is Sri Vaiṣṇavism and not vaiṣṇavism in its old form with which Ramanuja made the people of Orissa introduced.

At last we support this opinion of ours with the help of a verse in Antidigam plate of Yasabhanja[31] of the 12th century A.D. which runs as follows :—

Tat Putra Jayabhanja devonṛpati rajñasirh Sekhrah
Rupeyormadanopama Kshititale dānescha karnopama

* * *

Durvarari Kurangamarana Harih Sri Sankare bhaktiman
Bhoktaovai Pitrumatra Pada Yoga Sri Vaisnavah Sampratam.

Thus, as already pointed out, Bhanjas were Vaiṣṇavas before Ramanuja, now they were Sri Vaiṣṇavas after Ramanuja's arrival.

Summary

Beginning of Vaiṣṇavism in Orissa is intimately linked with the rise of the Māṭharas in Kalinga in the 5th century A.D. Similarly it was patronised by Nalas, Sarabhapurians and Pānduvaṃsis of South Kośala, who called themselves 'Parama Bhāgavata' and 'Parama Vaiṣṇava'. Even 'Śaśānka, Lord of Eastern India in 7th Century, Mādhavarāja of Kangoda, and Hastivarman of Kalinga also referred to Viṣṇu, Mādhava and Nārāyana respectively. Even Śatrubhanja of Kḥinjali mandala was a Parama Vaiṣṇava in 10th Century A.D.

Thus it is certain that the history of Vaiṣṇavism in Orissa goes back to the period of the Māṭharas of 5th Century A.D. *i.e.*, 600 years before the age of Ramanuja.

29. *EI*, vol. XXIII, pp. 62-67.
30. *OHRQ*, vol. IV, pp. 66-74.
31. *EI*, vol. XIX, p. 41.

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ŚIVA AND PARVATI AT DICE : IDENTIFICATION OF A PANEL AT ELEPHANTA

Dr. José Pereira

Introduction

The Elephanta panel opposite that of Rāvaṇa shaking Kailāsa usually goes by the title " Pārvatī in an attitude of *māna*." This is a correct, but incomplete, identification. The full identification is with the *Dyūtakrīḍā*—Śiva and Pārvatī at dice.

Our purpose in this paper is not only to prove the validity of this identification, but to study the theme in its main aspects. The first three parts of our study will analyse the Elephanta panel with the already identified treatments of the theme to establish points of contact. These points will help us show, in the last part, that the Elephanta panel illustrates the *Dyūtakrīḍā* scene.

I. Thematic Analysis

The only full textual treatment of the theme we have been able to discover is found in *Skanda Purāṇa* 1 : 34. We sum it up thus :

Nārada called on Śiva at Kailāsa for a visit. Śiva had returned from destroying Andhaka and the Tripuras. He was in his court with his wife, the gods—Brahmā singing his praised and Viṣṇu doing duty as a servant[1] and other beings.

At the door he found two statues of *dvārapālas*,[2] which he thought, for a moment, were alive. He went in, worshipped the god and his wife and then fell to chatting with them, telling them he had come to play.[3] Pārvatī, surprised at hearing a muni talk about playing, asked him what he could play, and Nārada, mischievously, said ' dice '. Pārvatī, irritated, told him she didn't know Brāhmaṇas were interested in dice, to which Nārada retorted that his dice-playing would be through Śiva.[4]

1. *Skanda Purāṇa, loc. cit.* v. 2.
2. *Ibid.*, vv. 24-6.
3. *Krīdanārthamihāyātah, op. cit.*, v. 58a.
4. *Ibid.* v. 66 ; *Dyūtam maheśena karomi te' gratah.*

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In the first game Pārvatī was defeated.[5] Śiva betted his moon necklace and ear-ornaments that he would win the next game.[6] Pārvatī, none-the-less, defeated him.[7]

Śiva found it hard to accept defeat. His divine attributes, he said, proved he could not be defeated. This, Pārvatī said, was true of everyone but her.

Nārada, seeing his opportunity to foment a quarrel took Śiva's side and adopted his arguments, a mixture of metaphysics and scolding. He told Pārvatī that Śiva was formless, of beautiful form, and beyond form. She did not understand Śiva because she was a woman. Pārvatī chotly asked Nārada to keep quiet, and reminded him that it was through her grace that Śiva was born.[8]

Nārada was silenced, but Bhṛṅgi came forward to defend his favourite god. He repeated the argument of Śiva's undefeatability. Pārvatī, he said had no love for Śiva, and had tried to get him through the help of Kāma and *tapas*.[9] Pārvatī came back with the argument that she was, after all, identical with Śiva. Bhṛṅgi, however, dwelt on the importance of *bhakti* with some insistence.

The defence of Śiva's lack of sporting spirit infuriated her. She cursed Bhṛṅgi to become emaciated.[10] She pulled out everything from Śiva's person, besides what he had staked, including his underwear.[11] The scandalised court turned away their faces. Śiva himself was terribly ashamed, admitted he was defeated, and asked for his underwear back.[12] Pārvatī refused to give it to him, whereat Śiva's third eye blazed. The gods expected a repetition of the *Kāmādāha* episode. But nothing happened. Śiva only went away into the forest, leaving Pārvatī to herself.

II. Iconographical Analysis

We know of only nine panels of the period of rock temple art that deal with the Dyūtakrīḍa[13] theme, or rather eight, if we omit the Elephanta panel. These are the panels in the Daśavatara, Ellora; Mallikārjuna, Pattadakal; Kailāsa temple interior, Ellora; Ravan Ka

5. *Ibid.*, v. 70.
6. *Ibid.*, v. 76.
7. *Ibid.*, v. 82.
8. *Ibid.*, v. 94 : *matprasādacchivo jāta īśvaro yo hi patyate.*
9. *Ibid.*, v. 98 and 107-8.
10. *Ibid.*, v. 115.
11. *Ibid.*, v. 120 a.
12. *Ibid.*, vv. 125-6.
13. Fergusson and Burgess consider this theme to be "peculiar to Ellora". *The Cave Temples of India*, p. 483.

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Kai, Ellora ; Rameśvara, Ellora ; Sita Ki Nahani, Ellora ; Laṅkeśvara, Ellora ; and the Kailāsa temple gallery in the back court, Ellora.[14] We now proceed to a formal description of the common and divergent iconographical characteristics of these treatments.

Structure

I. *Sectionalization of plane* : The plane has two sections, which result from the plane being divided vertically or horizontally.

II. *Pervasiness of main figures* : The figures of Śiva and Pārvatī tend to pervade the section they occupy both horizontally and vertically.

III. *Essential figures* : Those of Śiva and Pārvatī, which occupy the top or left section.

IV. *Iconographically essential figures* : The figures of Nandi and the *gaṇas* in the bottom or right section.[15]

Symbolic and Thematic Elements

I. Position of figures : Śiva is always to Pārvatī's left, except in the Laṅkeśvara panel, where he is to her right. This is because the sculptor intends him to be exactly opposite to Śiva of the opposite panel —the Kailāsatolana—who is there to Pārvatī's left.

II. Hands of Śiva :

(*a*) Number : always four.

(*b*) Objects : cobra and *sūla* (?)

(*c*) Poses :

(*i*) Throwing dice,[16] usually in →1L :[17] found in all examples except Sita Ki Nahani and Laṅkeśvara. Probable in the case of Elephanta, because the sacred thread is thrown over his right arms, so as to leave them free for an action such as that of dice throwing.[18]

14. The historical sequence followed in analysing the panels is adopted from Goetz " The Kailāsa of Ellora and the Chronology of Rāshṭrakuṭa Art " *Artibus Asiæ*, XV, 1-2, pp 84-107, especially 107.

15. Gopinatha Rao has noticed the recurrence of the Nandi and *gaṇa* motif in the panels of Ellora : " the sculptors of all these panels are curiously agreed in representing one of the gaṇas as biting the tail of the bull, another as catching hold of its horns, others tumbling about and playing with each other." *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, vol. II-1, p. 140.

16. Gopinatha Rao makes the following curious statement about this hand : " the other (hand) appears to be carrying a book. He (Śivā) is evidently giving out to Umā one of the *purāṇas*. *Ibid.*

17. The arrow represents the spectators, and the capital letter the figures point of view. Thus → 1L means first hand to figures Left, spectator's right.

18. Hirananda Sastri says : " the front right hand (→ 1L) seems to have rested on the right thigh." *A Guide to Elephanta* p. 47.

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(*ii*) Holding Parvati's hand. Usually 2R← sometimes →1L on seat. Found in all examples except at Mallikārjuna and Laṅkeśvara. Doubtful, but probable in the case of Elephanta. At Rameśvara Śiva holds garment instead of hand.

(*iii*) Resting on seat or knee, or rarely, on hip. Normally 1R ← sometimes → 1L. The Daśāvatāra[19] Ravan Ka Kai Kailāsa gallery and Elephanta panels show the arm resting on the seat. The Mallikārjuna, Rameśvara and Laṅkeśvara panels shows it resting on the knee. The Laṅkeśvara panel shows it resting on the hip.

(*iv*) Pointing, as if saying " I win " or " One point ! " Found only in Mallikārjuna and the Kailāsa gallery panel. These are the relevant poses of Śiva.

III. Hands of Pārvatī

(*a*) Number : two.

(*b*) Objects : none.

(*c*) Poses :

(*i*) Resting either on thigh, knee, seat, pillow, or dwarf woman. Always in → 1L. In all examples.

(*ii*) Questioning as if saying " What is to be done now? " or " There 's no way out " or " What is it? " Found in all examples.

(*iii*) Held by Śiva's. This and the second pose are often found combined. Found in most places, possibly also Elephanta.

IV. Subordinate Figures and Objects

(*a*) Skanda,[20] as a shaven haired boy in all examples except Elephanta, where he is a small baby carried by a maid.

(*b*) Gaṇapati : found only in Ravan Ka Kai.

(*c*) Bhṛṅgi : found only in Elephanta.

(*d*) Brahma and Viṣṇu : only in Sita Ki Nahaṅi.[21]

19. " The front left hand (1R ←) placed firmly on the seat is still traceable, with its bracelet, beside the left thigh." *Ibid.*

20. Fergusson and Burgess, however, identify the Skanda figure as that of Bhṛṅgi, in the Ravan Ka Kai and Rameśvara. This is not correct for the presence of Gaṇapati postulates the complementary presence of his brother. The emaciated cross-legged figure in Elephanta can be easily identified as Bhṛṅgi, and the baby with the nurse as Skanda.

21. *Brahmā yasya stutiparo viṣṇu presyavadāsthitaḥ Skanda purāna, loc. cit.*, v. 2.

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(*e*) Maidservants : found in Ravan Ka Kai, Rameśvara, Sita Ki Nahani and Elephanta. They are rather lively, in contrast to the still, formal, and official dvārapālas.

(*f*) Dvārapālas : found at Ravan Ka Kai, Rameśvara, Sita Ki Nahani, Elephanta and Laṅkeśvara. Almost immobile at Elephanta.

(*g*) Nandi and the *gaṇas* : always found together, in all examples.[22]

(*h*) Dice board : not necessary, because not always found. Clearly discernible only in four out of nine (or eight) cases.

Panel Juxtaposition

If we examine the architectural position of the sculptures in the Rock Temples of the Deccan and Konkan, we find three frequently occurring types of placement :

(1) When two panels, or groups of panels, balance each other in pattern, either by—

(*a*) facing each other, which is possible only with two panels or

(*b*) facing equally in the same direction, one side symmetrically balancing the other side ; this is possible in case of two, or groups of two, panels.

(2) When panels are placed serially alongside each other.

(3) When, usually in case of two panels, one occupies a place of decorative importance in one structural part of the temple and another in another part. One in front of the *śikhara*, for example, and another in front of the *ardhamaṇḍapa*.

We can call these types of juxtaposition, respectively :

(1) Opposition.

(2) Alignment.

(3) Parallelization.

We may now define juxtaposition broadly, in the abstract : The use of architectural design to express a parallel or contrast in doctrinal ideas. Briefly, architectural pattern as an expression of doctrinal pattern.[23]

22. Hiranada Sastri thinks the *gaṇas* to be monkeys. *Op. cit.*, p. 47.
23. For an analysis of the notion of relation see Suarez *Disputationes Metaphysicæ*, p. 47.

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The main juxtapositional situations found in our panels are these :

(1) *Placement*

(*a*) Opposition : Dyūtakrīḍā—Kailāsatolana (3 out of 8 examples).
Dyūtakrīḍā—Kalyāṇasundara (1 out of 8).
Dyūtakrīḍā—Somāskanda (1 out of 8).

(*b*) Alignment : Dyūtakrīḍā-Kalyāṇasundara-Kailāsatolana (1 out of 8).
Dyūtakrīḍā-Naṭarāja-Kailāsatolana (1 out of 8).
Dyūtakrīḍā-Śiva Pārvatī and Nandi-Kailāsatolana (1 out of 8).

(2) *Frequency*

(*a*) Opposition : Dyūtakrīḍā-Kailāsatolana (3 out of 8).

(*b*) Alignment : Dyūtakrīḍā-(Kalyāṇasundara, Naṭarāja or Śiva, Pārvatī and Nandi)-Kailāsatolana (3 out of 8).

(*c*) Total : Dyūtakrīḍā-Kailāsatolana (6 out of 8).

(3) *Significance*

The broadest significance common to all is that they are all scenes in a deity's domestic life. Some are expressive of happy love (*saṁbhoga śṛṅgāra* ; others of diversion (*krīḍā*) ; and one of bruised love (*vipralambha śṛṅgāra*), at Elephanta ; and still another of the couples love for their child (*vātsalya*), in the interior of the Kailāsa, Ellora.

III. Emotional Analysis

We can see from the above that the theme is capable of two emotional situations love and diversion. This love, or *prema*, is specified by the *ālambanas*. If the *ālambanas* are a young man and woman, the love is *rati*. If children then the love is *vātsalya*. *Rati* is of two kinds, mutual pleasure and displeasure. The first kind is called *saṁbhoga śṛṅgāra*, defined as : " yatra kāminyamiṣṭani darsānadīni samyak bhujyante saḥ sambhogah."[24] Or, briefly : " saṁyuktayostu saṁbhogaḥ."[25] Mammaṭa describes its characteristics as " parasparāvalokanāliṅganādarapānaparicumbanādi "[26]—looking at each other, mutual embraces, sucking the lower lip, kissing, etc.

24. Narendraprabhasuri, *Alaṅkāramahodadhi*, 3 : 15. *GOS*, vol. XCV. p. 60.
25. Vidyānātha, *Pratāparūdrayaśobhūsaṇa*, *BSPS*, vol. LXV, p. 277.
26. *Kāvyaprakāśa* 4, text between vv 29 and 30.

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Hemacandra defines *vipralambha* thus : " śaṅkhādivyabhicāri santāpādyānubhāvo bhilāṣamānapravāsarūpo vipralambhan."[27] Viśvanātha defines it in these words : "yatra tu ratiḥ prakṛṣṭā nābhīṣṭamupatti vipralambho' sau "[28] Both *saṁbhoga* and *vipralambha* are basically mental states. *Māna* is one kind of *vipralambha*.[29]

Vātsalya is distinguished from *rati* in that it is concerned with the fondling and cherishing of children : " vatsalatā prema, tatsahitaḥ sneho ratiḥ. sā ca lālanapālanādīcchā."[30] Viśvanātha, who admits this rasa into his list, describes it thus :

sthāyī vatsalatāsnehaḥ putrādyālambanam matam //
uddīpanāni taccesṭāvidyāśauryodayādayaḥ /
āliṅganāṅgasaṁsparśaśiraścumbanamīkṣaṇam //
puḷakānanḍabāṣpādi anubhāvaḥ prakīrtitaḥ /
saṁcāriṇe'niṣṭaśankāharṣagarvādayo mataḥ //[31]

Diversion, the other emotional state, does not consist in any direct and explicit love for any living, including human, personality. Of course, a couple that plays together may be very much in love with each other, and love their children extremely. Playing a game, however, is not an expression of that love. The interest is in some lifeless material object, that when handled skilfully produces the feelings of triumph in one, and of defeat in another. It evokes an interest that is essentially impersonal, not only in the partcipants but also in the spectators. Dice is a lifeless material object. Skilful manipulation makes one of the participants win and the other lose. The impersonal emotion of interest, while the game is in progress, is seen in most of our panels, in the keen interest (impersonal) that the spectators take in the happenings. There is thus no explicit *sambhoga śṛṅgāra* or *vātsalya* in such cases, for both these emotions are of a personal nature. If one of the party is defeated, however, and if that party happens to be unsportsmanlike (as is the case) the defeat is taken as an affront, and results in real *vipralambha*. The only possible rasa is thus this kind of *śṛṅgāra*. Interest in a game is not recognised as a rasa in the *alaṅkāraśāstra*. Most depictions of the Dyūtakrīḍā theme have thus no rasa at all.

27. *Kāvyānuśāsana* 2. *NSP* p. 71.
28. *Sāhityadarpana* 3 : 187a *NSP* p. 162.
29. Vidyānātha, *op. cit.*, p. 279.
30. Commentary of Rāmacanaṇa on *Sāhityadarpaṇa* 3 : 251.
31. *Sāhityadarpana, loc. cit.*

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IV. The Identification

The following reasons can be put against the identification of the Elephanta panel with the Dyūtakrīḍā :

(1) The absence of the dice board.

(2) The absence of the action of dice playing, or at least, the clear indication of it, because the arms of Śiva are broken.

(3) A different emotional situation as compared with those in panels accepted as Dyūtakrīḍā representations. None of these show the couple angry, or Pārvatī in an attitude of *māna*.

These arguments are easily answered. The dice-board is not necessary. It does not appear in all Dyūta representations, and is plastically insignificant. The action of dice playing, which is what primarily interests the artist, is basically identical in panels which have, or do not have a dice-board. The artist can therefore, at discretion, omit this detail.

Enough is left in the Elephanta panel to tell us that a game action, very likely that of dice-playing was represented. First, there is the sacred thread thrown over Śiva's shoulder, an unusual thing in Rock Temple sculpture. This would leave the arm free for dice-throwing. Second, there is the intense interest of Bhṛṅgi, to all appearances an impersonal one, in the concentrated pose of his squatting figure. Third the figure of the *ṛṣi* throwing flowers, which shows that a triumph has occurred. All this allows us to conclude that the panel depicts a kind of arm-swinging action in the main figure that evokes a strong impersonal interest in the lookers-on, a sense of triumph in this figure, and anger in the other one. In other words, a situation very possibly representative of a game.

The emotional difference offers no difficulty. The *vipralambha* situation not only represents the *Skanda Pūrāṇa* account more closely, but is the only possible one the theme can accommodate. Other elements in common with this account are the figures of the *ṛṣi* (Nārada ?) and Bhṛṅgi.

The points in favour of the identification are :

(1) The Elephanta panel, is, like the others, an Umāmāheśvara panel. This is a generic similarity. The following show that there is no specific difference :

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(2) The Elephanta panel has *a basic identity in structure* with the other panels. All these panels are disectional; the top or left section always contains Śiva and Pārvatī; the lower or right Nandi and the *gaṇas*.

(3) *The juxtaposition of the Elephanta panel is the same as that of the other (Dyūta) panels.* The juxtaposed panel is that of the Kailāsatolana. No panel we know that is similar in structure and that is placed opposite the Kailāsatolana is anything besides a Dyūta panel. There is no panel aligned or opposed to the Kailāsatolana that depicts a game situation which is any other than a Dyūta one. All this leads us to conclude that the Elephanta panel is as much a representation of the Dyūtakrīḍā as the others.

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KHANDOBA, A POPULAR DEITY OF THE SOUTH[1]

Shri G. H. Khare

Khandobā is a very popular deity which is at present worshipped right from Brahmans to untouchables in Mahārāshṭra and Karnāṭaka. Following are the most important places sanctified by the shrines of this deity where very large annual and periodical fairs are held in honour of the deity. (1) Jejuri with Karhe Pathar and (2) Nimgaon (Poona), (3) Pali (North Satara), (4) Satarem (Aurangabad), (5) Naldurg with Andur (Usmanabad), (6) Mailarpur (Bidar), (7) Shegud (Ahmadnagar), (8) Mangasuli (Belgaum), (9) Mailarlinga (Dharwar), (10) Mailara or Devaragudda (Dharwar), (11) Mailar (Bellari). But I have been able to notice at least twenty more places from Mahārāshṭra, Karnāṭaka, and Āndhra where, either were or still, are shrines of this deity, or which are named after this deity.[2] But in the absense of more material about them I could not collect as much information as I did about the former 11 places.

The deity goes by the following names with their varients in my opinion : (1) Khaṇḍerāya, (2) Mallāri-Mailāra, (3) Mārtaṇḍa, (4) Mallāri-Mārtaṇḍa, (5) Mārtaṇḍa-Bhairava, (6) Mhāḷasākanta, (7) Ravaḷadeva, (8) Eḷkoṭi Mahādeva, (9) Saptakotiśvara, (10) Mallū-khān and (11) Ajmatkhān. Out of these Khaṇḍerāya is derived from Sanskrit khaḍga and the popular Dravidian name Mailāra can be regularly derived from Mallāri. Mārtaṇḍa signifies the Sun. Mārtaṇḍa-Bhairava points out that the divinity is a combination of the gods Sun and Bhairava, a form of Śiva. Mhāḷasākānta points out that Mhāḷasā, a corruption of the Sanskrit word Madālasā and Māḷavva a further Dravidian corruption of the same word, were the names of his wife. Kannaḍa and Telugu records of the pre-Muslim period show

1. This deity has been fully dealt with in my Marathi book '*The four deities of Mahārāshṭra*.

2. 1. Kauravadurga or Bhuvanadurga (Mysore), 2. Pālī (Bid), 3. Sāḍegaon (Aurangabad), 4. Sonaī (Ahmadnagar), 5. Mallapattana (to the North-West of Ujjain), 6. Kallukoṭe (Mysore), 7. Anegundi (Bellari), 8. Penugoṇḍa (Ahantapur), 9. Vemavaram (Godawari), 10. Koṇḍavīḍu (Guntur), 11. Pāṭur (Cuddapa), 12. Mailaraṇpaṭṭaṇa (Mysore), 13. Salgar (South Satara), 14. Kubṭur (Mysore), 15. Mylapore (Madras), 16. Maktal and 17. Amrābād (Mahbubnagar) and 18. Aynavolu (Warangal) for Khaṇḍobā or Mailāra, and 1 Valseṅga (Aurangabad), 2 Newāse (Ahmadnagar), 3 Paiṭhan (Aurangabad), 4 Nāndurā (Bid), 5 Devī-hosūr (Dharwar) and 6 Aynavolu (Warangal) for his wife Māḍachī.

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that his name underwent a further change and assumed the forms Māḍachī and Māḷachī-ja probably derived from Sanskrit Madālasī or Prakrit Maālasī[3] The name Ravaḷadeva is current more in the Konkan than in the upcountry.[4] Eḷkoṭi Mahādeva was a term first applied to the devotees of Śiva, but subsequently it came to be applied to this god.[5] Saptakoṭīsvara is a literal translation of Eḷkoṭi Mahādeva and is at present the name of a well-known Śaiva divinity in the Portuguese territory of Goa. Mallūkhān is a Muslim name of Śiva that appears first in an early 18th century lythic record found near Bīḍ in Marāṭhawāḍa ;[6] but since then it came to be applied to Māllāri in general and to Mailāra near Bidar in particular. Ajmatkhān is noted as a name of the god of Jejuri, *i.e.* Mallāri in the 2nd edition of Malesworth's Marathi, English dictionary published in 1857 A.D.. It is not known whence the editor got this information ; but it is not to be traced in the first edition of the same work published in 1831 A.D. Almost all these names except the two Persian ones are or were used by Hindus without descrimination of caste as personal names and the word Mairāḷa a further Marathi corruption of the Dravidian corruption Mailāra which itself is a corruption of Sanskrit Mallāri was both used as a personal name and a surname among Mahārāshṭra Brahmans like Pāṇḍurangi in Karnaṭaka.

The caste of this god is not certain. He probably belonged to the oilman caste ; but his wife is said to have been a daughter of a Vāṇī (Merchant). This god is attributed a mistress named Bāṇāī of the Dhangar or Kurvbar (Shepherd) caste and his minister who belonged to this same caste goes by the name Hegaḍi derived from the Kannaḍa word Perkaḍe meaning a minister. Here a common noun has, in course of time become a proper noun. This god, and his family members also, is represented by three types of icons *viz.* (1) Swayambhū *i.e.* a formless stone, (2) a linga and (3) a four-handed image holding a sword, a trident, a *damaru*, and a drinking bowl. He has a bull and a horse as his vehicles and is generally accompanied by a dog. It thus appears that Bhairava is represented here in a mild form and the vehicle horse points out that this god is combined with the Sun god. In Karnāṭaka his mistress is generally enshrined outside the village where the god is enshrined ; but in Mahārāshṭra her icons are met with in the shrine of the god himself ; but at a distance. Both the facts show that she has not got the dignity of a legal wife. In some of her icons she is

3. *Annual Report of South Indian Epigraphy for the year* 1933 *A.D.*, p. 95 ; *A Corpus of-Inscriptions in the Telingana districts of the Andhra Pradesh*, part III, p. 119.
4. *Marathi Book*, p. 149.
5. *SII*, vol. IX, part 1, No. 327.
6. *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*, 1921-22, p. 20.

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shown holding a cock and a lamb in her armpit and milk-pots on her head which again point out that she belongs to the Dhangar or Kurubar caste.

The words denoting the several articles used in sectarian rites of this god are invariably of non-Sanskrit origin and even *gada* a Persian word implying begging has crept into them. Unlike god Viṭṭhala, Khaṇḍobā is propitiated for the favour of progeny and the Kannaḍa proverbial sayings about the god corroborate the statement. The Marathi sayings are of a different nature ; but even among the Marathas he is many times worshipped for the same reason. When such a devotee get more than one children, the eldest whether a male or a female was in some cases offered to the god and such children used to become professional devotees of the god, called Vāghyās and Muraḷīs. Their marriage ties and character were always loose. This god is offered both vegetarian and non-vegetarian eatables as *naivedya* and some hereditary servants of a few temples of this god from Karnāṭaka do even now commit some horrible acts before the god such as thrusting wooden and iron pegs into the forelegs or iron nails fixed with burning wicks into the wrists and waving those lights before the god. Thus the words and rites connected with this god are invariably non-Āryan in origin.

At present a majority of the places sanctified by the shrines of this god were or are situated either in Karnāṭaka or in Āndhra, while only a few are in Mahārāshṭra and probably none in the North. But from Śaṅkaravijaya, a versified life of the first Śaṅkarāchārya composed by Ānandagiri in the 13th or the 14th century, it is learnt that this Śaṅkarāchārya by argument prevailed upon the followers of Mallāri that resided in Mallapattana a town lying to the North-West of Ujjain to follow the Vedic path after deserting the sect of the god,[7] and the very place-name Mallālapattana in Mahākośala[8] tends to prove that there were some followers of this god's sect in North India in early medieval period. It is very difficult to say which of all these places is the oldest one. But we must search for it somewhere either in Karnāṭaka or in Āndhra for it is from here that records of the pre-Muslim period and referring to this god have come to light. It is as well very difficult to say when the idea of a separate entity of this god assumed a concrete form. But records show that we shall not be far from truth if we relegate it to the 8th, 9th centuries of the śaka-era ; for his wife is actually referred to in two 10th century records.

7. Jibananda Bidyasagar edition, Calcutta, p. 121.
8. *EI*, vol. I, pp. 40, 55 ; vol. XXIII, p. 114 n.

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TEN MAHISHĀSURAMARDANĪ ICONS FROM ĀLAMPUR

Shri M. Radhakrishna Sharma

The goddess Durgā is worshipped in many forms. Mahishāsuramardanī is one of them. This name is given to the Dēvī in consequence of her having destroyed the Mahishāsura. The subject-matter of this paper is ten Mahishāsuramardanī icons from Ālampūr in Āndhrapradēśh. The first nine images are today in the local museum at Ālampūr. The last one is built into the wall of a niche, in the western wall of the Bāla Brahmā temple compound. In section 'A' of this paper, a detailed description of the ten images has been given. In section 'B', firstly, these images are classified on the basis of the differences between each of them. Secondly, these images are compared with the Śilpā texts. Thirdly, they are compared with the published plates of Mahishāsuramardanī from other places. Fourthly, with the help of the above material and the architectural and inscriptional evidence at Ālampūr, the age of these group of icons is approximately fixed.

Section 'A'

The following is the description of the ten Mahishāsuramardanī icons from Ālampūr. The first nine are today in the local museum.

I

Mahishāsurā in this icon is facing left. He is in complete Mahishā form. He is standing with the head twisted back completely. Durgā is standing with her left leg kept steady on the ground and the foot turned to the left. Her right leg is lifted up, bent at knee and the foot kept on the back of Mahishā. She has eight hands. The three upper right hands are bent at elbow and lifted up. The weapons in the first two hands are broken. In the third is a sword held horizontally above her head. The first upper left hand is kept down slightly bent at elbow and holding a bow. The second is bent at elbow and lifted up driving a śūla into the head of Mahishāsura. The third is bent at elbow and lifted up holding a shield. The lower right hand is kept down slightly bent at elbow and the wrist resting on the right knee, while the palm is lifted up holding an arrow ? The lower left hand kept down angularly

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pressing down the face of Mahishā with the palm. Durgā wears undergarment upto thighs. Other ornaments she wears are hārās, kuṇḍalās, kaṅkaṇās for the hands and a short kirīṭa-makuṭa. The lion, Durgā's vehicle, is sculptured upto its body. It is pouncing on Mahishā with its left leg on the back of the aśurā and its teeth piercing the back of the demon. This icon is made in sandstone.

II

Mahishāsurā, who is facing right in this icon, is in Mahishā form upto the neck. The animal is kneeling and the demon is sculptured as coming out of its neck. The demon's right leg is sculptured upto the knee, the portion below yet within the neck of the animal. This leg is kept straight. His left leg is bent at knee and kept angularly, the foot resting on the neck of Mahishā. The body of the aśurā above the waist is angularly bent towards the left. His left hand is folded up with the elbow resting on the left knee and the palm supporting his head. His right hand is kept down angularly, bent at elbow and holding a shield. The shield is sculptured between the hands. The aśurā wears kuṇḍalās and a head-dress resembling the Maharāṣtra style of turban. Durgā is standing with her right leg kept steady on the ground and her left leg is lifted up, bent at knee with the foot placed on the back of the animal. She has 8 hands. The first upper right hand is kept down angularly holding a sword upwards. The second is kept slightly bent at elbow and holding up the palm open. The third is bent at elbow taking out an arrow from the quiver on her right back. There is another quiver on her left back. Her first upper left hand is bent at elbow with the portion below stretched holding a shield to its back and a Ghaṇṭa to the front. The second upper left is bent at elbow holding up an arrow. The third is bent at elbow holding up a bow. The lower right hand is folded up holding a triśūla and driving it into the back of the demon in human form. Her lower left hand is kept down with the palm holding down the head of the giant. Durgā wears an undergarment to her calves. She wears yagnōpavīta, hārās, kuṇḍalās, kankaṇās for hands, armlets and a kirīṭa-makuṭa. The Lion, her vehicle, which is sitting on her right is facing the right. This icon is made in sandstone.

III

Mahishāsurā, who faces right in this icon, is sculptured in Mahishā form upto the neck. While the animal is kneeling, the demon is coming out of its neck. The demon's right leg is visible upto the knee, the portion below still within the animal. This leg is kept angularly. The left leg is folded with the foot resting on the neck of the animal. The body of the aśurā above the waist is slightly bent to the left. His hands are bent at elbow, together holding down a sword. He wears

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an undergarment to the thighs, yagnōpavīta, hārā, kuṇḍalās, kaṅkaṇās for the hands and a kirīṭa-makuṭa. Durgā is standing with her right leg kept steady on the ground and her left leg lifted up, bent at knee and the toes placed on the back of the animal. She has eight hands. The first upper right hand is kept down angularly holding an arrow up. The second is kept slightly bent at elbow holding a chakrā in the prayōgā fashion. The third is slightly folded up holding a shield. There is a quiver either side on the back of the deity. The first upper left hand is bent at elbow with the portion below stretched and holding a shield. The second is bent at elbow holding up a bow. The third is bent at elbow holding up a śankha. Her lower right hand is folded up holding a triśūlā and driving it into the back of the demon in human form. Her lower left hand is kept down with the plam pressing down the kirīṭa of the demon. She wears an undergarment to the knees, manjīrā, yagnōpavīta, udarabandhā, kuchabandhā, hārā, kuṇḍalās, armlets, kaṅkaṇās for the hands and a kirīṭa makuṭa. The Lion, her vehicle, is sitting to her right facing the same direction. This icon is made in sandstone.

IV

Mahishāsurā, who is facing left in the icon, is in human form upto the neck. He is sitting on his right knee. His left leg is kept forward, bent at knee and with the portion below vertically kept on the ground. The portion of the icon showing the position of his right leg is broken. His body is in atibhaṅga. The right hand is bent at elbow holding down a gada while the left hand is stretched holding a shield. The aśurā has the head of a mahishā. He wears udarabandhā, yognōpavīta, armlets, kaṅkaṇās for the hands and hārās. Durgā is standing with her right leg lifted up bent at knee and pressing down the demon's head with the foot. Her left leg is slightly bent at knee with the foot kept on the ground and turned to the left. She has 8 hands. The first upper right hand is stretched slightly bent at elbow, holding a sword upwards. The weapon in the next hand is broken. This hand is also stretched bent slightly at elbow. The third is bent at elbow and is taking out an arrow from the quiver on her right back. There is another quiver on her left back. The first upper left hand is slightly bent at elbow with the portion below stretched and holding a bow. The second is bent at elbow holding up a shield. The third is also folded up slightly, but the weapon in this hand is broken. Her lower right hand is bent at elbow and raised up while the lower left is kept down holding the left hand of the aśurā. She wears an undergarment to the thighs, yagnōpavīta, hārās, kaṅkaṇās for the hands, armlets, kuṇḍalās and a kirīṭa-makuṭa. The Lion, her vehicle, is to her right facing the same direction with its right leg placed on the club in the hand of the demon. This icon is made in black stone.

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V

Mahishāsurā, who is facing the left in this icon, is in the human form upto the neck. He is on his right knee and hands, the latter being crossed. The left leg is bent at knee and stretched back. The head which is of a Mahishā has the face turned up. He wears armlets and hārās. Durgā is standing with her left leg lifted up, bent at knee and the toes resting on the back of the aśurā. Her right leg is slightly bent at knee with the foot kept on the ground and turned to the right. She has eight hands. The three upper right hands are stretched slightly, bent at their elbows, and the weapons in them are broken. The upper left hands are bent at their elbows and slightly raised up. The first holds a bow, the second a shield, and the weapon in the third is not clear. Her lower right hand is bent at elbow and raised up holding a triśūlā driving it into the back of the demon. Her lower left is stretched binding the demon with a pāśa. She wears an undergarment upto thighs, yagnōpavīta, hārās, kuṇḍalās, kankaṇās for the hands, armlets and a kirīṭamakuṭa. The Lion, her vehicle, is seated facing the right, mauling the demon's left leg.

VI

This is a damaged icon of Mahishāsuramardanī Durgā. Her four left hands are visible. The upper left hands are bent at elbow and slightly raised. Shield, bow? and śaṅkha are the weapons in these three hands respectively. She wears girdles round the waist, kuchabandhā, hārās and kirīṭamakuṭa. There is a quiver on her left back. The other details are damaged. This icon is made in black stone.

VII

In this icon only the head of the Mahishā is sculptured. Durgā is standing on it, Samapāda and Samabhaṅga. She has four hands. Her upper right hand is bent at elbow and raised up holding a chakrā in the prayōga fashion. Her upper left hand is bent at elbow and raised up holding a śaṅkha. The lower right hand is bent at elbow with the portion below stretched towards the body holding a triśūlā vertically, while the lower left is slightly bent at elbow with the palm on the waist. She wears girdles round the waist, udarabandha, kaṅkaṇās for the hands, armlets, hārās and a kirīṭamakuṭa. The Lion is absent in the icon. This icon is made in sandstone.

VIII

Mahishāsurā is in complete Mahishā form facing right in the icon. The animal is kneeling. Durgā is standing with her left leg kept steady on the ground and the right leg lifted up, bent at knee with the foot kept on the head of the Mahishā. She has 4 hands. Her upper right

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hand is bent at elbow and raised up holding a triśūlā and driving it into the body of the Mahishā. Her upper left hand is bent at elbow and raised up holding a Śaṅkhā. The lower right hand is slightly bent at elbow holding up chakra in the prayoga fashion while her lower left hand is kept down slightly bent at elbow and pulling up the animal by its tail. She wears kaṅkaṇās for the hands hārās, kuṇḍalās and a kirīṭa-makuṭa. The Lion, her vehicle is, absent in the icon. This icon is made in sandstone.

IX

In this icon Mahishāsurā is in complete Mahishā form facing the left. The animal is sitting with the head lifted up. Durgā is standing with her right leg steady on the ground and the left lifted up, bent at knee with the head raised and the toes resting on the back of the animal. She has 4 hands. Her upper right hand is bent at elbow and raised, holding a chakra while her upper left is folded up holding a Śaṅkha. The lower right folded up holding a triśūlā and driving it into the back of the animal while her lower left hand is hanging down thrusting something into the mouth of the Mahishā. The Lion, her vehicle, is seated to her right. This icon is made in sandstone.

X

This icon is built into the wall of a niche in the western wall of the Bāla Brahmā Temple compound, at Ālampur.

Mahishāsurā is in complete Mahishā form facing the right in this icon. Durgā is standing with the left leg steady on the ground and the right leg lifted up bent at knee and the foot kept on the head of the animal. She has eight hands. The three upper right hands are bent at their elbows and raised up. The first upper right hand holds a triśūlā vertically, the second a chakrā in the prayōga fashion and the third is taking out an arrow from the quiver. Her upper left hands are bent at their elbows and are raised up holding respectively a bow, a śaṅkha and a shield. The lower right hand is bent at elbow with the wrist resting on the right thigh and holding up a sword while her lower left is kept down pulling up the animal with its tail. Durgā wears an undergarment upto the thighs, hārā, kaṅkaṇās for the hands kuṇḍalās and a kirīṭa makuṭa. The Lion, her vehicle, is absent in the icon.

Section 'B'

A careful examination of the description of the ten images given in section 'A' would show that no two of these icons are identical. By

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comparing these images with one other we get the following main varieties :

1. Three icons belong to the four-handed Durgā variety and seven to the eight-handed Durgā variety.

2. In six, Durgā is in *tribhaṅga*. In two she is in *atibhaṅga* and in one she is in *Samabhaṅga* and *samapāda*.

3. While *triśūla*, *khaḍga*, *kheṭa*, bow, arrow, *śaṅkha* and *chakrā* are generally the weapons in the hands of the Dēvī, only in one icon she holds a *Ghaṇṭā*.

4. In four icons Mahishāsura is in complete Mahishā form. In two icons Mahisha is sculptured upto its neck with a human being issuing form the neck. In two icons, Mahishāsura is in human form upto the neck with a Mahishā head on it. In one icon, only the head of the Mahishā is sculptured.

5. In six, the Lion, the vehicle of the goddess, is present while in three it is absent.

The varieties could be multiplied if further details of the Dēvī and Mahishāsurā are taken into consideration.

The Mahishāsuramardanī icons from Ālampur do not completely tally with the Śilpa texts. The *Śilparatna* and the *Vishṇudharmōttara* as quoted in the Vāchaśpatyā, prescribe for Mahishāsuramardanī Durgā ten and twenty hands respectively, while Durgā at Ālampur has four or eight hands. In two Ālampur icons, while Mahishā is sculptured upto its neck with a human being issuing from the neck as prescribed by *Śilparatnā* or *Vishṇudharmóttara*, other details such as the *asurā* being bound down by the *nāga-pāsa* only in one, while in other details both differ from the texts. Similarly this group of icons from Ālampur do not totally agree with the description given of *Kātyāyani* in the *Śilpa* texts.

In " Hindu Iconography " vol. I, part 2, T.A. Gopinatha Rao has given plates of six examples of Mahishāsuramardanī. Three of them are from Mahābalipuram, one from Gaṅgaikoṇḍa-chōḷapuram, one from Ellōra and the other is from the Madras museum.

Image VII from Ālampur is comparable to Durgā from Mahābalipuram (*Ibid*, plate XCIX) in following respects.

(1) In both the images only the head of Mahishā is sculptured.

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(2) Dēvi stands on it in *samapāda* and *samabhaṅga*. But while the Ālampur icon has four hands, the latter has six hands. There is also difference in the position of the weapons. In Durgā panel in the rock-cut temple of Varākasvāmin in Mahābalipuram also (*Ibid.*, plate C.I.) only the head of the Mahishā is sculptured. The other details here differ from the Ālampur icon.

The third example from Mahābalipuram (*Ibid.*, plate CV) and IV and V images from Ālampur have only one common feature *viz.*, Mahishāsurā has a *Mahishā* head and a human body. In the Gaṅgaikoṇḍachōḷapuram example (*Ibid.*, plate CIII) also Mahishāsurā figures in the same form. This is also eight-handed as the Ālampur icons. The weapons used by Durgā and their positions are as in image V from Ālampur. In both the images the lion mauls the asurā, but they differ in other details.

In Mahishāsuramardanī in the Madras Museum (*Ibid.*, Fig. 1, plate CII), though the asurā comes out of Mahishā, unlike the Ālampur image he is issuing out of the body of the animal; and the head of the Mahishā is also pictured. The example from Ellōra (*Ibid.*, plate CIV) belongs altogether to a different variety.

In his *Early Eastern Chālukyan Sculpture*, Sri C. Sivaramamurti has given reproductions of Mahishāsuramardanī images from Peddamuḍiyam, Cuddapah district (Plate I, Fig. (*a*)); from Rājarāja temple, Biccovolu, East Gōdāvarī district, (Plate XXII, Fig. (*e*); from Gōlingēśvara temple, Biccavōla, East Gōdāvari district, (Plate XXIV (*b*)) and from Dulmi in Bengal, Indian Museum, Calcutta (Plate XXXII, Fig. (d)).

The author assigns the plaque from Peddamuḍiyam to the period of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins and that of the early rule of the Pallavas which extended to some of the Āndhra districts during the time of Siṁhavishṇu (*Ibid.*, p. 12) Durgā is represented here with four hands.

Images II and III from Ālampur compare with the other images only to the extent that in all these images the aśurā is sculptured as issuing from the animal. In other details they differ.

In *Chālukyan Architecture* by Rea, drawings of two Mahishāsuramardanī icons are given. The first of these is from Kallāśvara temple Mahāmaṇḍapa, Bagali. The second is from Katteśvara temple, Hirahadagalli. (Plates VII, Fig. 4. XL. Fig. I.)

Both are of the eight handed Durgā variety. In the second upper left hand of these is a *Ghaṇṭa*. The differences between these icons and the Ālampūr icons are the following :—

1. In both the icons a *mahisha* and two demons are sculptured. But in the Ālampur icons either the Mahishā or its head only or a combined form of the Mahishā and the deomon are found.

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2. The *śūla* in the lower right hand of Durgā from Bagali is quite different from the *triśūlā* we find in the Ālampur icons.

3. Durgā in the Ālampur icons is less ornamented than in these two icons.

In *Chālukyan Architecture* by Cousens, a photograph of the image of Mahishāsuramardanī from the temple of Siddēśvara, Haveri is given. (Plate LXXXI. Fig. 3.)

This is an eight-handed Durgā. In the third upper left hand is a *Ghaṇṭā*. The main differences between this icon and the Ālampur icons are :

1. Unlike in the Ālampur icons both the complete *Mahishā* form of Mahishāsura and the combined form of *Mahishā* head and the aśurā body make their appearance in this icon.

(2) The Haveri image is more ornamented than the Ālampur ones.

No two images of Mahishāsuramardanī from Ālampur are identical. They do not completely tally with the *Śilpa* texts. While they are comparable to Pallava, Chāḷukyan and Chōḷa examples in certain aspects, the Ālampur icons differ from them in other respects. Thus, the ten Mahishāsuramardanī images from Ālampur become unique and rare ones.

The existence of various styles side by side at Ālampur, which is clear from these images, shows that this place had been a meeting place of different styles of art. The variety in Sūrya images and in the architecture of temples that we find here, is a further proof for the above conclusion.

The earliest inscriptional evidence at Ālampur dates back to the seventh century. Vijayādityā's inscription on the fort wall and Vinayādityā's inscription of the Dvārapāla of the Svarga Brahmā temple are the earliest.

After the inscriptions of the Bādāmi Chāḷukyās, there are here inscriptions of the Rāshṭrakūṭās, the western or Kalyānī Chaḷukyās the Kākatīyas and the Vijayanagar kings. From the iconographic, architectural and inscriptional evidence, the ten Mahishāsuramardanī images, described in this paper, may be dated from 8th century A.D. to the 12th century A.D. The date of some of these images may even be earlier than the 8th century A.D.

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TWO METAL IMAGES OF MAHĀŚRĪ TĀRĀ

Shri Pratapaditya Pal

The images, under discussion, were both found in Nepal and are at present in the private collections of Shri S. K. Saraswati and Shri Bratindra Nath Mukherjee in Calcutta. Cast in bronze, they are identical iconographically as well as sculpturally. The following description will therefore suffice for each.

The image shows a goddess seated on a lotus pedestal in *lalitāsana*, the right leg hanging down and being supported on a smaller lotus. The two hands are held near the breast in *dharmacakrapravartana-mudrā*. She is flanked on the left by a blue lotus and on the right by an ordinary one. She is clad in a sārī and a scarf girdles her waist. She is richly decked with elaborate jewellery, such as, anklets (*nūpūra*), a waistgirdle (*mekhalā*), bracelets (*valaya*), armlets (*keyūra*), necklace (*hāra*), neck-collar (*graiveyaka*) ear-rings (*kuṇḍala*) and on her head is a tiara with the hair raised up in a chignon.

As regards the identification of the goddess, reference may be made to a *sādhana* which is found to have a fundamental agreement with the image. The *sādhana* may be quoted here :

Mahāśrītarāṁ chandrāsanasthāṁ śyāmavarṇāṁ dvibhujāṁ hastadvayena vyākhyānamudrādharāṁ ekabaktrāṁ sarvālaṅkārabhūṣitāṁ pārśvadvayenotpalaśobhāṁ suvarṇasiṁhāsanopari apāśrayādiśobhāṁ nānā-puṣpāśokachampakanāgeśvarapārijātakādibhirājitāṁamoghasiddhimakutinīm

Mahāśrītārāyā pārśve Ekajaṭāmardhaparyaṅkapbiṣṭāṁ nīlavarṇāṁ kartṛikapāladharāṁ sakrodhāṁ lambodarāṁ piṅgalajaṭābibhūṣitāṁ vyāghracharmāmbaradharāṁ dakṣiṇe pārśve Aśokakāntā pītavarṇāṁ ratnamakuṭinīṁ vajrāśokadharām punarvāme Āryyā-Jāṅgulīṁ śyāmavarṇāṁ sarpavaradahastāṁ dakṣiṇe Mahāmāyūrīṁ mayūrapicchavaradahastām..... /

Rājalīlā (lalitā) sthitā devī Mahāśrī karūṇānvitā //

(*Sādhanamālā* : Vol. I, p. 244).

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"The goddess Mahāśrī Tārā should be conceived as seated in *chandrāsana* on a golden throne; she is of blue complexion (*śyāma*) and two armed; the two hands are held in the *vyākhyāṇa-mudrā*; she is one faced and is profusely ornamented; two lotuses adorn both her sides while lotuses and various flowers like *Aśoka*, *champaka*, *nāgeśvara*, *pārijāta*, etc. surround her figure; the goddess bears the effigy of Amoghasiddhi on her crown.

"On her left is Ekajaṭā seated in *ardhaparyaṅkāsana*; she is of blue complexion, holds the dagger (*kartṛi*) and the skull-cup (*kapāla*) in her hands and shows and angry expression on her face; she is pot-bellied and wears a tiger skin; the hair is raised up in tawny matted locks. On her right is Aśokakāntā, of yellow complexion, having a jewelled crown and holding the thunder (*vajra*) and *Aśoka* branch. To left again is Ārya Jāṅgulī, who is of blue complexion (*śyāma*) and who shows snake (*sarpa*) and boon-giving pose (*varada*) in two hands. To right again is Mahāmāyūrī holding the tail of a peacock (*mayūrapiccha*) and showing the boon-giving pose (*varada*).

"Mahāśrī Tārār, the all compassionate, should be seated in the *rājalīlā* (or *lalita*) pose."

It will be noticed that in each of the images under discussion the goddess holds her hands in *dharmacakrapravartana* or *vyākhyāṇa-mudrā* as given in the text with lotuses of two varieties adorning the two sides. As far as the *āsana* is concerned she is seated neither in *chandrāsana* nor in *rājalīlā* but in *lalitāsana*. The last attitude is also prescribed for the goddess as noted above. The goddess represented here is thus evidently Mahāśrī Tārā. Indeed, the absence of the attendant goddesses should not make us hesitant about our identification. Being metal images, the accessory divinities in each case must have originally been placed on the throne pedestal which however is, unfortunately, lost. In any case, the only other goddess in the Mahāyāna pantheon, who could possibly be identified with that in the images in question, is Prajñāpāramitā. But, necessarily, Prajñāpāramitā must have a manuscript either in one of her hands or placed on a lotus at the side, which definitely does not occur in the present images. The fundamental agreement of the goddess represented in each of the images with the description of Mahāśrī Tārā in the *Sādhanamālā* leaves no doubt about the identification. Incidentally, Mahāśrī Tārā, as the *mantra* (*oṁ tāre tuttāre ture dhanaṁ dade svāhā*) included in the *sādhana* suggests, was invoked for obtaining wealth.

Images of Mahāśrī Tārā are comparatively rare and reference may be made here to other extant representations of the goddess. A stone image in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, and two miniatures in two

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manuscripts of *Ashṭasāhasrika Prajñāpāramitā* supply us with three other known representations of the goddess. The stone image had been noticed by Dr. Benoytosh Bhattacharyya, once in his *Indian Buddhist Iconography* (pp. 106-107) where it was described as Khadiravanī Tārā, and next in his Introduction to the *Sādhanamālā* (II, p. CLXXIV) where it was correctly identified as Mahāśrī Tārā.

It is interesting to note that the principal goddess in this image has been rendered identically as in the two bronzes. Seated on an ornate pedestal in *lalitāsana*, her hands show the *dharmacakrapravartana-mudrā*. Two lotuses, one blue and the other conventional adorn her sides. On her left is Ekajaṭā, pot-bellied and angry-looking, holding a *kartṛi* in her right hand and a *kapāla* in the left with the hair raised up in a chignon. On the right is Aśokakāntā Mārīcī, the right hand holding a *vajra* and the left the twig of an *aśoka* tree. The elaborate stela shows two vidhyādharas immediately above the head of the goddess and five miniature figures of the Dhyānī Buddhas arranged in a circle, the central position being occupied by Amoghasiddhi.

Of the two miniatures, one occurs in a manuscript, dated, N.S. 184/A.D. 1064, now in the collection of Shri S. K. Saraswati. The goddess is seated on a throne with her right leg tucked up on top of the left which is spread out. The two hands show the *dharmacakrapravartana-mudrā*, but there is only one lotus at her side, which is blue. Her complexion is deep green (*haritavarṇā*), while she is dressed and bedecked as richly as in the metal images. The goddess, seated in the centre, is accompanied on either side by five attendant figures. On her left is a pot-bellied goddess in blue (*nīlavarṇā*), of a terrible appearance and holding a *kartṛi* in her right hand and a *kapāla* in the left. She is definitely Ekajaṭā of the *sādhana*. On her right is a goddess, yellow complexioned (pitavarṇā), the right hand showing the *vyākhyāṇa-mudrā* while the left cannot be seen. It is difficult to identify her except for the fact that her colour, yellow, is the same as that prescribed for Aśokakāntā in the *sādhana*. Behind Ekajaṭā is a standing male figure of yellow complexion (pita-varṇa), the right hand showing the *jñāna-mudrā*, the left not being visible. He is flanked by two figures at the sides as also one behind at the extreme and whose faces only are visible. Correspondingly and similarly positioned on the other side of the principal goddess, there is a white male figure whose right hand shows the *vyākhyāṇa-mudrā* and who is accompanied by three other figures whose faces only are visible. The insufficient data therefore make the identification of these attendant figures almost an impossibility. It may be noted that the background in the painting has been filled up with foliage motifs, evidently representations of the various flowers as prescribed in the *sādhana*. The miniature, it is interesting to observe, bears a label '*Khairavani* (*Khadiravani*) *Tārā*; but it is certainly wrong.

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The other miniature is found in a manuscript (No. A.15) in the collection of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta. Here the goddess is seated on a lotus seat with the right leg placed across the left which hangs down freely. Her complexion is dark green and both her hands are held in *dharmacakrapravartana-mudrā*. On her left is a single blue lotus. She is clad in a śāri and is as exuberantly ornamented as in the representations described above. An oval shaped aureole graces her head while the background is decorated with foliage motifs. The goddess is seated on one side in the painting and has eight attendant figures in front of her, all of whom are not identifiable. A figure in yellow, three-eyed, and seated in *paryaṅkāsana* immediately in front, has her right hand held near the breast while the left holds the *vajra* and the branch of an *aśoka* tree. Evidently there can be no doubt in identifying her with Aśokakāntā Mārīcī of the *sādhana*. Next, a figure in blue, pot-bellied, of a terrible appearance, holding the *kartṛi* in her right hand, the left not being visible, and the hair raised up in a chignon, is undoubtedly Ekajaṭā of the *sādhana*. Behind them are two rows of three figures each. In the row immediately behind Aśokakāntā and Ekajaṭā, a figure in red in the centre is flanked on the sides by a figure in purple showing the *jñāna-mudrā* and one in white showing the *añjali-mudrā* with their hands. The extreme row has a figure in yellow showing the *vyākhyāṇa-mudrā* flanked by two figures in blue whose faces can only be seen.

On a comparative study of all these representations we find that, iconographically, although none of them is in exact conformity with the injunctions laid down in the *sādhana*, they are, none-the-less, fundamentally faithful. As has already been noted, the bronzes might have had the accessory divinities, which are now lost. The stone image not only shows two of the four attendant divinities as required by the *sādhana* but is the only example bearing the effigy of Amoghasiddhi, whose emanation the goddess is. It is possible that the bronze images too might have had this characteristic iconographic cognisance on the *prabhāvalis* which are now missing. Among the large number of attendants in the miniatures, it is probable that, besides the ones identified above, the others are also present but are unrecognizable being inadequately rendered. It may also be noted that the leaves and blossoms, decorating the background in these paintings, are an attempt to render the various flowers as given in the *sādhana*.

In conclusion, a few words may be said on the sculptural aspect. Indeed, from an artist's point of view, the stone image leaves little to be desired. Scholars have been effusive in their eulogies regarding this piece of sculpture, some drawing an analogy with that supreme effort on the part of the Javanese artists to express the form of Prajñāpāramitā, now in the Leiden Museum. Curiously enough, this stone figure

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has a striking resemblance with the two bronze images under discussion. Besides iconographical traits, which were identical as described above, these three images resemble one another in form as well as in style, the materials of the last two being different. The same modelling, the same sharp features of the various limbs and the same plastic volumes and linear contours, characterise all the three images. In fact, the metallic precision of the bronze images is singularly perceptible in that in stone. Necessarily, the bronzes are completely in the round whereas the stone image is in a very high relief, being provided with a stela at the back and yet hardly is there any fundamental difference. That the stone image belongs to the Pāla period is evident not only from stylistic considerations but also from the palæography of the inscription on the pedestal. The bronze images, it is not unreasonable to think, belonged also to the same epoch, and were possibly also of East Indian workmanship. Stylistically again, the figures of the goddess in these images have close affinities with the representations in the miniatures.

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SOME OBSERVATIONS ON LĪLĀVATĪ OF BHĀSKARĀCĀRYA

SHRI SHYAM CHAND MUKHERJI

THERE is hardly any scholar of Indian Mathematics, who has failed to take any notice of Bhāskarācaryā—the unique contributor to mathematical thought and symbolism. He has written many mathematical and astronomical works, of which mention should be made here of (1) *Siddhānta-Śiromaṇi*, (2) *Karaṇakutūhala* and (3) *Sarvatobhadra-yantra*. The first-mentioned work is divided into four chapters *viz.*, *Līlāvatī*, *Bījagaṇita*, *Grahagaṇita* and *Gola*. They may be regarded as most valuable writings on mathematics and astronomy respectively. That he was a great scholar is proved by his extant works in one of which he claims to have been well-versed in (*a*) grammar, (*b*) medical science, (*c*) logic, (*d*) mathematics and (*e*) the Vedas.

Bhāskara may be credited as the originator of the system known as ' Differential Calculus ', which has usually been attributed to Leibnitz and Newton. From a study of the concluding portion of his *Golādhyāya* we come to know that he was born at Bijjaḍabiḍ in the year 1036 Śaka, corresponding to A.D. 1114. In some works, based on *Līlāvatī*, the date of his birth has been given as 1072 Śaka *i.e.* 1150 A.D. The identification of Bijjaḍabiḍ or Bijjalabiḍ has been a matter of great dispute. Thus, while some would identify this place with Bijapur in Karṇāṭak, others would with Biḍ in Maharāṣṭra. Mr. H. T. Colebrooke has tried to identify this place with Bedar (Bidar).[1] Our knowledge regarding the family of Bhāskara was very meagre until the discovery of a copper plate inscription, dated in the Śaka year 1128 from Chalisgaon by Dr. Bhau Daji. From a study of this inscription as well as from other sources, we come to learn that he was the son of one Maheśvaropādhyāya belonging to the Śaṇḍilya Gotra; and that he was a pious Vaiṣṇava, well-versed in the performances of the Vedic and Smārta rites. It is said that Bhāskara enjoyed a long life. He wrote his *Siddhānta-Śiromaṇi* at the age of 36. *Karaṇakutūhala* was probably his last work, composed at the advanced age of 69.

1. *Asiatic Researchs*, vol. 9, p. 351.

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Līlāvatī of Bhāskara has inspired a number of commentaries, translations and editions of which the following need mention :—

(1) *Gaṇitāmṛtalaharī* by Rāmakṛṣṇa, 1261 Śaka *i.e.* 1339 A.D.

(2) *Pāṭīgaṇitakaumudī* by Nārāyaṇa (probably a younger brother of Rāmakṛṣṇa), 1279 Śaka *i.e.* 1357 A.D.

(3) *Gaṇitāmṛtasāgarī* by Gaṅgādhara, 1342, Śaka *i.e.* 1420 A.D.

(4) *Buddhivilāsinī* by Gaṇeśa Daivajña, 1467 Śaka, *i.e.* 1545 A.D.

(5) *Līlāvatī-ṭīkā* by Mahīdāsa, 1509 Śaka *i.e.* 1587 A.D.

(6) Persian Translation of *Līlāvatī* by poet Faizi, 1587 A.D.

(7) *Observations on the Mathematical science of the Hindus with extracts from Persian translations of the Leelawuttee and Beej Gunnit*, by E. Strachey, A.D. 1805.

(8) *Lilawati* (English Translation by J. Taylor), A.D. 1816.

(9) *Algebra with Arithmetic and Mensuration from the Sanscrit of Brahmagupta and Bhāskara* (English Translation), by H. T. Colebrooke, A.D. 1893.

(10) *Līlāvatī* (Text with introduction), edited by Sudhākara Dvivedī, A.D. 1912.

The contents of *Līlāvatī* are based mostly on the earlier works of Brahmagupta, Śrīdhara and Mahīdhara. The topics discussed in this paper, however, are connected with the coin-denominations, their weights, as well as the prices of various commodities current in the time of Bhāskara, as referred to in this work. He refers to some business transactions to illustrate matters. It may not be improper here to observe that *Līlavatī* was written in the tradition of Commercial Arithmetic, first established in some of the mediæval Sanskrit treatises.

Bhāskara has given the tables of money and weight, current in his time. The titles of the tables (like table of money, table of weight etc.), which are not given in the text, are taken from the commentaries in one of which (that by Gaṇeśa Daivajña) it is said that the weights and measures of the Magadha country were adopted as the standard.

Table of Money

20 *varāṭakas*	make	1 *kākiṇī*
4 *kākiṇīs*	,,	1 *paṇa*
16 *paṇas*	,,	1 *dramma*
16 *drammas*	,,	1 *niṣka**

* According to Bhāskara, 'niṣka', or gold coin was the highest monetary unit, and 'varaṭaka', or cowry-shell the lowest. Cowry-shells were meant for small transactions. Gifts were generally made in cowry-shells.

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(*Varāṭakānām daśakadvayaṁ yat sā kākiṇī tāśca paṇaścatasraḥ/*
Te soḍaśa dramma ihāvagaonyo drammaistathā soḍaśabhiśca
niṣkaḥ //

chap. 1, v. 2) (2).

Table of Weight

2 *yavas*	make	1 *guñjā*
3 *guñjās*	,,	1 *valla*
8 *vallas*	,,	1 *dharaṇa*
2 *dharaṇas*	,,	1 *gadyāṇaka.*

(*Tulyā yavābhyāṁ kathitā'tra guñjā vallastriguñjo dharaṇam ca te'stān /*
Gadyāṇakastaddvayamindra tulyairvallaisthaiko ghaṭakaḥ pradiṣṭaḥ //
chap. 1, verse. 3.)

Another Table of Weight

5 *guñjas*	*make*	1 *māṣa*
16 *māṣas*	,,	1 *karṣa*
4 *karṣas*	,,	1 *pala.*

(*Daśārdhaguñjaṁ pravadanti māṣaṁ māṣāhvayaiḥ soḍabhiśca karṣam /*
Karṣaiścaturbhiśca palaṁ tulājñāḥ karṣam suvarṇasya suvarṇasaṁjñam //
chap. 1, v. 4)

The relation between the various weight-denominations is noted below:—

(*a*)	3 *guñjās* (or *ratis*)	make 1 *valla*
	1 *guñjā*	makes 1/3 *valla*
	80 *guñjās*	make 1/3 × 80 *vallas* = 80/3 vallas or 26-2/3 *vallas.*
(*b*)	5 *guñjās*	make 1 *māṣa*
∴	16 *māṣas*	make 5 × 16 = *guñjās* (or 1 *karṣa or* 1 *suvarṇa*)
(*c*)	16 *māṣas* (or 1 *karṣa* or 80 *guñjās*)	make 80/3 *vallas*
∴	1 *māṣa*	makes 80/3 × 1/16 or 1-2/3 *valla.*
(*d*)	8 *vallas*	make 1 *dharaṇa*
∴	1 *valla*	makes 1/8 *dharaṇa*
∴	80/3 *vallas* (or 1 *karṣa* or 1 *suvarṇa*)	make 1/8 × 80/3 = 10/3 or 3-1/3 *dharaṇa.*

2. *Līlāvati*–Sudhākara Dvivedi's edn.—1912.

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(*e*) 2 *dharaṇas* make 1 *gadyāṇaka*

∴ 1 *dharaṇa* (or 8 *vallas*) makes 1/2 *gadyāṇaka*

∴ 10/3 *dharaṇas* (or 1 *karṣa*) make 1/2 × 10/3 = 5/3 or 1-2/3 *gadyāṇaka*.

(*f*) 5/3 *gadyāṇaka* makes 1 *karṣa*

∴ 1 *gadyāṇaka* 1×3 / 5 *karṣa* make 3/5 *karṣa*.

(*g*) 1 *valla* makes 3 *guñjās*

∴ 8 *vallas* (or 1 *dharaṇa*) make 3 × 8 or 24 *guñjās*

∴ 16 *vallas* (or 2 *dharaṇas*) make 24 × 2 or 48 *gunjās*

It may be concluded that 16 *māṣas* or 1 *karṣa* or 1-2/3 *gadyāṇaka* or 3-1/2 *dharaṇas* or 26-2/3 *vallas* make 80 *guñjās* or *ratis*.

16 *māṣas* = 1 *karṣa* = 1-2/3 *gadyāṇaka* = 3-2/3 *dharaṇas* = 26-2/3 *vallas*.

It has already been observed that Bhāskara had given the relative value of coins current in his time. In verse 2, chap. 1 of his *Līlāvatī*, it is said that 16 *drammas* were equal to 1 *niṣka*. These two probably stand for silver and gold coin-units respectively. It may be noted in this connection that 1 *karṣa* of gold, according to the author of *Līlāvatī*, stands for '*suvarṇa*' or gold (...*karṣaṁ suvarṇasya suvarṇasaṁjñam* //— verse 4, chap. I). From a study of this verse, it appears that the word, '*suvarṇa*' when referred to metals in general signifies the weight passing under this name, but in reference to gold this weight is called either '*karṣa*' or '*suvarṇa*'. As regards the silver unit of coinage, it was variously termed as '*purāṇa*', '*dharaṇa*' or '*kārṣāpaṇa*'. It weighed 16 *māṣas* or 32 *ratis* or 57 *grains*. Its weight was only 2/5 of a '*suvarṇa*'. We all know that the silver coin, '*drachme*' had a long life in India as '*dramma*'. It is interesting to note that Bhāskara has substituted '*dramma*' in place of '*purāṇa-nāṇaka*'—used by his predecessors like Mahāvīra and Śrīdhara. The ratio between the prices of gold and silver, according to the author of *Līlavatī*, was 16 : 1. (16 *drammas* = 1 *niṣka*). The unit of copper coinage was known as '*paṇa*'. But unfortunately, the unit of copper currency actually in vogue in the age of Bhaskara is not known to us. According to Manu, the weight of a copper '*kārṣāpaṇa*' was 80 *ratis* or 140 grains or 16 *māṣas* (according to Cunningham, however, 146 grains). From a study of different *dharmaśāstras*, *viz.*, Vaśiṣṭha, Gautama and Uśanas, it is clear that a '*paṇa*' weighed 100 *ratis* or 175 grains or 20 *māṣas*. Now,

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let us determine the ratio between the prices of silver and copper, as revealed in *Līlāvatī*. In the Medinīkoṣa the ratio has been given as 16 : 1. The same ratio has also been maintained in *Līlāvatī*. In the mediæval times the unit of silver coinage was a piece of about 50 grains and that of copper coinage about 140 grains. Now, allowing an alloy of 20 per cent in these silver coins, it may be observed that 40 grains of silver were equal in value to 16 × 140 grains (16 *paṇas* = 1 *dramma*) of copper. The ratio in the prices of the two metals would thus be 1 : 56 (cf. Altekar, *JNSI*, vol. II. p. 13 ; Agarwal, *Ibid.*, vol. XVII, p. 79). *Kākiṇī*, according to the author of *Līlāvatī*, was the smallest unit in the copper coinage system (4 *kākiṇīs* = 1 *paṇa*). It may be observed here that Kauṭilya regarded '*paṇas*' (1 *paṇa*, 1/2 *paṇa* and 1/4 *paṇa* coins) as silver coins ; and *māṣakas* and *kakiṇīkās* or *kākiṇīs* (1 *māṣaka* and 1/2 *māṣaka* ; 1 *kākiṇikā* and 1/2 *kākiṇika*) as copper coins.

The tables of money and weight, given in *Līlāvatī*, may be compared with those of other works (for the tables of money and weight given in *Līlāvatī*, see *supra*.).

Table of weights for the bimetallic system, which was prevalent in the age of Kauṭilya, is given below :—

Silver	*Weight*	*Copper*
1 *kārṣāpaṇa*	= 32 *ratis* (56 grs.)	
1/2 ,,	= 16 ,, (28 grs.)	
1/4 ,,	= 8 ,, (14 grs.)	= *catur—māṣaka.*
1/8 ,,	= 4 ,, (7 grs.)	= 1 *dvi—māṣaka.*
1/16 ,,(in value only)	= 2 ,, (3·5 grs.)	= 1 ,,
1/32 ,, ,,	= 1 *rati* (1·75 gr.)	= 1/2 ,,
1/64 ,, ,,	= ·5 ,, (·82 gr.)	= 1 *kākiṇikā*
1/128 ,, ,,	= ·25 ,, (·41 grs.)	= 1/2 ,,

Table of weight of copper coins, which was in use in Vidiśā and Mālava-deśa :—

1 *kārṣāpaṇa*		= 80 *ratis* or 140 grs.	(146 grs. according to Cunningham)
1/2 ,,		= 40 ,, 70 grs.	(72 ,, ,,)
1/4 ,,		= 20 ,, 35 ,,	(36 ,, ,,)
1/8 ,,		= 10 ,, 17·50	(18 ,, ,,)
1/16 ,,	= 1 *māṣaka*	= 5 ,, 8·75 ,,	(9 ,, ,,)
1/32 ,,	= 1/2 ,,	= 2-1/2 ,, 4·37 ,,	(4·5 ,, ,,)
1/64 ,,	=1/4 or 1 *kākiṇikā*	= 1-1/4 rati 2·25 ,,	(same)
1/128 ,,	= 1/8 or 1/2 *kākiṇikā*	= 0·62 or 1·12 gr.	(same)

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It has already been noticed that Bhāskara had given the prices of different commodities in terms of coin-units, prevalent in his times, by way of illustrations. Here are some examples taken fom his *Līlāvatī* (based on English Translation of J. Taylor) to illustrate the methods of Commercial Arithmetics :—

(*a*) *Rule of Three* : *Direct proportion* (*Chap. II, Sec. VI*)

(1) 2 *palas* and a half of saffron are purchased for 3/7 of *niṣka*. What can be bought for 9 *niṣkas* ?—The answer is : 52 *palas* and 2 *karṣas* of saffron.

(2) 63 *palas* of fine camphor produce 104 *niṣkas*. What will 12 *palas* and a quarter produce ?—The result is : 20 *niṣkas*, 3 *drammas*, 8 *paṇas*, 3 *kākiṇīs*, 11-1/9 *varāṭakas*.

(3) 1 *khārikā* and an eighth of rice are got for 2 *drammas*. How many will be got for 70 *paṇas* ?—The product is 2 *khārikās*, 7 *droṇas*, 7 *āḍhakas* and 2 *prasthas*. It is interesting to note here that 2 *drammas* are reduced to 32 *paṇas* in order to make the number of the given product *i.e.* 70 *paṇas* of the same denomination.

Readers can make an idea about the prices of saffron, camphor and rice prevalent in the time of Bhāskara.

(*b*) *Rule of Three* : *Inverse proportion* (*Chap. II, See. VI*)

In the opinion of Bhāskara where prices of living beings like girls (slaves ?) and cattle are regulated by their age, or where the weight and colour on the touchstone (*varṇa*) are compared (in the case of gold only), or where heaps of rice etc. are subdivided, there only this rule comes into operation. Let us illustrate them with the help of suitable examples :—

(1) *Girls* (*slaves* ?)—A girl (female slave ?) of 16 years is purchased for 32 *niṣkas* (according to Faizi *ashrafis*). What will be the cost of one 20 years old ?—The result is: 25 *niṣkas*, 9 *drammas*, 9 *paṇas*, 2 *kākiṇīs* and 8 *varaṭakas*. This is probably a pointer to the fact that the system of slavery was still in vogue in the time of Bhāskara.

(2) *Cattle*—Bullocks which have ploughed 4 seasons cost 4 *niṣkas*. What will be the cost of the same which have ploughed 12 seasons ?—The product is 1 *niṣka* and fraction 1/3.

(3) *Gold*—1 *gadyāṇaka* of gold (or *suvarṇa*) of 10 colour is obtained for 1 *niṣka*. . How many of 15 colour will be obtained for the same amount ?—The answer will be 2/3 of a *niṣka i.e.* 10 *drammas*, 10 *paṇas*, 2 *kākiṇīs* and 13-1/3 *varāṭakas*. It may be pointed out here that 1 *gadyāṇaka* was equal to 2 *dharaṇas*.

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(*c*) *Rule of Seven* (*Chap. II, Sec. VI*)

(1) 8 pieces of silk, each 3 cubits in breadth and 8 in length, are purchased for 100. What will one piece, 3 cubits and a half in length and one-half in breadth, be purchased for ?—The result is : 11 *drammas*, 9 *paṇas*, 1 *kākiṇī* and 6-2/3 *varāṭakas*. An idea about the prevailing price of silk at that time can be formed from this example.

(*d*) *Rule of Nine* (*Chap. II, Sec. VI*)

(1) 30 benches, each 12″ thick, 12″ broad and 14 cubits long, are purchased for 100 *niṣkas*. What will be the cost of 14 benches, each 8″ thick, 12″ broad and 10 cubits long?—The product will be : 16 *niṣkas*, 10 *drammas*, 10 *paṇas*, 2 *kākiṇīs* and 13-1/3 *varāṭakas*. It gives us an idea about the cost of benches, prevalent in the time of Bhāskara.

(*e*) *Rule of Eleven* (*Chap. II, Sec. VI*)

(1) 30 benches were lying at a distace of 1 league ; and to bring 14 benches which in length, breadth and thickness are less by 4 than the former from the distance of 6 leagues. How much will be the transport charges (*bhāṭaka*, referred to in this example, stands for its *Bhāṣā* equivalent *bhāḍā*) ? The transport charges will be 8 *drammas*. An idea about the hiring charges of coolies can be formed from this single illustration.

(*f*) *Barter System* (*Chap. II, Sec. VIII*)

(1) 300 mangoes are purchased for 1 *dramma*, and 30 pomegranates for 1 *pana*. How many pomegranates will be got in exchange for 10 mangoes ?—The answer is : 16 pomegranates. For the sake of exchange a '*dramma*' is reduced to 16 *paṇas*. We get here an idea about the prices of fruits (like mangoes and pomegranates) prevalent in that age.

(*g*) *Mixed Guantities* (*Chap. III, Sec. I*)

(1) 94 *niṣkas* were lent out in 3 sums—one at 5% another at 3% and the third at 4%; and each of these sums produced an equal amount of interest in 7, 10 and 5 months respectively. What was the principal lent at each rate of interest ? The sums lent at each rate of interest are *niṣkas* 24, 28 and 42 respectively ; and by the rule of 5 quantities we obtain the equal amount of interest as 42/5 *niṣkas* or 8 *niskas*, 6 *drammas*, 6 *paṇas* and 12 *varāṭakas*. It gives an idea about the rates of interest, prevalent at that time.

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(*h*) *Buying and Selling* (*Chap. III, Sec. III*)

(1) 3 *māṇas* and a half of rice are obtained for 1 *dramma*, and 8 *māṇas* of kidney-beans for the same sum ; then taking 2 proportions of rice and 1 proportion of bean, how much of each will be obtained for 13 *kākiṇīs* ? The cost of rice will be 10 *kākiṇīs* and 13-1/3 *varāṭakas* and that of beans 2 *kākiṇīs* and 6-2/3 *varāṭakas*. For the sake of easy *transaction*, 1 *dramma* has been reduced here to 64 *kākiṇīs*. The ratio of price between these two cereal-crops will be 7 : 16. In a previous illustration we have seen that 1-1/3 *khārikā* i.e. 9 *māṇas* of rice could be obtained for the 2 *drammas*, where as only 7 *māṇas* ($3\frac{1}{2}$ *maṇas* for 1 *dramma*) can be had for the same amount. Hence, it appears that any one purchasing rice by the *khārikā* weight will gain 2 *māṇas* in each *dramma*.

(2) One can get 1 *pala* of fine camphor for 2 *niṣkas*, 1 *pala* of sandal-wood 1/8th of a *dramma*, and 1/2 *pala* of aloe-wood (*agru*) also 1/8th of a *dramma*. A man gave a *niṣka* and asked for one part of camphor, 16 parts of sandal-wood and 8 parts of aloe-wood. The answers in price and in quantity for these goods will be respectively *drammas*, 14, 2/9, 8/9, and 8/9 ; and *palas* 4/9, 64/9 and 32/9. It gives us an idea about the prices of perfumery goods (as well as of their preparation formulæ) prevalent at that time.

(*i*) *Computing Gold* (*Chap. III, Sec. IV*)

I need not quote any example here to elaborate the system. Some general observations, however, can be made here. This chapter will be useful to those people who are in some way or other connected with the bullion-market.

Bhāskara has used the term " *Suvarṇa-gaṇita* " in order to denote ' *Suvarṇa-miśraṇa* ' or computation of gold ' which deals with the weight, fineness and alligation media of gold. The term ' *varṇa* ' stands for colour of gold in the touchstone. The Hindus judge the purity of gold by colour only. According to *AIN-I-AKBARI*, the highest degree of purity of gold is 12 degrees. According to experts in ' *Suvarṇa-gaṇita* ', degrees of fineness in gold increase in every decrease in weight by refining. For example, if 20 *māṣas* are reduced to 16 due to refining process, then the colour of gold is 15.

(*j*) *Investigation of Mixtures* (*Chap. IV, Sec. IV*)

In the examples, quoted under this heading, Bhāskara has given the prices of emeralds, pearls and diamonds.

From a study of the above illustrations we can form an idea about the condition of India of that period which produced Bhāskara.

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CITY-ARCHITECTURE AS DEPICTED IN THE APARĀJITAPṚECHĀ OF BHUVANADEVA

Dr. Udai Narain Ray

From various records, we gather authentic and valuable informations about cities and city-life in ancient India. They bear testimony to the fact that from Takṣaśilā in the north to Madurā in the south and from Ujjayinī in the west to Tāmraliptī in the east, there were found to exist numerous important cities, the notices of which have frequently been made in the contemporary evidences. In the early Indian literature, we come across ample references to cities as distinct from the villages. As early as the fifth century B.C. Pāṇini speaks of "Grāma" and "Nagara" separately[1], which may be used as an evidence to prove that the two were different types of habitation. While drawing distinction between them, the earlier works on Indian architecture define city as a populous centre, noted for strong fortification and inhabited mostly by traders (जनैःपरिवृतं क्रयविक्रयकादिभिः) and industrial workers (कर्म्मकारैः समन्वितम्)[2]. According to them, it consisted of four impressive city-gates in the four directions (दिक्षु चतुर्द्वारयुक्तम्) and splendid buildings furnished with the adequate amenities of life (सालाढ्यम्)[3]. The village, on the other hand, was marked for its simple appearance and in most of the cases, it lacked the protection rendered by moats and walls, the provision of which was absolutely necessary in the planning of the cities.

The city-bred man has been spoken of by Vātsyāyana as the true representative of an advanced culture in his celebrated work (*Kāmasūtra*) which is an important source for the study of urban civilization of India in the early times. According to him he is excellent in fine conversation and always dignified in his behaviour. He says that city is pre-eminently a noted centre of the noble persons, whose lofty mind could assert a claim to an excellence of a high degree.[4] He condemns the manners of the village-folk and expresses his great hatred

1. "प्रचां ग्रामनगराणाम्" *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, 7, 3, 14.
2. *Mānasāra*, Chapter 9.
3. *Mayamata*, Chapter 10.
4. "नगरे सज्जनाश्रये स्थानम्" *Kāmasūtra*, p. 42, Sutra 2.

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for the rural lady by calling her a great simpleton.[5] In *Śākuntalam* of Kālidāsa, we read the expression "*Nāgarika-Vṛtti*", which signifies the cleverness of a person, living in the city. The hero of the play asks his friend to appease his angry beloved by the dexterous art, which is chiefly found amongst those, who are well-acquainted with the polished way of urban life.[6]

The city was considered to be a bond of affection and source of excessive gratification. That is why it was extremely disliked by those who were living in the forest for the sake of spiritual attainments. Baudhāyana expresses his hatred for city-life by saying that the person, whose mind is defiled and the senses are rendered impure due to the dust of the town, is incapable of achieving release from the corporal existence.[7] In *Śākuntalam* we find an anchorite highly lost and confused, when he found himself in the tumultuous atmosphere of the city of Hastināpura. In the drama he is reported to have said in great surprise :— "it is true that the King Duṣyanta, who had never transgressed social limits, was supremely gifted and that not even the meanest of any of the classes follows an evil course; yet with mind ever accustomed to solitude, I deem this place, teeming with men, like a house enveloped in flames."[8] In this work, another recluse also makes a similar statement. He says, "I too deem the pleasure-seeking people of this city, as the bathed deem the anointed, the pure deem the impure, the awake deem the sleep and one with free motion deems the fettered."[9] In *Swapnavāsavadattam*, which is an earlier work, we are informed of hermits, who had left the clamorous atmosphere of the city and resorted to a lonely place, where alone a serious contemplation or meditative discourse could have been possible.[10]

The most notable feature of the cities in ancient India was the architectural technique, which determined their planning in a most systematic manner. In *Mahāparinibbāva-Sutta* of *Dīgha-Nikāya*, city

5. *Ibid.*, p. 254, Sutra 32.
6. "सखे ! गच्छ, नागरिकवृत्या सान्त्वयैनाम्" *Śākuntalam*, Act V.
7. "पुररेणुकुण्ठितशरीरस्तत्परिपूर्णनेत्रवदनश्च ।
नगरे वसन् सिद्धिमवाप्स्यतीतिनतदस्ति" ॥ *Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra*, 2, 3, 53.
8. महाभागः कामं नरपतिरभिन्नस्थितिरसौ
न कश्चिद् वर्णानामपथमकृष्टोऽपि भजते ।
तथापीदं शश्वत्परिचितविविक्तेन मनसा
जनाकीर्णं मन्ये हुतवहपरीतं गृहमिव" ॥ *Śākuntalam*, Act V, Verse 11.
9. "अभ्यक्तमिव स्नातः शुचिर शुचिमिव प्रबुद्ध इव सुप्तम् ।
बद्धमिव स्वैरगतजनमिव सुखसंगिनमवैमि" ॥ *Ibid.*, Act V, 12.
10. "नगरपरिभवात् विमोक्तुमेते वनमभिगम्य मनस्विनोवसन्ति"
Swapnavāsavadattam, Act I.

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architecture is technically known as "*Nagara-Māpana.*"[11] It also occurs in *Mahaummaga Jātaka*,[12] *Mahābhārata*[13] and *Milindapañho*.[14] In *Rāmāyaṇa*[15] and Hathigumpha[16] inscription of King Khārvela, it has been mentioned as "*Nagara-Niveśana.*" In *Yuga-Purāṇa*[17] of *Gārgī Saṁhitā*, it is known as "*Nagara-Sthāpana*"; whereas *Mayamata* which is a comprehensive treatise on architecture and which is copiously quoted as an authority by subsequent writers, acknowledges it as "*Nagara-Vinyāsa.*"[18]

The word "*Nagara-Niveśana*"[19] also occurs in *Aparājitapṛechā* which is an exhaustive composition on the theory and practice of the science of architecture. Scholars are inclined to believe that it was composed in the 12th century A.D. and deserves to be ranked with *Mānasāra* or any architectural treatise of a high order. This work throws light on various aspects of city-planning, *e.g.* the method of fortification, construction of the roads and selection of the site for the erection of the palace and other important buildings.

Aparājitapṛechā informs us that cities in ancient India were laid out in accordance with a scheme under the supervision of an able architect known as *Sūtradhāra*. He was required to be thoroughly acquainted with the science of architecture (वास्तुविद्याविवोधकः).[20] This is also clear from the expressions like "*Vāstuvidyādikauśalaḥ*", "*Vāstumarmādibodhakaḥ*" and "*Vastuśāstrādibodhanam*", which have been used to describe his technical qualifications.[21] He was alsorequired to be expert in the examination of the site (भूपरीक्षा), fixation of the nails for measuring the ground (कीलिकारोपणादिकम्) and the character of the ground on the basis of its colour, smell, taste and slanting direction (वर्णगंधरसास्वादप्लवादिभूमिलक्षणस्)[22]. He was also well-versed in the measurement of plot with the help of the tape (रेखानांविविधाकारः) and the

11. "सुनीध-वस्सकारा मगधमहामत्ता पाटलिगामे नगरं मापेन्ति"
Dīgha-Nikāya, 2, 16, 1, 26.
12. "नगरं वेदेहेन सुमापितम्" *Jātaka*, 6, 448.
13. "नगरं मापयामासुः" *Mahābhārata*, *Ādiparva*, Chapter 199.
14. "नगरं मापेतुकामो" *Milindapānho*, p. 32.
15. "विशश्य पञ्चमिर्वर्षैर्भरतो राघवानुजः"
Rāmāyaṇa, *Uttara-Kāṇḍa*, Canto 101, line 31.
16. वातविहित-गोपुर-पाकार-निवेसनं पटिसंरवारयति"
Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, p. 207.
17. "स्थापयेन्नगरं रम्यं पुण्यारामजनाकुलम्" *Yuga-Purāṇa*, p. 31
18. "नगरादिनां...विन्यासम्" *Mayamata* p. 38.
19. *Aparājitapṛechā*, p. 189.
20. *Ibid.*, p. 118.
21. *Ibid.*, p. 118.
22. *Ibid.*, p. 6.

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construction of huge buildings of various types (प्रासादा विविधाकाराः).[23] He was to have a familiar knowledge of ascertainment of the extent of the ground by comparison with a standard (मान्तेन्मानप्रमाणं च ज्ञायते सूत्रकर्मणा) and skilful in the art of joinery (संधि...कुशलम्).[24] He was a specialist in the construction of the moat, rampart, gates, roads, buildings and palaces.[25] He was also expected to be wise (महाप्राज्ञः), erudite (शास्त्रज्ञः) and fully conversant with draftsmanship (चित्रादिकुशलः).[26]

The *Sūtradhāra* of *Aparājitapṛechā* is to be compared with *Sthapati* of *Mayamata*, *Śilparatna*, *Vāstuvidyā* and *Manuṣyālayacandrikā*. According to *Mayamata*, *Sthapati* should be eminently skilled in designing tne buildings (वास्तुविद्याब्धिपारगः), competent in the lay out of the cities (स्थापनार्हःस्यात्), skilled in drawing sketches (चित्रज्ञः) and thoroughly acquainted with surface-reading (सर्व्वदेशज्ञः).[27] He is also to be compared with *Vāstuvidyācārya* (*Vatthuvijjācariya*) of the *Jātakas*.[28] In his work, the *Sūtradhāra* was helped by other architects (कर्मकारापरैः).[29] All these architects were to be richly honoured for the merit of their work by the founder of the city.[30] The employment of the chief architect and his assistants, have been referred to in the earlier works also. In *Raghuvaṁśa* of Kālidāsa, their group is mentioned as " *Śilpi-Saṁgha.* " It was proficient in the work of remodelling and the enlargement of the cities.[31]

The most important problem, which confronted the *Sūtradhāra*, was the selection of the site, where the city was to be laid out. The examination of the site by *Sūtradhāra* is known as " *Bhu-parīkṣā* " (भूपरीक्षा) in *Aparājitapṛechā*.[32] This word occurs in *Mānasāra*[33] and *Mayamata*[34], which also recommend the basis of the choice of the ground. In *Aparājitapṛechā*, the confluence of two rivers has been

23. *Ibid.*, p. 118.
24. *Ibid.*, p. 119.
25. "पुरप्राकारपरिखाप्रतोलीमार्गगोपुरम् ।
गृहं च राजवेश्याधं ज्ञायते सूत्रकर्मणा ।। " *Ibid.*, p. 118.
"पुरप्राकारपरिखाप्रतोलीमार्गगोपुरम् ।
वेश्मानि राजवेश्मानि सभां शालां गजाश्वयो ! ।। " *Ibid.*, p. 6.
26. *Ibid.*, p. 6.
27. *Mayamata*, Chapter 4.
28. *Jātaka*, 1, 297.
29. *Aparājitapṛechā*, p. 119.
30. "सर्वेषां कर्मकराणां धनं दद्याच्च सर्वतः " *Ibid.*, p. 371.
31. "तां शिल्पिसंघाः प्रभुणा नियुक्तास्तथागतां संमृत्साधनत्वात् ।
पुरं नवीचक्रुरणं विसर्गात् मेघाः निदाघग्लीपतामिवोर्वीम् ।। "
Raghuvaṁśa, 16, 38.
32. *Aparājitapṛechā*, p. 120.
33. *Mānasāra*, Chapter 4.
34. *Mayamata*, Chapter 3.

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regarded as the most suitable site for the construction of a town (नदीतां संगमेषु.)[35] In case such a site was not available, the city was to be laid out either in some alluring place or near a forest or a hill.[36] Its situation near a hill or a forest was desirable, because a natural source of defence of the city was available in this case. It should be mentioned at this place that according to *Mahābhārata*[37] and the testimony of the Chinese traveller Fahien [38], the ancient city of Girivraja was protected by five hills, namely Vārāha, Vaihāra, Vṛṣabha, Ṛṣigiri and Caityagiri. According to *Rāmāyāṇa*, the city of Ayodhyā was defended by a forest of Śāla trees.[39]

For the selection of the site, *Aparājitapṛechā* makes another recommendation which is extremely orthodox in nature. It says that the ground should be chosen in view of its colour, smell, taste and obliquity by the different castes.[40] If the ground is white in colour, it is suitable for a Brāhmaṇa. Similarly red, yellow and black, surfaces of the earth are becoming for Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras respectively.[41] If the ground had the odour of the curd, it was to be chosen by the Brāhmaṇas. The sites which emitted a smell of blood, salt and refuse, were to be preferred by Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras respectively.[42] The soil which had the sweet flavour of honey, was fit for a Brāhmaṇa. The earth which relished savour, was to be picked out by the Kṣtriyas. The saltish and unwholesome soil was fit for the Vaiśyas and Śūdras respectively.[43]. When the ground was selected on this basis, it was to be besmeared by cowdung for freedom from the

35. *Aparājitapṛcchā*, p. 113.

36. "सुप्रदे शुभे रम्ये गहृरे गिरिमाश्रिते" *Ibid.*, p. 113.

37. "वैराहो विपुलो शैलो वाराहो वृषभस्तथा ।
ऋषिगिरिस्तात शुभाश्चैत्यक पंचमाः ॥
एते पंचाः महाशृंगाः पर्वताः शीतलद्रुमाः ।
रक्षंतीवाभिसंहृत्य संहतांगाः गिरिव्रजम् ॥"
Mahābhārata, Sabhāparva, Ch. 21, 2-3.

38. Giles, Fahien, p. 49.

39. "उद्यानाम्रवणोपेतां महतीं सालमेखलाम्"
Rāmāyaṇa, Bālakāṇḍa, Canto V, line 24.

40. "परीक्षयेच्च भूमाद्यं वर्णमंधेश्च स्वादतः" *Aparājitapṛechā*, p. 120.

41. "श्वेता च ब्राह्मणी भूमी रक्तावै क्षात्रिया स्मृता ।
पीतवर्णा भवेद्वैश्या शूद्री च कृष्णवर्णिनी ॥" *Ibid.*, p. 123.

42. "घृतगन्धा भवेद्विप्री राज्ञी रक्तानुगन्धिनी ।—
क्षारगन्धा भवेद्वैश्या शूद्री विष्टानुगन्धिनी ॥" *Ibid.*, p. 123.

43. "ब्राह्मणी मधुरास्वादा कषाया क्षत्रिया तथा ।
क्षारस्वादा भवेद्वैश्या शूद्रो स्यात्कटुका तथा ॥" *Ibid.*, p. 123.

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mixture of the possible defilements and the ritual uncleanness.[44] It should be mentioned at this place that such orthodox recommendations are also available in *Mayamata* (chapter 3) and *Vāstuvidyā* (chapter 2). So far as the obliqueness of the ground is concerned, the author of *Aparājitapṛechā* is in favour of the eastern slope. According to him, it is excellent in all respects, conducive to health and possessed of the great merit of longevity.[45] The choice of the surface, sloping to the east is significant from the scientific point of view. This would enable the availability of the morning rays of the sun, which creates sound bodily conditions.

The selection of the site was followed by a ceremony for its purification. In *Aparājitapṛechā*, it is known as "*Bali-Vidhāna*"[46] This nomenclature also occurs in *Mānasāra*[47] and *Mayamata*,[48] where an eloquent description of this ceremony has been given by their authors. This ceremony was done by the *Sūtradhāra* himself with the help of a learned *Ācārya* (आचाय चागमैर्युक्ते) on an auspicious occasion.[49] The labourers were employed in order to fill the holes in the earth[50] and make the ground smooth by razing the mounds.[51] The *Sūtradhāra* who was clothed in white garments and carried on his neck a garland of the same colour,[52] offered worship to important gods like Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Rudra and goddesses like Yoginī, Kumārī and others. He took great care of the fact that adoration was paid to all the divine beings, presiding deities of the fields (क्षेत्रपाल) and guardians of the boundaries (दिग्पाल) properly.[53] This worship was followed by a gift of land, cow, horse, buffalo, gold, cloth and some other valuables.[54] It was considered that due to this ceremony, the ground was bestowed with a merit which would always remove all the hindrances and bring complete happiness to all the persons dwelling there permanently.[55]

44. "गोमयेत समालिप्य" *Ibid.*, p. 123.
45. "नीरोगा दानशीला च विशिष्टजनसेविता ।
पूर्वप्लवा तु या भूमि शोभना सा प्रकीर्तिता ॥" *Ibid.*, p. 123.
"पूर्वप्लवा धरा श्रेष्ठा ह्यायु श्रीबलवर्द्धिनी" *Ibid.*, p. 122.
46. *Ibid.*, p. 113.
47. *Mānasāra*, Chapter 8.
48. *Mayamata*, Chapter 8.
49. "शुभे दिने शुभे ऋक्षे सुलग्ने सुमुहूर्तके *Aparājitapṛcchā*, p. 113.
50. *Aparājitaprechā*, p. 120.
51. *Ibid.*, p. 120.
52. "शुक्लाम्बरधरो नित्यं शुक्लमाल्यानुलेपनः" *Ibid.*, p. 123.
53. *Ibid.*, pp. 113-14.
54. "भूमिदानं ततो दद्याद् गोमहिष्यश्वसंयुतम्" *Ibid.*, p. 114.
55. "निर्विघ्नं च भवेत्तत्र हेतुकादिः समर्चने" *Ibid.*, p. 114.

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The purification of the ground was followed by the actual work of planning. The *Sūtradhāra* brought nails usually built of metal and fixed them on all sides in accordance with the scheme of the construction of the proposed town.[56] The nails were joined together by means of threads and with the guidance of these threads the whole site was marked out. This is known as "*Nagara-cihnāni*" (नगरचिन्हानि) in *Aparājitapṛechā*[57]. The various portions of the surface where the work of the constuction of the moat, rampart, roads, palace and other buildings was to be taken, were thus clearly indicated by the *Śilpins*.

The work of the fortification of the town was undertaken at the first instance. *Aparājitapṛechā* proposes the construction of three moats, in case the town was much bigger in size.[58] The portion of the soil where the moat was to be constructed has been known as "*Pārikheyī-Bhūmi*" (पारिखेयी भूमि) in *Aṣṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini.[59] This appears to be a mere repetition of the recommendation of three moats, made by *Arthaśāstra*[60] and *Samarāṅgaṅasūtradhāra.*[61] The three moats of *Aparājitapṛechā* seem to suggest the three types of moat known in ancient India, namely, (1) the moat full of water, (2) the moat full of mud and (3) the moat which had nothing within. The moat which was filled with water is mentioned as "*Toyapūrṇā-Parikhā*"[62] in *Arthaśāstra* and "*Udaka-Parikhā*"[63] in the *Jātakas*. The second and third types of the moat have been known in the Buddhist literature as "*Kaddama-parikhā*"[64] and "*Sukkha-Parikhā*"[65] respectively.

The earth which was laid bare by digging the moat, was amassed by its side at some distance and thus a huge mound was built. This mound has been known as "*Vapra*" in the *Aparājitapṛechā.*[66A] The city-wall known as "*Prakāra*" was constructed on this mound. *Aparājitapṛechā* says that the city-wall should be elevated to a height of nine *hastas* (18 feet) for increasing its defensive value.[66B] The city-wall was set with towers which have been known as "*Aṭṭālaka*"[67] and "*Mahā-śṛṅga*"[68] in this work. It was also to be possessed of main (*Gopura*)

56. "अनीय कीलकं सूत्रं रोपयेच्च चतुर्दिशम्" *Ibid.*, p. 123.
57. *Ibid.*, p. 124.
58. *Ibid.*, p. 178.
59. *Pāṇini-kālīna-Bhāratavarṣa*, p. 142.
60. *Arthaśāstra*, p. 51.
61. "एवं संशोध्य परिरवात्रितयं परितोऽशभिः" *Samarāṅgaṇa-sūtradhāra*, I, p. 40.
62. *Arthaśāstra*, p. 51 (Śāstrī).
63. *Pāṇini-Kālina-Bhāratavarṣa*, p. 144.
64. *Ibid.*, p. 144.
65. *Ibid.*, p. 144.
66A. *Aparājitapṛechā*, p. 191.
66B. "प्राकार उत्तमः कार्यो नवहस्तैः समुच्छ्रितः" *Ibid.*, p. 173.
67. *Ibid.*, p. 178.
68. *Ibid.*, p. 178.

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and subsidiary gates (*Pratolī*). These entrances were closed and opened by thick planks (कपाटाः सर्वद्वारेषु).[69] On the top of the city-wall were to be accumulated destructive weapons (*Mahāyantra*) ; such as the *Bhairavayantra, Bhāskarayantra, Mahiṣāsurayantra* and *Vārāhayantra.*[70] The author of this work says that due to these weapons, the city-wall becomes impregnable.[71] *Arthaśāstra*[72] and *Mahābhārata*[73] enumerate several weapons which were to be piled up on the upper surface of the city-wall.

The construction of the moat and the wall, determined the shape of the city. *Aparājitapṛechā* recommends six shapes of the town namely : (1) *Vṛtta* (circular), (2) *Vṛttāyata* (figure resembling an ellipse), (3) *Swastika*, (4) *Yavākṛti* (looking like a drum), (5) *Dīrgha* (rectangular) and (6) *Caturasra* (having the shape of equilateral rectangle).[74] According to this work, the cities which have these figures, bring great prosperity to the people and make them fearless.[75] These shapes have been recommended by some other work also, *e.g.* in *Yuktikalpataru* which was composed only a century earlier, the " *Caturasra* " town has been looked with great favour.[76] *Aparājitapṛechā* rejects the following shapes of the town :— (1) *Vajra* (figure resembling with *octagon*), (2) *Triśūlākṛti* (trident) and (3) *Trikoṇākhya* (triangular).[77A] According to this work, the *octagonal* city brings about an enormous loss to the

69. *Ibid.*, p. 173.
70. *Ibid.*, p. 180.
71. " एभिर्यन्त्रैः समायुक्तं प्राकारं भीमरूपकम् " *Ibid.*, p. 181.
72. " तासु पाषाणकुद्दालकुठारीकाण्डकल्पनाः ।
मुसृष्ठिमुग्दारादण्डचक्रयंत्राशतघ्नयः ॥
कार्या कार्यारिकाश्शूला वेधनाग्राश्चवेणकः ।
उष्ट्रग्रीव्याऽग्निसंयोगाः कुप्यकुल्पे च योऽवद्यिः॥ " *Arthaśāstra* (Jolly), vol. I, p. 33
73. " विविधैरपि निर्विद्धैः शस्त्रोपेतैः सुसंवरतैः ।
शक्तिभिश्चावृतं विद्धि द्विजिह्वैरिव पन्नगैः ॥
तत्पैश्चाभ्यसिकैर्युक्तं शुशुभे योधरक्षितम् ।
तीक्ष्णांकुशशतघ्नीभिर्यन्त्राजालैश्च शोभितम् ॥
आयासैश्च महाचक्रे शुशुभे तत्पुरोत्तमम् ॥"
Mahābhārata, Ādiparva, Ch. 227, V. 63-64½
74. *Aparājitapṛcchā*, pp. 180-81.
75. " वृद्धिदं पार्श्वदण्डं च श्रीपदं श्रीपुरं तथा ।
रिपुमर्द्दनं रिप्वत्तं स्राहं चैवामयप्रदम् ॥" *Ibid.*, p. 181.
76. " चतुरस्रं चतुर्वर्गं (?) फलाय पृथिवीपते " *Yuktikalpataru*, p. 23.
77A. *Aparājitapṛechā*, p. 182.

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citizens[77B] and in the trident town, there was a constant fear of war.[78] In *Samarāṅgaṇa-sūtradhāra* also, which was composed a little earlier, the octagonal city is condemned on the ground that it causes famine, disease and great distress amongst the citizens.[79]

Inside the city, several roads were constructed in order to avoid congestion over them. The author of *Aparājitapṛechā* recommends the construction of nine roads in the town.[80] The houses of the members of the four castes were to be allocated in the different parts of the city. In this work the houses of the Brāhmaṇas have been located in the east and those of the Kṣatriyas in the south. The houses of the Śūdras, according to this work, should be apportioned in the north and those of the Vaiśyas in the centre.[81] The different industrialists like goldsmiths, perfume-dealers and ivory-workers were to be placed in the different localities.[82] This seems to bear a relation to the localization of industries which is emphasized in all the works where the subject of site-distribution is also undertaken. *Aparājitapṛechā* favours the inhabitation of the members of all the four castes because it is conducive to the happiness of the citizens in general.[83] Like *Arthaśāstra*[84] and *Sukranītisāra*[85], it also advises the construction of the royal palace in the centre. It places the sellers of betel, fruits, flowers and garlands either in the vicinity of the palace or in the populous localities for the benefit of their sale.[86] The temples of the gods were to be built near the squares of the city (वस्थानिचत्वरे).[87]

77B. "वज्रकृति पुरे यत्र वज्रपातस्तदोद्भवेत् ॥ *Ibid.*, p. 182.

78. "त्रिशूले च पुरे चैव सदा युद्धं समुद्भवेत्" *Ibid.*, p. 182.

79. "व्रजन्ति प्राणिनो नाशं क्षुद्रव्याधिपरिपीडिताः"
Samarāṅgaṇa-sūtradhāra, p. 44.

80. "नवमार्गकृता संख्या निर्मिता विश्वकर्मणा"
Aparājitapṛcchā, p. 172.

81. "ब्राह्मणाः पूर्ववास्तव्याः क्षत्रियाश्चैव दक्षिणे ।
प्रशस्ताश्चोत्तरे क्षूद्राः वैश्या मध्ये च संकुलाः ॥" *Ibid.*, p. 179.

82. *Ibid.* page 179.

83. "चतुर्वर्णांश्च प्रकृतीरेकैकेषु पुरेषु च ।
सर्वत्र वासयेच्च नाश्च सुखावद ॥" *Ibid.*, p. 179.

84. Arthaśāstra, p. 55 (Śāstrī).

85. *Śukranītisāra*, Ch. 1, p. 434.

86. "ताम्बूलफलसंकीर्णं पुष्पमालादिसंकुलम् ।
राजद्वाराग्रतश्चैव यतः स्याच्च जनाकुलम् ॥" *Aparājitapṛechā*, p. 179.

87. *Ibid.*, p. 178.

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From the above it is clear that *Aparājitapṛechā* of Bhuvanadeva is helpful to a large extent in understanding the various aspects of city-architecture as practised in ancient India. It bears testimony to the fact that the cities which thrived in this land were not a result of an accidental or irregular growth, but erected in accordance with well-considered schemes. This work undoubtedly reflects the engineering skill and the architectural technique of the ancient builders and also agrees on several points with *Yukti-kalpataru* and *Samarāṅgaṇa-sūtra-dhāra* which supply to us much information about the planning of the cities in ancient India.

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THE ROUTE OF THE FIRST HŪṆA INVASION

PROFESSOR JAGANNATH AGRAWAL

IN my article on the Early History of the Maitrakas published in the *Indian Culture*, Volume V, I had suggested that the reason for Skandagupta giving so anxious thought to the administrative arrangements in Surāṣṭra was most probably the threat of a foreign invasion. I had further suggested that the only foreign invaders about this time could have been the Hūṇa hordes against whom Skandagupta had put up such a heroic defence, and had succeeded in warding off the attack. Surāṣṭra could have been the first province of Skandagupta's Empire to be exposed to the Hūṇa aggression only in case the Hūṇas were pouring into India through the Bolan pass.

I can now put forth some geographical and epigraphic evidence which seems to confirm the view that the first Hūṇa invasion had taken place through the Bolan pass, near Quetta.

Arab historians and geographers refer to a country named Zabulistan.

According to Le Strange, 'the whole of the great mountainous district of the upper waters of the Helmand and the Kandhar (*i.e.* Arghandab) rivers was known to the Arabs as Zabulistan, a term of vague application.'[1]

Now it is to be investigated as to why this part of present day Afghanistan is called Zabulistan? Obviously it means the land of the Zabuls. Who are these Zabuls?

The answer to this question is suggested by some Indian epigraphs and coins. In the Khewra Inscription[2] of Toramāṇa, he is styled as Ṣāhi Jaūbla. On the Horseman and Sassanian types of the Silver Coins of Toramāṇa, we again find this title in the variant forms Jaubla,

1. La Srange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 349.
2. Ed. George Bulhar, *EI*, vol. I, pp. 239 ff.

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Jabūbla and Jabula.[3] The title occurs on other Ephthalite coins in the Persianised form Zabol.[4]

Mr. A. D. H. Bivar has recently published two short inscriptions from Uruzagan, situated 'about midway between the upper waters of the Rivers Helmand and Arghandab in Central Afghanistan.'[5] The inscriptions are in Hepthalite Greek Script, and read as follows :—

1. BOO SSaho Zooloo mihroziki
2. BO OSSoho zoolonihrooo.

'The divine and glorious King of Zabul, Mihira (kula).

The following observation of Mr. Bivar is worth noting :—

"Returning to the phrase Saho Zooolovo, one is struck by the similarity of the formula to one frequently encountered on Hepthalite coins and inscriptions, Saho Zobol or Saho Jabula (many other variants are also found). Certainly this was the official title of the dynasty which included Toramāṇa and Mihirakula."[6]

Since the word Jaūbla or its variants occurs with the names of Toramāṇa, Miharakula and on other Ephthalite coins, it is obviously 'a tribal and not a personal title'. It would thus appear that a section of the Hūṇas was called Jaūvla or Zabol, and the land in which they first settled on their way to India came to be called Zabulistan, just as Seistan derives its name from the fact that the Śakas first settled there.

From the geographical situation of Zabulistan which must be regarded as an early settlement of the Hūṇas to the south of Hindukush—it can be easily inferred that they entered India by the Bolan Pass near Quetta, since that was the nearest road to India. It is true that Toramāṇa and Mihirakula occupied the whole of the Panjab and North West Frontier Province ; but that is subsequent to the first invasion in which they had been unsuccessful having been repulsed by Skandagupta —the unique hero of the Gupta lineage.

3. See Smith, V. A., "History and Coinage of the Gupta Period," *JASB*, 1894, pp. 185 ff.; Cunningham A, *The Indian Coinage of the Ephthalites, Transactions of Nineth Congress of Orientalists*, 1892, pp. 235 ff.
4. Cunningham, *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1894, pp. 276-8.
5. *JRAS*, 1954, pp. 112 ff.
6. *Ibid.*, I p. 115.

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INDO-TIBETAN RELATIONSHIP IN THE PRE-ATISA PERIOD

Professor Sunitikumar Pathak

India and Tibet are the two neighbouring countries, separated by the lofty snow walls of the Himalayas. But the high range of the snowy mountain cannot resist the human urge of mutual contact. Through the ages the peoples of the two countries met one another for the political, commercial or cultural exchange. Even now the Tibetans feel proud to consider that they belong to the descendants of some Indian origin. Since the old old days of myths and legends Indo-Tibetan relationship exists. Historically, however, the contact between India and Tibet started from somewhat the early seventh century A.D. So the present study of the Indo-Tibetan relationship may be divided into three sections; namely (1) Early traditional accounts, (2) Political conflict from the seventh century downwards, (3) Cultural contact since Thonmi Sam bhoṭa to Atīsha Dipaṅkara.

Regarding the early account of Tibet profuse materials and reliable sources are not available to us. The present study would historically cover five hundred years from the 7th century to the 11th century A.D. Necessarily, the Tibetan historical texts like *Padma bka' thaṅ yig, Mani bka' 'bum* would give the vivid description of the contemporary relations as they were composed in Tibet during this long period. Afterwards the works like *Bu-stongyi Chos 'byuṅ, Rgyal rabs gsal ba'i me loṅ, Gos lo tsa ba'i Deb ther Sṅon po, Tāranātha Ryi Rgya gar Chos 'byuṅ, Ye śes dpal 'byorgyi Dpag bsam ljon bzaṅ* give some more matter regarding the Indo-Tibetan relationship. But, among so many works, the few have come down to us in original or in translation. So it is really a problem to do proper justice to the subject. Fortunately, the Chinese records *like Chiu T'ang shu, Shin T'ang shu, Wen hsien tse's report* give more definite facts from the historical point of view.

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I. Early Traditional Accounts

According to Bu-ston and Gos la tsa bai Ye śes dpal'byor, a belief was that *Saṅs rgyas* (Buddha) had visited Tibet on several (seven) occasions, and during his first visit to Tibet, the land Tibet was under water.[1] Afterwards due to His grace there had appeared some dense forest in which Ārya Avalokiteśvara and Āryā Tārā being incarnated as a monkey and a rock fiendess (or female Yaksi) lived there. And, it is said that, from them the people of Tibet came into existence.

And, a belief is mentioned that a king named *Rupati*, who was narrated as one of the participants in the Mahābhārata war in India, entered into Tibet with a large number of followers in disguise of women. Gos lo tsa ba refers to the opinion of *Prajñāvarman* (*Śes rab go-cha*) who stated that the line of Rupati nowadays are known as Bod.

Also, a prevalent story as it is said to be mentioned in the *Bka' chams* of *Sroṅ-btsan sgam po* referred by Sumpa mkhan po, the author of Dpog bsam ijon bzaṅ, named *Śatasena* (*dmag brgya*) (?) was thrown into the Ganges in early life and he, being developed, had crossed the Himalayas. When he had appeared in Tibet he was quite a stranger. The local inhabitants of Tibet, finding a new man, owing to curiosity asked him his native place. The stranger showed him the sky with his finger. The local people considered that he was sent from the heaven. And, they placed him on their shoulder and he was designated as *Gña Khri btsan po*. The hero of this legendary story described as the fifth descendant of Prasenjita of kaśala or a feeble descendant of Bimbisara of Magadha. Gos lot śa pa refers to the 23rd chapter of the Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa and remarks : In this chapter of the Mañjuśrīmulakalpa, it is said that, (he) appeared in the Licchavi race. Thus it is correct to state that the kings of Tibet belonged to the Licchavi race.[2] This reference mentioned in the Tibetan text gives the opportunity for developing the theory that kings of Tibet and those of Ladakh are the offshoots of Nepal branch of Licchavis. Sumpa mkhan po in his Dpag bsam ljon bzaṅ also followed this. MM. Satish Chandra Vidyabhushana holds the opinion that Licchavis of Vaisali and Licchavis of Nepal may have some relations with Tibetan.[3]

But Dr. Roerich, comments against the assumption of Gos lo tsa ba and he mentions that the Tibetan lo-tsa-ba had misunderstood the passages of the Mañjuśrīmūla-kalpa. Gos lo-tsa-ba wrongly interpreted

1. *Dpag. bsam.* p. 174f.
2. *Blue Annals*, vol. I, p. 34.
3. *JASB*, 1902 pp. 142-48.
   See, *IA*, vol. XXXVII, p. 79.

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Lha-ldan (devavana) for *Lha-sa*, and, *Mi'i lha* (Mānavadeva) for *Sron btsan sgam po*. However, all these traditional stories and beliefs have least historical facts. Still, it is quite fanciful that the Tibetans, particularly the Buddhist people, consider themselves superior to other neighbouring people when they imagine their blood relationship with Indian origin. In this connection Sumpa mkhan po in the Dpag bsam ljon bzaṅ expresses his view that the stories of existence of water in Tibet during the life-time of Buddha and those of Rupati etc. are questionable from the historical point of view. It may be safely remarked that Tibet was geographically as old as her neighbouring countries like India, China, Nepal and Mongolia, and the Tibetans are the decendants of Indian and *Hor* (Mongolian) people.[4]

Indian sources, as mentioned in the Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa describe Tibet as " Cīna."[5] The Tārā Tantra refers to ' Mahā-Cīna ' and ' Cina ' where Tārādevi was worshipped.[6] In the Mañjuśrīmūla-kalpa, China is described as the border land of Nepal, and, as explained by Dr. Joyswal, the people of Tibet were known as Mlecchas. In the Mahābhārata (*Satrunjoya Māhātmya*) as referred by M. Williams and in the Rājataraṅgiṇī the name of *Bhoṭa* (*Bhauṭṭa*) is found. India had probably the woollen trade with ' China ' (Tibet) as the Mahābhārata refers. But we find no mention of the arrival of Tibetans at India during the Mahābhārata war. The races which join in the war were Yavanaa, Śaka' Khaśa ' Tuṣāra ' ' Darad.'[7]

Most probably there was a trade route for carrying woollen and silk goods from China through Yunan and Kāmarūpa in the Eastern side, and, on the west, there was a route for connecting India and Tibet through Ladakh. During the eighth century it is found that Śāntá Rakshit and Padmasambhav went to Tibet through Nepal. We do not know by what route Thon mi sambhotá (in the 7th century A.D.) had appeared in India. So it is found that there were three important routes through which India and Tibet made their earlier contact. There was a route from Nepal to the Northern upland through Man yul on the borders of Nepal in the *Gtsan* Province near *Bsam yas*. The Padma bka' thaṅ yig narrates the route on which Padmasambhava went

4. *Dpag bsam*, p. 176.
5. *Imperial History of India*, pp. 22 f; *Mañjusrimulakalpa*, 23. 559-536.
6. *Bauddhadeśa, tharvaveda,*
   Mahācine sada vraja /
   tatrā gatvā Mahābhavam vilokya
   matpadāmbujam // 17.19.
   Jagāma chīna bhuman ca yatra
   Buddha pratisṭhitaḥ
   Punaḥ punaḥ praṇamyābau vaśiṭha
   kshitimaṇḍale //
7. *JRAS* 1908, pp. 309 ; see, *Mbh*, v, 590, 7609; vi, 753, 2097, 3865 (Poona Edn.)

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towards Tibet.[8] From the Chinese source, we get the vivid narration of the routes from India to China through Tibet and trans-Himalayan regions. Dr. Levi also mentions the existence of five routes between India and Tibet during the 8th century A.D.[9]

Leaving apart the legendary period of Tibetan history, we cannot safely rely on the royal chronicles of Tibet which in most cases like Indian Purāṇas mention the names only, and state the incidents in the fashion of a tale without caring least for their historical importance. Fortunately, however, we have the Chinese records which mentioned dates particularly Sino-Tibetan contact with reference to the royal history of Tibet.

II Political Conflict

The Tibetan chronicles mention the name of *Lha tha tho ri gnam btsan*, the fourth ruler of the *btsan* clan, who may be contemporary with the Chinese rulers of northern *Chou* dynasty. He is mentioned by Sumpa Mkhan po as an energetic ruler. Prior to *Lha tha tho ri gnam btsan* the mention of the royal names may have little historical value, aś Dr. Petech considers.[10] *Ma tua Lin* in *Wen hsien tung kao* mentions that a (*Si-fan* Western Barbarous) Tibetan king showed his loyalty to the ruler *Yang-ti* (602 A.D.) of Sui dynasty (581-618 A.D.). This mention helps to conceive that probably during the last decade of the sixth century A.D. the Tibetans were able to form a confederate state and to draw the attention of the then Chinese rulers as a neighbouring kingdom.[11]

Dr. Levi's mention of a victorious campaign of a Tibetan ruler named *Sroṅ btsan*, prior to the famous king *Sroṅ btsan Sgam po*, into Central India finds no confirmation from the Tibetan sources which have come down to us. According to the Dpag bsam ljon bzan the king *Sroṅ btsan* is known as the founder of the ' *bum gdug* palace, and during his rule the practice of medical science spread in Tibet.

Later on, the ascension of king Sroṅ btsan Sgam po on the throne of Tibet made an epoch in developing Indo-Tibetan contact. During this time, as the Chinese records mention, the Chinese could not undertake any aggressive measure, as several powerful rulers like Śasāṅka of Gauda, Harsha of Kaunauj and Bhāskara-Varman of Kāmarupa were in power in the Northern India. Pilgrims and missions flock from China and Tibet to India in search of cultural cream of humanity. But just after the death of Harshabardhana it is seen that the Chinese army

8. Evans Wanz, *Life of Padmasambhava (Guru rim po che'i rnam thār)*
9. *Le Nepal*, vol. II, pp. 174 f.
10. *Studies on the Chronicles of Ladakh.*
11. *IA*, 1882, pp. 19 f.

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with the help of the Tibetan and Nepali armies and with the connivance of Bhāskara-Varman of Kāmarūpa, a reactionary measure was undertaken against Arjuna a ruler of Tīrabhukti.[12] The occurrence happened during the last days of Sroṅ btsan Sgam po (650 A.D.). But no Tibetan record mentions these stories of their glorious victory. *T'ang Annals* mentions that Nepal and India have broken the yoke of Tibetan rulers in the beginning of the eighth century. It shows a long suzerainty over Nepal and India was in existence. But just after the death of *Sroṅ btsan Sgam po* (650 A.D.) Tibet faced an attack from the '*T'ang* rulers of China. According to Dr. Levi it is said that the Tibetan ruler Ki li pa pu spread his campaign from China in the east to Central India in the south. But no mention is found in Tibetan Annals. Probably the political relation between India and Tibet was not in favour, as Dr. Levi refers.

During the later period of the reign of *Dus Sron man po* Tibet faced a severe attack from Chinese queen Wu tse t'ien, and from Nepalese ruler and a Central Indian ruler, as Gos lo tsa bai nforms. From the mentions found in the Rajatarangini it is known that Lalitāditya Muktāpida[13] of Kashmira, a contemporary Indian ruler of Tibetan king *kri lde gtsug btsan*, (705-755 A.D.), the son and successor of *Dus sroṅ*, struggled against Tibetan rulers in conjunction with the then ruler of Central India. Tāranāth mentions that the kingdom of *Pañcama Sinha* spread from Tibet in the north to Benaras and Trilinga in the south.[14]

During the reign of *Khri sron lde btsan* (755-780 A.D.) the influence of ministers like *Ma zaṅ* and others were so powerful that the king himself was frightened to establish any good relationship with Buddhist India. The hostilities which were then prevalent between the two countries continued until the king Ral pa Can (836 A.D.) ascended the throne of Tibet. According to the Ladaki chronicles *Kri sroṅ lde btsan* subdued China in the east and India in the south. In conquerring the Chinese the Tibetans had less credit as the *Kharluks* and *Arabs* on the one hand and *An Lu-shan* on the other, simultaneously rose against the Chinese kings. From the Padma bka' than yig it is known that the Tibetans made a forced entrance inside India during the reign of Khri sroṅ lde btsan, a Tibetan ruler contemporary of Dharmapala of Bengal, but no Indian source confirms the above statement.

Dr. R. C. Mazumdar assumes some probability of Tibetan entrance within the boundaries of Bengal during this period, as political disintegration and moral disruption was then pervalent throughout northern India.[15].

12. *JASB*, vol. VI, p. 69; *IA*, vol. IX, p. 20, *IHQ*, vol. III, p. 792.
13. *Rajataraṅginī*, vol IV, p. 168.
14. *Rgya. gar chos 'byuṅ*, pp. 146, 158.
15. *History of Bengal*, vol. I.

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III. Contural Contact

The Rajtarangini relates that *Meghavāhana* of *Gonanda* dynasty was inclined to Buddhism and a Guru of his wife Amritaprobha's father from Assam appears during that time. He is said to be a Tibetan monk of *Lho phyogs* (Lo—southern Tibet).[16] The miraculous appearance of the Indian Buddhist scriptures *Za ma tog bkod* (Karaṇḍavyuha) and *Skan pyog brgya* (J.C. No. 267) during the time of La tho tho ri gnam btsan has little historical importance.

Under the patronage of this king sixteen Tibetan scholars along with the minister *Thon mi sambhota*, son of *Anu*, arrived in India for the study of Buddhism directly under the Indian teachers. This may be recognised as the first cultural contact between India and Tibet. *Sambhota*, after going back to his own country, revised the Tibetan scripts, *dbu can or mgo can* (the characters with heads for ornamental writing), after the Indian models (*la ntsa dan kha che'i yig gzugs*—Lancha and Kaśmirian scripts). He alsó introduced, as Sumpa has it, was tu scripts, *dbu med* (the headless characters for running hand). He prepared two Tibetan grammatical treatises in the manner of Indian grammatical works and translated several Buddhist texts into Tibetan. Bu ston mentions that from southern India (the statue of) the eleven faced Avalokiteśvara of the finest sandal-wood and twelve Buddhist temples were erected on the pattern of Indian temples and monasteries.[17]

After the death of the king Sron *btsan sgam po*, Indo-Tibetan relationship received a set-back for half a century. Afterwards according to the advice of Budhisatva (Śāntā-Rakshita) the famous scholar Padmasambhava was invited. Several scholars from India (specially from Nalanda) and Kaśmira like Dānaśila, Jinamitra of Kaśmīra, Dharmakīrti, Vimalamitra, Buddhagyhya, Śantigarbha, etc. were invited to Tibet. Under the directions of Padmasambhava the famous *Sam yas* monastery was built after the model of Odentapuri of India.[18]

After the death of Khri sron ide'u btsan Indo-Tibetan cultural relationship again received a set-back until *Ral pa can*, one of the most sincere patrons of Buddhism in Tibet, ascended the throne in the beginning of the 9th century A.D. He spared no pains even at the risk of his life for the propagation of the faith to which he himself was probably converted. During this time Aparantaka teachers Jinamitra, Surendrabodhi, Silendrabodhi, Bodhimitra went to Tibet for the development of Indian ideas and thoughts in Tibet. After the assassi-

16. *Rajatarangiṇī*, vol. I, p. 312.
17. *Bu-ston* (Obermith's translation, II) pp. 188f; *Blue Annals*, vol. I, p. 38.
18. *Pag bsam Gon bran*, p. 170.

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nation of *Ral pa can* Indo-Tibetan relationship faced another set-back for a long time until Atisha Dipañkara went to Tibet for the re-orientation of the mutual freindship between the two countries.

In the middle of the 11th century the king Khar do (ye śes 'od) attempted to spread Buddhism and sent 21 young men of Tibet to India for studying Buddhism. Among them with a good record *Rin chen bzaṅ po* and *Leg a'i śes rab* returned to Tibet. *Rin chan bzaṅ po* visited Kasmira and Magadha. According to direction of the king Ye śes ' od he invited a large number of eminent Indian scholars.[19] Among those, Sraddhakaravarman Padmakara Gupta, Dipañkara Srijñana and Subhāsita may be mentioned. In Tibet, Atisa was much pained to find Buddhism there in somewhat degraded condition. With the help of his associates he reclaimed the degenerated faith by means of metaphysical interpretation and devout practices of Indian yoga and by the Tibetan rendering of a good many important Buddhist texts. All these activities of Atisa, particularly his attempts at throwing a new light on the interpretations of Indian truth, were acclaimed by the Tibetans and brought about an epoch-making renaissance of Tibetan life and of their culture.

19. *History of Buddhism in India and Tibet* (Obermiths translation of Bu-ston's Rgya gar's Chos 'hyein), pp. 212 f.

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VARṆĀŚRAMAVYAVASTHĀ IN THE AGE OF HARṢA

PROFESSOR BAIJNATH SHARMA

POLITICALLY speaking, the age of Harṣa (606-647 A.D.) cannot be considered of great importance as we find that Harṣa did not succeed in establishing the paramount sovereignty over an enduring empire; but his achievement in founding the most powerful kingdom in Northern India at a critical moment in Indian History has won for him much honour and glory. Moreover, his claim to rememberance is due to his remarkable personality as an author and a generous patron of art and learning, a benevolent ruler, a man of high and lofty ideals and above all a true representative of Indian ideal of sacrifice and cosmopolitan enlightenment.

But from the social and cultural point of view the age of Harṣa is of epoch-making importance in more than one way. It marks the brilliant end of a period which we designate as the ancient period of Indian History. During his age we find that the revival of Brāhmaṇism which had taken place under the Imperial Guptas, attained perfection. The age of Harṣa is remarkably noted for the complete ascendancy of the Varṇāśramadharma, a significant synonym for Hinduism and a basic factor in the systematization of the Hindu society. The study of the vedas was given a new impetus and all the Vedic Ceremonies and rituals came to be regarded as inseparable and integral constituents of Brahmaṇism. People practised them with sincere devotion and earnestness.

All the epigraphic evidences that have been discovered so far provide solid foundations on which Varṇāśramadharma was founded. Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Prabhākaravardhana is said to be "the strong supporter of Varṇāśrama order."[1] It is in accordance with the rules laid down by the writers on social institutions. It was regarded as one of the main duties of a Hindu monarch to look after the observance of the duties and obligations of the people according to

1. In all three records this epithet is assigned to Prabhākarvardhana. Sonapat Copper Seal—*Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, vol. III, pp. 231-232; Banskhera Plate.—*EI*, vol. IV, pp. 208-11; and Madhuban grant—*EI*, vol. I, p. 168.

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laws of Varṇas and Āśramas. He was never expected to allow people to swerve from their duties.[2]

The Chinese pilgrim Yuan Chawng; who visited India and stayed here for fifteen years, made on-the-spot survey. He writes "There are four orders of hereditary class distinctions." These four orders consisted of Brahmans, or purely living; the Ksatriyas, the race of the kings; the Vaiśyas or a class of traders and the Śūdras.[3]

Baṇa in his Harṣacharita characterises Harṣa as one who carried out all the rules for the Varṇas and the Āśramas like Manu.[4] While speaking about the life and prosperity of the land of Śrīkaṇṭha Janapada, he says that the laws of Varṇas were for ever unconfounded.[5] Likewise we find throughout the pages of Bāṇa's works,[6] Harṣa's dramas and works of his other contemporaries the picture of society which was definitely divided into four Varṇas.

The Brhāhmaṇas enjoyed a very privileged position in the society and gained complete ascendancy. They were the most exalted citizens among all. This period is marked with two main currents. Firstly the glorification of gifts to the Brāhmaṇas by other three Varṇas became a distinct feature of Hinduism. This was largely the contribution of this period.[7] By gifts Manu unequivocally means gifts to Brāhmaṇas. He says that it was the supreme duty of man in the Kali age.[8] Almost all inscriptions and literary works of this period testify to the fact that this was not a mere wish of the Brāhmaṇas but a living reality acted upon by contemporary men and women.[9] The feeding of the Brāhmaṇas was one of the acknowledged ways of gaining purity and religious merits.[10] They performed the Svastivāchana[11] rite and

2. Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* (tr. R. Shamasastry), Book I. Chap. III. fourth Ed. 1951. Mysore, p. 7.

3. *On Yuan Chwang Travels in India*, (by Thomas Watters, and Ed. after his death, by T. W. Rhys Davids. London 1905), vol. I, p. 168.

4. *Harṣacharita of Bāṇa*, (tr. E.B. Cowell and F. W. Thomas. London 1897), p. 66 (*Manāviva-Karttari Varṇāśramavyavasthānām*; *Harṣacharita of Bāṇabhaṭṭa*, (Ed. P. V. Kane, First Ed. Bombay 1918), Canto 2, p. 36.

5. *Harṣacharita of Bāṇa* p. 79. (*Satatasaṅkīrṇa Varṇavyavahārasthihiḥ.*) *The Harṣacharita by Bāṇabhaṭṭa*, Can. 3, p. 42.

6. *Harṣacharita* and *Kādambarī* are the two popularly known works of Bāṇa. Besides them *Pārvatīpariṇaya Chaṇḍīśataka* and *Mukuṭataḍitakā* are also attributed to him.

7. G. S. Ghurye, *Caste and Class in India*, Bombay, 1950, pp. 91-2.

8. *Manu Smṛiti*, I, p. 86.

9. R. R. Bhaṅdarkar, *A Peep into the Early History, of India*, p. 53. Also see *Studies in Vatsayana Kāma Sutra*, Chaklader, pp. 98-9.

10. The *Harṣacharita of Bāṇa*, p. 164.

11. *Svastivāchana* denotes the enchantment of benedictory hymns by Brahmanas at religious ceremonies and rites. The Brahmanas got gifts and other complimentary presents on such occasions. Monier William's *Dictionary*, p. 1283.

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received gifts.[12] They received both gifts and respect at royal courts.[13] Bāṇa, who himself was a Brāhmaṇa, frankly says that it was hard to find a Brāhmaṇa without greed.[14] Harṣa bestowed upon the Brāhmaṇas a hundred villages, delimited by a thousand ploughs on the eve of his departure for Digvijaya.[15] All the belongings of the deceased king Prabhākaravardhana were given to Brāhmaṇas,[16] the latter also consumed the departed spirit's first oblation.[17] Besides Harṣa's two grants, all other grants of this period were issued to Brāhmaṇas. All important ceremonies beginning from the cradle to the grave were performed by a purohit who received gifts and donations. Bāṇa's works provide us with a number of instances of these ceremonial rites.

Another noteworthy development of this period is the growth of belief in hell as places of fortune and punishment for sins and the progressive application of the doctrine of rebirth. Bāṇa gives a vivid description of these beliefs while describing the sickness and death of Prabhākaravardhana in the fifth chapter of Harṣacharita.[18] Penances were common for specific breaches of sacred rules which are laid down in the Smṛitis. The faith in penances naturally enhanced the importance of the Brāhmaṇas who alone were worthy of conducting various types of penances and worship. Their social status was based on their learning and religious life. All the sources of this period lead us to the conclusion that the supremacy of Brāhmaṇas was based on their learning and right conduct. To Yuan Chwang they were "purely living" people.[19] We are told by the Chinese pilgrim, "They keep their principles and live continently, strictly observing ceremonial purity."[20] At another place he writes, "Among the various castes and classes of the country the Brāhmaṇas were the purest" and they were "highly esteemed." So from their excellent reputation the name "Brāhmaṇa-country (P'o-lo-mên-Kuo) had come to be a popular one for India."[21] The Brāhmaṇas were highly learned. Yuan Chwang met one Brāhmana who was

12. *Priyadarśikā of Harṣa* (ed. and tr. by Nariman, Jackson and Ogden. Columbia University. Series, 1923), Act II, p. 21; *Ratnāvali*, Act 2; The *Harṣacharita of Bāṇa* (tr. E. B. Cowell and E. W. Thomas), p. 65; *The Harṣacharita of Bāṇabhaṭṭa*, canto 2, p. 35.

13. *Kadambarī of Bāṇa*, (tr. by C. M. Ridding, London, 1896), p. 55.

14. The *Harṣacharita of Bāṇa*, pp. 171-72, *Dvijātiraneṣaṇaḥ jagati durlabhaḥ. The Harṣacharita of Bāṇabhaṭṭa*, Canto 6, p. 40.

15. *The Harṣacharita of Bāṇa*, p. 199.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 164. *Diyamāna Dvijebhayaḥ śayanāsanachāmarātapatrāmatrapatra-śastrādike nṛipanikaṭopakaraṇakalāpe.* The *Harṣacharita by Bāṇabhatta*, Canto 6, p. 36.

17. *The Harṣacharita of Bāṇa*, p. 164: *Prathamapretapiṇḍabhuji dvijanmāni. The Harṣacharita of Bāṇabhaṭṭa*, Canto 6, p. 36.

18. *The Harṣacharita of Bāṇa*, pp. 135-60. *The Harṣacharita of Bāṇabhaṭṭa*, pp. 19-36.

19. Watters, 168.

20. *Ibid.*, 168.

21. *Ibid.*, p. 140. This name was a foreign designation and used specialy by the Chinese. For Watter's remark—see p. 140.

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"Superabundant in reasoning and eminent in Vedas and other Śāstras."[22] With this account in view Bāṇa[23] cannot be said to exaggerate when he uses the epithet "Brahmamukhaḥ" *i.e.* for Brāhmaṇas who had the Vedas on their lips.[24] For Brāhmaṇas it was necessary to learn Vedic hymns by heart. In the Nāgānaṇdaṃ Vidūśaka is asked by Cheṭī to repeat the Vedic hymns to prove his Brāhmaṇhood[25] In the Priyadarśikā the king says to the Jester that the qualities of a Brāhmaṇa are known by a number of his Vedas.[26] Sometimes the Brāhmaṇas were known after the particular Veda on which they had the authority. The Bāṇskherā grant was issued to Bhaṭṭa Bālachaṇdra and Bhaṭṭa Bhadraswāmī. The former was a Ṛigvedin Brāhmaṇa while the latter was a Sāmavedin Brāhmaṇa.[27] Such epithets are also assigned to the donees of Madhuban grant.[28] They most probably denote their authoritative knowledge on the respective Vedas. The faces of the cousins of Bāṇa were made pure by the study of the Vedas.[29] He informs us that after Prabhākaravardhana's death Harṣa was closely attended by old Brāhmaṇs who were well-versed in Śruti, Smṛiti and Itihāsa.

The Brāhmaṇas were the teachers and preceptors of the people. The houses of Bāṇa's kinsmen are described to have been filled with the students and disciples who were making noise by continual recitations. In the opening paragraphs of the second canto of the Harṣacharita Bāṇa gives a beautiful description of the houses of his kinsmen. They (houses) were "resonant with the noise of continual recitations, filled with young students attracted by the sacrifices." There were great terraces in front of the doors which were green with the heaps of Soma plants. They were filled with the rice and panicum for the sacrificial cakes laid out to be dried, scattered on the skins of the black antelope. There was an abundance of fuel (for Homa), leaves and bundles of green Kuṣa-grass, brought by hundreds of pure disciples. Oblations of rice were offered by young maidens. There were heaps of cowdung and fuel which covered their terraces in their courts marked by the round hoofs of the cows. A large number of ascetics were busy in pounding the clay for making pots (Kamaṇḍalas). Altars were made for sacrificial

22. *The Life of Hiuen Tsang*, by Shaman Huwi li, (with an introduction, etc. by Samuel Beal. London. 1914), pp. 74-75.

23. *The Harṣacharita of Baṇa*, p. 11 : *The Harṣacharita of Bāṇabhaṭṭa*, Cap. IV, p. 7.

24. Here '*Brahmamukhaḥ* punningly used. It has two senses : (1) *Brahmā vedaḥ mukhe yeṣāṁ i.e.* who had the Vedas on their lips. (2) *Brahmā mukhaṁ yeṣāṁ i.e.* who had god Brahmā on their heads. Kene's notes, p. 135 ; Cowell and Thomas, p. 111 footnote. The former sense has been accepted as proper application. M. Williams, however, gives a different meaning, p. 739.

25. *Nāgānaṅda* (Ed. and tr. Sadhuram), Act 3, pp. 82-83.

26. *Priyadarshikā of Harṣa*, (Columbia University Series), p. 210.

27. *EI*, vol. IV, pp. 208-211.

28. 9. *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 168.

29. *The Harṣacharita of Bāṇa*, p. 73. *Vedabhyāsapavitramūrtyaḥ*. Kane, Canto 3, p. 39.

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fires, with the ground white with the lines of offerings to the Devaḥ. There were young spotted goats which were brought for the purpose of sacrificies.[30]

The Brāhamaṇas put on Yajñopavīta or Brahma-Sūtra. Brahmasūtra was also put on by Brāhmaṇa females. While describing the costume of Sarasvatī Bāṇa says that her body was purified by Brahmasūtra.[31] This adjective is also given to Mahāśvetā. In Harṣacharita we are told that respect was due even to the Brāhmaṇas by birth merely and uninitiated by ceremonies.[32] Prince Chandrapīḍa was advised to pay respect to the Brāhmaṇas and the former honoured the latter.[33]

The second Varṇa was that of the Kṣatriyas.[34] According to Yuan Chwang this class formed "the race of Kings" and "has held sovereignty for many generations." At the same time they were benevolent and merciful.[35] This statement of Yuan Chwang is only 'tolerably' correct, for we have proofs from his own pen to contradict him. He says that Harṣa was Vaiśya ;[36] the king of Matipur[37] was śūdra and the king of Assam[38] (Kāmrūp) was Brāhmaṇa and the "sovereignty had been transmitted in the family for 100 generations." Moreover, it was not possible for the entire community of the kṣatriyas to have been a race of kings. In spite of these inaccuracies Yuan Chwang can be taken to be right in the sense that a majority of princes was from the Kṣatriya community. Bāṇa describes two famous races—Solar and Lunar—of the Kṣatriyas.[39] We do not find the direct indications in the Harṣacharita about the existence of these races during Harṣa's age but the inscriptions of the Post-Harṣa period help us, to a certain extent, in reaching such conclusions.

30. *The Harṣacharita of Bāna*, pp. 35-36., *tatrānavaratādhyana.....Kṛiḍatkṛiṣṇaśārachchhāgaśāvakaprakaṭitapaśubandhaprabandhāni. The Harṣacharita of Bāṇabhaṭṭa*, Canto 2. p. 21. *The Kādambarī of Bāṇa*, p. 105 ; *Nagananda by Harsa.* (Ed. and Tr. by Sadhuram, Delhi), Act. 3. P. 81.

31. *The Harṣacharita of Bāna*, p. 5. *Brahmasūtreṇapavitrīkṛitakāyā, The Harṣacharita of Bāṇabhaṭṭa*, Canto. I, p. 3.

32. *The Harṣacharita of Bāṇa*, p. 7. *Asaṁskṛitamatyo-apijhātyaiva Dvijanamānomānanīyāḥ.*

33. *The Kādambarī of Bāṇa*, p. 62. *Pūjaya Dvijātīn.* KPP. 172.

34. We do not possess as much materials as we have for the study of Brāhmaṇas. Yet some light is thrown by Yuan Chwang and Bāṇa.

35. *On Yuan Chwang Travels in India*, p. 168.

36. *Ibid.*, I., p. 343 ; *Mañjuśrimulakalpa* (C. Shastri's Ed.), pp. 626-634. For Dr. Tripathi's remark see *HK.*, p. 29-30.

37. *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 322. *The life of Hiuen Tsang by Shaman Huwi Li*, p. 79.

38. *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 186. Many other kings were also Brāhmaṇas.
Ibid., pp. 250-51.

39. *The Harṣacharita of Bāṇa*, p. 126. *The Harṣacharita of Bāṇabhaṭṭa*, Canto I, p. 16. *History of Kanauj* by Dr. R. S. Tripathi, Banaras, 1937, pp. 29-30.

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The Kṣatriyas and the kings respected Brāhmaṇas and gave them donations. Yuan Chwang speaks of Harṣa's charitable deed for Brāhmaṇas along with other people. The Kṣatriyas were noted for their valour, courage and heroism. The Janapada of Sthāṇīśvara was regarded as the land of heroes by the sons of swords[40] *i.e.* Kṣatriyas. The worship of arms seems to be prevalent among the heroes of the Kṣatriya community. Bāṇa informs us that Prabhākaravardhana " worshipped his sword named Attahāsa with perfumes, scents, frankincense and wreaths."[41]

The third group of people was that of the Vaiśyas or " a class of traders ".[42] According to Yuan Chwang they " bartered commodities and pursued gains far and near."[43] The community of the Vaiśyas was the second most powerful class which wielded power from the very beginning of the Gupta rule. Moreover, the traders have been a powerful community throughout the ages and influenced the life of the people and political atmosphere with the might of their wealth.

The fourth class of people was that of the Śūdras. According to Yuan Chwang they were ' agriculturists '.[44] Here again our pilgrim is not accurate. The majority of the people formed the class of agriculturists and the Śūdras never formed the majority. There were no strict rules about following this occupation.[45] Yuan Chwang himself met a Brāhmaṇa who was ploughing the land.[46] The general condition of these people was not good and they were not allowed to mix with the higher Varṇas.

Yuan Chwang mentions butchers, fishermen, public performers, executioners and scavengers who " had their habitations marked by a distinguishing sign." They were living outside the cities and they were required to sneak along on the left when going about in hamlets.[47] Here in his description Yuan Chwang is supported by Bāṇa who informs us that the Chāṇḍāla maiden had a bamboo stick with its end jagged,

40. *The Harsacharita of Bāṇa*, p. 82. *Vīrakṣetramiti śāstropajīvibhiḥ. The Harṣacharita of Baṇabhaṭṭa*, pp. 43-44.

41. *Ibid.*, p. 91. *Sampāditagaṅdhadūpamālyādipūjaṁ Khaṅgaṁ Attahasamakarot. The Harṣacharita of Bāṇabhaṭṭa*, Canto 3, p. 50.

42. *On Yuan Chwang Travels in India*, vol. II, p. 186. Many other kings were also Brāhmaṇas. *Ibid.*, pp. 250-51.

43. *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 168.

44. *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 168.

45. Vātsayāyana prescribed the three approved means of subsistence for the Vaiśya, *viz.* trade, cattle-rearing and agriculture ; *Studies in Vātasyāyana's Kāmasūtra*, p. 99.

46. *The life of Hiuen Tsang by Shaman Huwi li*, p. 73.

47. Watters vol. I, p. 147.

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with which she made a stroke on the floor to rouse the attention of the king.[48] Bāṇa regards her as of Mātāṇga (Chāṇḍāla or low-born) birth and she might not be touched.[49]

Yuan Chwang and Bāna both describe the mixed and occupational groups of people. The former writes " There are also the mixed castes ; numerous clans formed by groups of people according to their kinds and these cannot be described."[50] Yuan Chwang is evidently very brief in his description of these mixed castes but he is supplemented by Bāṇa who draws an elaborate picture of such groups in the society.

The Institution of Āśramas[51]

The true picture of Indian life cannot be realized without the study of the four orders of life, popularly known as the Āśramas. We have numerous references about these four stages of life of an individual in the age of Harṣa.

Reference about the Āśramas in epigraphic records have been made while discussing the institution of Varṇa. Besides these, other references are made in the literature of the period under review.

The Brahmacharyāśrama : After the Upanayana ceremony the young boy was introduced into the Brahmacharyāśrama. Bāṇa gives a vivid picture of the Brahmachārīs who got education at the Gurukulas and at the houses of the learned Brāhmaṇas. We are told that the houses of the kinsmen of Bāṇa were filled with students and disciples who were making noise by continual recitation.[52] We are also sure about the Upanayana ceremony of a boy. Bāṇa informs about his own ceremony. He says that before he reached the age of fourteen he had passed through initiation (Upanayan) and other Saṁskāras, including that of Samāvartana.[53] There was a fixed code of conduct for the young students which they observed completely. The foreheads of

48. *The Kādambarī of Bāna*, p. 8.
Sādūrasthitaiva.....pāṇinā narapatiprabodhanārtham.
Kādambarī by Bāṇa. (Ed. Parab. Bombay) p. 20.

49. *The Kādambarī of Bāṇa* (tr. by C. M. Ridding, London), pp. 8-9.
Mātaṅga Kuladūṣitāṁ amūrtāmiva sparśavarjitāṁ.
Kādambarī by Bāṇa, p. 25.

50. Watters, vol. I., p. 168 and p. 147 for some occupational classes. which are especially mentioned.

51. The word ' *Āsrama* ' is originally derived from the Saṁskṛit root Śraṁ ' to exert oneself '; therefore, it may mean by derivation : (1) a place where exertions are performed and (2) the way of performing such exertions. *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics.* On ' *Āśrama* ' by P. Deussen.

52. *The Harṣacharita of Bāṇa*, p. 35. *Anavaratādhyanadhvanimukharāṇi.* Kane. Canto. I, p. 21.

53. *The Harṣacharita of Bāṇa*, p. 32. *Kṛitopanayanādikriyākalāpasyasamāvṛittasya.* Kane. Canto. I, p. 19.

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these students were white with sectarian marks made of ashes.[54] They possessed the fuel, leaves and bundles of green Kuśa-grass.[55] We have a beautiful description of a youthful ascetic Puṇḍarīka who is described by Bāṇa with his locks (piṅgalajaṭāṁ) and with the lines of ashes (bhasma) and sandal on his forehead.[56] The Brahmachārīs used to carry pitchers (Kamaṇḍalāni) in their hands.[57] They observed strict celibacy which is very clear from Bāṇa's statement put in the mouth of Mahāśvetā, who fell in love with Puṇḍarīka. She reflects that if he (Puṇḍarīka) would see the effect of love, he would not approve that folly and would curse in wrath.[58] This strict life of a Brahmachārī is in conformity with the rules laid down in our treatises on social conduct.[59]

The Gṛihasthāśrama : Of all the Āśramas, the Gṛiahasthāśrama is given a very high and honoured place. The Smṛitis praise highly the life of householder and regard it as the pivot of the whole social structure. Manu says, " Just as all creatures exist depending on air, so do all the Āśramas depend upon the householder."[60] The Mahābhārata is quite emphatic in this connection.[61] Vātsāyana says that after getting one's education one should enter into the life of the householder. His Kāmasūtra is concerned entirely with this part of life. During the age of Harṣa it was a firm and deep-rooted institution. Bāṇa says about himself that he had been a diligent householder since his marriage.[62] The householders performed their duties with devotion and care. The main duties of a householder were to offer sacrifices, to live in accordance with the rules of conduct prescribed by his sect. His duty is to worship the gods, the ancestral deities, to entertain the guests, to show mercy to the poor and the distressed and to live according to the precepts of the Smṛitis and the Śrutis.[63] We find that these duties were earnestly performed by Harṣa and other people.

The Vānaprasthāśrama : During this period of life the individual gave up all his pursuits of artha and Kāma and left his near and dear

54. *The Harṣacharita of Bāṇa*, p. 35. *bhasmapuṇḍrakapāṇḍuralalāṭaiḥ*. Kane. Canto. 2, p. 21, Ridding, p. 38 ; *Kadambari*, p. 83.

55. *The Harṣacharita of Bāṇa*, pp. 35-36. *Haritakuśapūlīpalāsa samindhi*. Kane. Canto 2. P. 21.

56. Ridding, pp. 104. 129 ff. *rachitachanadanalalāṭikātripuṇḍrakaṁ Kadambari*, Parab, p. 350.

57. *The Harṣacharita of Bāṇa*, p. 36; *Kādambari of Bāṇa*, p. 108.

58. *Ibid.*, p. 108. *Kadāchidanabhimatasayarvikāradarasanakupitoayaṁ śāpābhijñāṁ karotimāṁ. Kādambarī*, Parab. p. 307.

59. *Manu Smṛiti* : III. 2. and II. 173-222 ; *Yājñavalkya Smṛiti* : 1. 52 ; *Kāmaṅdaka*, II. 25 26.

60. *Manu Smṛiti* : III. 77.

61. *Mahābhārata* : *Shāntīparva* ; *Adhyāya* II. *Yudhiṣṭharam Prati gārhasthyasya Śreṣṭhayopapadanaṁ* i.e. exposition on the superiority of *Gṛiahasthāśrama* to Yudisthara.

62. *Harṣacharita of Bāṇa*, p. 66. *dāraparigrahādabhyagārikosmi*. Kane, Canto.2, p. 36.

63. *Kāmandakīya Nitīsāra*. tr. M. N. Dutta. II. 25, 26. P. 21.

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ones and abandoned his all belongings and possessions. He used to go to the forest (vana or araṇya) where by meditation and service he trained himself for the final āśrama. During Harṣa's age we find that people in their old age growing indifferent to their wordly affairs used to retire to penance groves.

In the Nāgānanda the Naṭī tell the stage-manager that her father- and mother-in-law had retired to the forest.[64] People after some severe shock also used to retire to the forest even in tender age. Harṣa is said to have mused after his father's death: "Pray heaven, my brother, when he learns of our father's death, may not assume two robes of bark or seek a hermitage as a royal sage,"[65] and we know that these words came to be true. Rājyavardhana's decision was changed only when the news of Gṛihavarmana's treacherous assassination reached him. After Puṇḍarīka's death, Mahāśvetā began to live on water and the roots and fruits of the forests.[66] Bāṇa further informs that sages, neglecting marriage and dispensing with domestic life took refuge in desolate forests.[67]

The Sanyāsa: This last phase of life provided the fullest opportunities for the self-expression of an individual. At this stage one surrendered all that was near and dear to his lower self in order to realize the real self, the Ātman. During the Harṣa age we have innumerable examples of such sages. Divākaramitra was a sage of such type. Bāṇa speaks in a very reverential tone to express his devotion to Divākaramitra.[68] Bāṇa also informs us about other sages and saints who were indifferent to pain and pleasure,[69] and trained themselves in the doctrine of Self.[70] They had no regard for wordly things. When Bhairavāchārya went to king Prabhākaravardhana, the latter placed himself, his treasury, his harem, and his court at the disposal of the former.[71] The ascetic replied with a smile, "what have we children of the woods to do with power and wealth."[72] This indicates the worldly detachment of sages and saints. Asceticism was not limited to men alone; ladies also followed this path. In Kāmasūtra female ascetics

64. *Nāgānanda by Harṣa*, Act. 1, p. 3.

65. *Harṣacharita of Bāṇa*, p. 62 *api nāṁ tātasya maraṇaṁ,...Āryo na gṛihvi—yādvalkale naśre dvārājarṣiparāśramapadaṁ* Kane, Canto 2, p. 35.

66. *The Kādambari of Bāṇa*, p. 135.

67. *Harṣacharita of Bāṇa*, p. 122. *ataḍbhyādakṛitadāra parigrahāḥ parihṛita-gṛihavasatayaḥ. Sūnyāraṇyānyādhiśeratemunayaḥ.*

68. *Ibid.*, pp. 233-243.

69. *Ibid.*, p. 162. *Samaduḥkha sukhāścha samāśritā.*

70. *Ibid.*, p. 162. *Adhigatātmatattavāḥ.*

71. *Ibid.*, p. 89. *tasmai cha Rājā-sāntaḥpuraṁ saparijanaṁ siakoṣamatmānāṁ niveditavān.*

72. *Ibid.*, p. 89 *Tāta Kva Vibhavaḥ kva cha vayaṁ vanavardhitāḥ.* Kane, Canto 3, p. 39.

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find prominent mention as Pravrājika, Śramaṇā, Kṣapaṇikā, Tāpsī, Bhikṣukī (ṇī) Muṇḍā etc.[73] At various spots Bāṇa mentions some of these. Many aged ascetics surrounded the queen of Tārapīḍa. They read and recited the legends (from the religious texts) before the queen.[74] Among the companions of Bāṇa during his wanderings, there was an ascetic widow (Katyāyanikā) named Chakravākikā.[75] Kādambarī is also said to have been surrounded by wandering ascetics (Parivrājikābhiḥ) with marks of white ashes on their foreheads (dhavalabhasmalalāṭikābhiḥ).[76] Moreover, I would like to emphasize conclusively that an adherence to the Āśrama theory was voluntary and only a minority seems to have been attached to it.

73. *Studies in Vātsāyana's Kāmasūtra* p. 111.
74. *The Kādambarī of Bāṇa*, p. 70.
75. *The Harṣacharita of Bāṇa*, p. 88.
76. *The Kādambarī of Bāṇa*, p. 162.

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MINISTERIAL DELIBERATIONS IN ANCIENT INDIA

Dr. R. K. Dikshit

The political thinkers of ancient India were altogether opposed to royal absolutism. Hence the Ministry or the Council of Advisers has been always regarded as a very vital organ of the body politic. The ministers have been invariably assigned the second place amongst the *prakṛitis* of the state, and their importance has been emphasised by all the ancient writers. Manu, for example, states that even a very easy and simple task cannot be accomplished by a person single-handed. How then, he asks, can the work of the king, which involves great issues, be accomplised without assistance.[1] He regards a king without good *sahāyas* as unfit to rule (VII. 30-31). Similar views have been expressed by other writers, too. Kauṭilya (I.7.15), who compares the king and his ministers to the two wheels of a chariot, says that "kingship is possible only with (the aid of) assistants : a single wheel cannot work (a chariot)....."[2] Likewise we read in the *Mahābhārata* that a king cannot rule without the assistance of ministers even for three days (XII.106.11). Śukra is more explicit. His dictum is that a ruler should not decide political issues without consulting his ministers, howsoever proficient he might be in practical polity and other sciences ; otherwise, he would ruin the state and earn unpopularity (II. 2-4). Somadeva, too, asserts that a king who neglected the advice of his ministers was liable to be overwhelmed by his foes (*NV*, X).

It is in consonance to these principles that *Pañchatantra* describes the ministers as the pillars of the state. Matsya Purāṇa (215.2) also shares the view that they impart stability to the state. Others again have described the ministers as the eyes, arms, the tongue, or the ears of the king—nay, as his very heart.[3] Kāmandaka, who attaches greater importance to the power of counsel (mantraśakti) than to the power of arms, compares a king without ministers to a bird whose wings have

1. *Manu*, VII, 55. Cf. also, *Mahābhārata*, XII, 80, 1 ; *Matsya*, 215.3 ; *Vishṇudharmottara*, II. 24.3 ; *Śukra*, II. 1 ; *Nītivākyāmṛita*, XVIII. 2.
2. Cf. *Ibid.*, XVIII. 3.
3. Cf. *Arthaśāstra*, I. 15. 61-2 ; *Śukra*, II. 12-13 ; *Nītivākyāmrita*, X. 55 ; *EI*, vol. I, p. 200, vol. V.,p. 80 ; vol. IV, p. 60 ; *IA*, vol. XI, p. 70, etc.

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been clipped off.[4] Consequently, a ruler is advised to spare no efforts to tamper with the loyalty of the ministers of his adversary. Ministerial debacle was regarded as one of the greatest calamities that could befall a state. There is a lively discussion on the topic in the *Arthasāstra* (VIII. 1).

The ministers have been classified as Karma-sachivas and Matī, Dhī- or Buddhi sachivas.[5] The former were the administrators and the latter were the counsellors. According to *Amarakoṣa* the Dhī-sachivas alone were styled mantrins. They held the most responsible office in the state. Naturally, therefore, they were expected to possess very high qualifications, and the king was asked to exercise the greatest care in their selection. Any individual who withstood one of the four *upadhā* tests could be appointed as Amātya, but only such persons could be selected for the post of Mantrī as had proved their loyalty and integrity by all the tests.

We notice considerable divergence of opinion amongst ancient writers with regard to the strength of the ministry. Kāmandaka says that Mānava, Bīrhaspatya and Auśanasa schools favoured, respectively, a ministry of 12, 16 and 20, while others were in favour of a smaller body of 'five, seven or more'. There was also a third view which recommended the appointment of as many ministers as the needs and resources of the state warranted (*yathā-sāmarthyam*). It is evidently an allusion to the views of his preceptor Kauṭilya.[6] A later writer, Somadeva Sūrī is opposed to both a very large and a very small ministry. A cabinet with a large membership may not always find it possible to arrive at unanimous decisions, and it may also be torn into factions on account of the mutual jealousies of the ministers. On the other hand a single minister may tend to behave autocratically, or, if there are two in the cabinet, they may combine to harm the interests of the state. Therefore he recommends a compact cabinet of 3, 5 or 7 members (*N.V.*, X. 66-74). The uneven number is favoured because it helped a majority decision. Manu (VII. 54) takes the 'middle path' and commends a cabinet of 7 or 8 ministers. His views have been upheld by several authorities, earlier as well as later, including the *Rāmāyaṇa* (I. 7. 2-3), *Mahābhārata* (XII. 85·11), *Mānasollāsa* (II. 2. v. 57) and *Śukranīti*. It is only the last named work that preserves a list of all the eight ministers, and specifies their functions. They are the Pratinidhi, Pradhāna, Sachiva, Mantrī, Paṁḍita, Prādvivāka,

4. *Nītiśāra*, XIII. 25; *Arthaśāstra*, VIII. 1.9.

5. Cf. *Amarakośa*, (*Kshatriya-varga*); Kultuka on *Manu*, VII. 90; *EI*, vol. VIII, p. 44; Śankara, on *Kamandaka*, IV, 30. etc.

6. *NS*, XI, 67-68, Cf. *AS*, 15.58-56.

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Amātya and Sumantra. This list is based on the account of 'others'. Śukra himself adds Purohita and Dūta to it (S.N., II. 69-72).[7]

There is also some evidence to suggest the existence of a large ministry with a small 'Inner Cabinet'. It was the necessity of preserving secrecy of deliberations that led to the formation of the smaller body. The *Mahābhārata* (XII, 85. 7-11), for example, suggests that the king should have 37 *amātyas* but adds that he should discuss and decide his policy in the midst of 8 *mantrins*. Likewise, Vālmīki and Kauṭilya advise him to hold consultations with 3 or 4 ministers.[8] The *Rāmāyaṇa* designates them as Mantradharas and the Mahābhārata as Mantragrahas.[9] Kauṭilya's assertion that 'when there is an extraordinary matter the Mantrins and the Mantriparishad should be called together and informed' (I. 15.11) suggests the existence of junior and senior ministers, whom we may designate ministers of the cabinet rank and those who did not enjoy that privilege. The prefix *mahā* that we occasionally find added to ministerial designations points to the same conclusion. The title Kumārāmātya, too, may be an indication of the same fact. We presume that these junior ministers did not enjoy the cabinet rank. There is also a difference of opinion in respect of the principal ministers. Śukra enumerates them in order of pay any precedence, but he adds that other authorities favoured equal pay. All of them, however, enjoyed equal authority (*samabala*).[10]

Unfortunately our authorities throw very little light on the functioning of the ministry. The ministers were appointed by and individually responsible to the king, who could punish them for their lapses and shortcomings. But the existence of the ministerial council and the prime minister suggests collective functioning, if not joint responsibility of the ministry. Manu also alludes to the practice of the king consulting his ministers jointly. The council of ministers is variously designated as Mantra or Mantri-parishad, Mantri-maṇḍala and Mantri-gaṇa,[11] and the Prime Minister as Mantrimukhya or Mahāmantrī.[12] He was the leader of the cabinet, and the chief confidant of the king. He presided over the deliberations of the cabinet in the absence of the king, and reported their decision to him. He even administered the state during his illness and absence (Manu, VII. 226).

7. A casual remark in the *Prabodhachandrodaya* (Act I) shows that the eight ministers had become traditional in the country. Sivaji, too, had the same number of ministers.

8. *Ram.* II, 100.71 ; *AS*, I. 15.37.

9. *Ram.* II, 100.16. *MBh.*, XII, 83.50.

10. *Sukraniti*, II, 71, 73, 76, 108.

11. *AS*, I, 15.63 ; *Pāṇini*, V, 2.112 ; *Malavikāgnimitra*, (Act V); *Nitisara*, XI, 67 ; *MBh.* (XII, 83. 12) ; *SN*, II, 361, etc.
It is called *Pañsā* in Pali texts; cf. *Jataka*, VI, pp. 405, 43; *Mahāvastu*, vol.II. pp. 419, 442 ; *R.E.* III and VI of Asoka.

12. Cf. *EI*, vol. I, p. 119, vol. V. 21 ; pp. 201, vol. V, p. 41 ; *CII*, vol. IV, No. 48, pp. 84-5 ; No. 56. l. 25.

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The Smṛitis, like other authorities, insist that ministers should be consulted on all the important affairs of the state—(*sarva kāryān*) individually as well as collectively. Subsequently, the king is advised to hold counsel with the Brāhmaṇa (Chief) Minister. Finally, he should reconsider the whole matter by himself, in the light of their advice, and then take a decision.[13] Thus, the final decision was left to the ruler himself. It was only natural, for the ultimate responsibility rested with him alone. Normally, however, no king would flout the advice of his ministers. Kāmandaka rightly observes that "the king who crosses his ministers is himself crossed by his enemies."[14]

Manu advises the king to consult his ministers individually and collectively. It was a wholesome proposition. A minister might have good reasons for not giving out his mind in the presence of his colleagues.[15] No doubt, Kauṭilya advises them to speak "boldy and sensibly, with no fear of contradiction from the cabinet (parishad)",[16] but Śukra feels that the ministers might prefer to "go dumb", through extraneous considerations. Therefore, he desires the king to invite their opinions in writing.[17] He should not act, in this case, upon the principles that 'silence gives consent'.

Manu gives us an idea of the nature of business on which the opinion of the ministers was sought. It covered the entire range of internal administration and foreign policy (sandhi-vigraham).[18] At one place we are told that they should be consulted about *sthānaṁ*, which the commentators define as the fourfold state, consisting of the Army, Treasury, Capital or Fort, and the kingdom, *samudayaṁ*, *i.e.* the sources of revenue, *guptiṁ* or the means of protection, and *labdhaprasamanāni*—'the consolidation of what has been acquired', by continuance of gifts and bounties.[19] At another place, it is stated that the ministers should be consulted about the entire eightfold business of the state (*kṛitsnaṁ ashṭavidham karma*), and the conduct and attitude of the rulers of the king's *Maṇḍala* (*prachāraṁ maṇḍalasya*).[20] They also deliberated upon the despatch of ambassadors (*dūta-sampreshana*),

13. Cf. Manu, VII, 57-59; Yājñāvalkya, I. 312:

तैः सार्धं चिन्तयेद्राज्यं विप्रेसाथ ततः स्वयम् ।

We notice a difference in the statements of the two sages. The latter asks the king to consult the ministers collectively (*taiḥ. sārdhaṁ*), while the former says that they should be consulted both individually (*pṛithak pṛithak*) *and* collectively.

14. *Nītisāra.*

15. Medhātithi, explaining the proviso, says that 'some people are shy in assemblies, but bold in private, while others are more fit in assemblies'.

16. *Arthaśāstra.*

17. *Śukranīti*, II.

18. Cf. *Śukraniti*, IV. 1068; कर्मणा विग्रहस्तंतुचिंतयेन्मंत्रिभिनृपः ।

19. *Manu*, VII. 56.

20. *Ibid.*, VII, 154-55.

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the reports of the spies, particularly of those belonging to the *Pañcha-varga*[21]—the Five Institutes of Espionage referred to in the *Arthaśāstra*, and the affection and disaffection (*anurāgaparāgan*) of the people.[22] They were also consulted by the king upon such personal matters as the affairs of the harem (*antaḥpura-prachāraṁ*), the marriage of the daughters (*kanyānām-sampradānam*) and the guardianship of the princes (*kumārān-rakshaṅaṁ*)—in short, upon all matters leading to the attainment of *dharma*, *artha* and *kāma*.[23]

We are frequently referred to the five elements of the *mantra*, on which a ruler should deliberate with his ministers. These are (*i*) the preliminaries to an undertaking (*karmaṇarambhopāya* or *sahāya*, (*ii*) the provision of necessary means (*sādhanopāya* or *purusha-dravya saṁpat*), (*iii*) the proper appropriation of means according to the exigencies of time and place (*deśa-kāla-vibhāgɔ*), (*iv*) anticipation of the difficulties that might be encountered, and provision of remedies against them (*Vinipātam pratikāraḥ*, *Vipateś : cha pratikāraḥ*), and (*v*) the final accomplishment (*kāryasiddhi*) which should be of a productive and permanent character.[24] Elsewhere, it is stated that the aim of ministerial deliberations was to study the different aspects of a question, to arrive at a correct decision, to remove the doubts and to realise fully the implications of a problem that was only partially, ' seen '.[25]

The *smṛitis* emphasise that the proceedings of the Cabinet should remain absolutely secret. According to Yājñavalkya, " secret counsel is the root of a kingdom"[26], while Manu asserts that even a poor king who maintains the secrecy of his plans "enjoys the whole earth."[27] They have therefore recommended various precautionary measures to prevent the leakage of the deliberations of the Parishad. It should meet in a secluded place—inside a special chamber, on the roof of the royal palace, or in the seclusion of a forest. Manu prefers a hill-top, a desolate forest or a building where the counsellors would remain unobserved.[28] Kāmandaka adds that there should be no pillars inside the council chamber to resound the conversation, no windows to let out the speeches,

21. Cf. *Yājñavalkya*, I. 328: पश्येच्चारोस्ततो दूतान प्रेषयेन्मन्त्रिसङ्गतः ।

22. *Ibid.*, VII. 153-54.

23. *Ibid.*, VII. 151-53.

24. Cf. *Arthaśāstra*, I. 15.47 ; *Nitivākyamṛita*, X. 25 ; *Mānasollāsa*, II. 9v. 697 *Nītisāra* (XI. 56) and *Agni Purāna* (241.4) omit *Kāryasiddhi*, and make up the five by reckoning *deśa* and *kāla vibhāgas* separately.

25. *Arthaśāstra*, I. 15.22 ;
and also, *Nītisāra*, XI, 50 ; *Nītivākyāmṛita*, X. 28.

26 *Yājñavalkya*, I. 344 :

27. *Manu*, VII. 148. Cf. also, *Daksha*, III. 15 and *Nītisāra*, XI. 53 .

28. *Manu*, VII. 147. Cf. *Śukraniti*, I. 350.

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and no nooks or corners to conceal the inquisitive evesdropper.[29] None were allowed near the place of deliberations,[30] particularly the idiotic, deaf, dumb and very aged persons, women, *mlechchhas*, and the sick and maimed. Animals and birds, too, were kept away.[31]

Kauṭilya also held a similar opinion. According to him, "the place for consultation should be so secluded that the conversation going on inside will not be heard outside, and that even birds cannot see it, for it is narrated that secret consultations were divulged by parrots, *śārikhās* dogs and other lower animals.[32]" The participants in the deliberations were warned to take care of themselves also, lest they might give out the secret to their confidants in an unwary mood, come out with it in a fit of inebriation or anger, or divulge it inadvertently during sleep.[33] Even changes in the attitude and facial expressions of the people "often lead to the disclosure of counsel."[34]

The importance attached to the secrecy of deliberations is evidenced by a long discussion by Kauṭilya of the views of his predecessors. Bhardvāja represented the extreme view that the "king shall singly deliberate over secret matters; for ministers have their own ministers, and the latter some of their own; this kind of successive line of ministers tends to the disclosure of counsels." Viśālāksha disagrees with him. His dictum is that "no deliberations made by a single person will be successful." The nature of state business was so intricate that its accomplishment was "possible of decision only by ministers." Parāśara is more cautious. According to him the king should consult the ministers, but without disclosing the secrets. "He shall seek their opinion on a work similar to the one he has in view," telling them that "this is the work, it happened thus; what is to be done if it will turn out thus." Piśuna is opposed to this method. He feels that the ministers would either approach such hypothetical questions "with indifference, or give their opinions half-heartedly." His own advice is that the king should consult such ministers as are proficient in the matter under discussion, and are capable of maintaining the secret. Kauṭilya concludes with the advice that the king should always consult a select

29. *Nītisāra*, XI. 66.
30. Cf. *Arthaśāstra*, I. 15.5
31. Cf. *Manu*, VII. 149.
It says that women, persons in disgrace and animals usually betrayed the secret plans (VII. 150). Medhātithi adds that parrots, and animals like cows and horses, 'under the influence of some magical arts', are made to carry good and bad news, after having their shape transformed.
32. *Arthaśāstra*, I. 15. 3-4.
We get a curious confirmation of it in the *Harshacharita* (Ch. VI): King Nāgasena came to grief because his policy had been divulged by a *śārikā*; Śrutavarman lost his kingdom as his secret was disclosed by a parrot, while king Suvarṇachūḍa met his death as consequence of babbling his policy out in sleep.
33. *Arthaśāstra*, I. 15.11-12; *Nītisāra*, XI. 65.
34. *Arthaśāstra*, I. 15.7.

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number of ministers, 'three or four', in whom he has confidence.[35] But he allows considerable latitude to the rules in this respect and permits them "in accordance with the requirements of place, time and the nature of the work" to deliberate 'with one or two ministers or by himself' alone.[36] However, he says that consultation with a single minister may not lead to any definite conclusion in case of complicated issues. A single minister proceeds wilfully and without restraint. In deliberating with two ministers the king may be overpowered by their combined action, or imperilled by their mutual discussion. He also adds that if the king consults "ministers more than four in number he will.....come to a decision (only) after a good deal of trouble," and it may also imperil the secrecy of counsel.[37] Consequently Manu suggests that he should discuss the confidential matters "pertaining to the sixfold statecraft" only with the Prime Minister.[38] Ancient authorities evidently believed in the maxim: the greater the number of counsellors the less would be the output and more the chances of leakage.

There is complete unanimity amongst them in respect of *mantra-gupti*. The secrecy of counsel must be preserved, for on that depended the safety and welfare of the state. To ensure absolute secrecy, it is ordained that the Council should not sit over a long period.[39] A prolonged session may open the way to leakage of counsel. Likewise, Yājñavalkya ordains that the people, or even the persons employed to carry out a plan, should know of it only when it has been put into operation, or better when it has been accomplished.[40] Kāmandaka's dictum '*guptiranuttama*' puts the whole thing in a nutshell.[41] The divulgence of state secrets was a serious offence, calling for the severest punishment.[42] Śukra even warns the people against discussing the policies of the government in public.[43] They must not leak out to the enemy, though every attempt must be made to know his secrets.[44]

35. *Arthaśāstra*, I. 15.
36. *Ibid.*, I. 15.46.
37. *Ibid.*, I. 15. 38-45.
Similarly, we are told in the *Rāmāyana*, II. 100.18, that a king should neither determine his policy by himself alone, nor in consultation with too many ministers.
38. *Manu*, VII. 58.
Pāṇini's ashadakshīṇa-mantra (V. 47) implies the same, *vide*. Agarwala, *India as known to Panini*.
39. *Arthaśāstra*, I. 15.51; *Nītisāra*, XI. 56.
40. *Yājñavalkya*, I. 343; also, *Arthaśāstra*, I. 15; *Nitisara*, IV.
41. *Ibid.*, XI. 53:
Cf. also *Agni*, 225. 16-19 and *Manasollasa*, II. 9. vss. 700-705 for the Secrecy of Counsel.
42. Cf. *Yājñavalkya*, II. 302; *Arthaśāstra*, I. 15.6.
43. *Śukranīti*, III. 308.
44. Cf. *Arthaśāstra*, I. 15.65.

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TWO INTERESTING GUPTA SCULPTURES FROM MATHURA

Shri K. D. Bajpai

Recently two interesting scultpures of the Gupta period have been obtained from Katra Keshavadeva, one of the ancient sites in Mathura town. They have now been exhibited in the local Archæological Museum.

The first (No. 3810, ht. 4′) is an architectural piece carved with a female figure. The female is shown standing against an Asoka tree in a most graceful pose. She holds with her upraised left arm a branch of the blossoming tree. The right hand is partly damaged. It was probably held akimbo. Her right foot touches the stem of the Asoka tree, the motif so commonly met with in several *śālabhañjikā* figures found at Mathura and elsewhere. The lower parts of both the feet are damaged.

Besides the lower garment and an upper long scarf (*uttariya*) the lady is wearing ear-lobes, torque, necklace (*stanahāra*) armlets and a heavy stringed *mekhalā*. Her coiffure (*dhammilla*) has tastefully been arranged.

The whole figure is excellently chiselled. It probably formed part of a doorjamb of a Gupta structure.

The second piece (No. 4336, ht. 1′ 10″) is the torso of a standing female figure. The head, hands and lower portion of the legs are broken. The figure wears a *dhoti* tied with a five-stringed *mekhalā*. Part of the upper garment (*uttarīya*) is visible on the left shoulder. But for an *ekāvalī* (one stringed necklace) passing through the breasts like a *yajñopavīta*, the upper part is depicted bare. She holds a small flask (*kamaṇḍalu*) in her left hand.

The figure is carved in the round, a somewhat rare feature of the Gupta art. The back shows a *peepul* tree, against which the lady stands. The tree is shown having a number of branches full of leaves. The back part of the female figure including the conspicuous *mekhalā* is visible.

These two scultpures are exquisitely carved and bear an eloquent testimony to the high watermark in plastic art attained by the artists of the Gupta Age. They are undoubtedly welcome additions to the Gupta exhibits of the Archæological Museum at Mathura.

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DEBT AND USURY IN THE SMRITIS

PROFESSOR BIMALA PROSAD MUKERJI

DEBT and usury are invariable concomitants in any social system that recognises private property. Most of the ancient civilisations of the world passed through primitive communal ownership to a cognition of the rights of individual possession. This process of transition can be dated from the proto-literate period when written records emerge and register the historic change. When the urban revolution takes place and arts and industries develop, there is an increase of private trade and foreign commerce leading to accumulation of wealth which again demands investment. Profit-earning, of course, is the basic motive, the economic compulsion that seldom permits wealth to remain idle. A group of vested interests makes its appearance in a social organisation that has arrived at stratification and takes full advantage of the new economic set-up where less fortunate individuals are driven into want and forced to borrow.

Loans are usually given in cash or in kind. But for all such loans, the borrower is expected to pay for the use, however temporary, of the article borrowed. This is the basic principle of debt and interest is regarded as the margin of profit due to the creditor. The rates vary, of course, in keeping with stipulations of time and terms of repayment. Once the limit is crossed, the rates increase or decrease. But the creditor has invariably the upper hand because custom and law, with the sanction of tradition and private wealth, come forward to give him the needed protection against loss.

The ancient social systems, following on the whole the basic principle of debt, devised laws and regulations for deposit, loan, and interest. India, Mesopotamia, Greece, and Rome in particular evolved sets of such civil laws but naturally with some contrasts due to differences in environment and civilisation. Some of these ancient codes are rigid, others less severe towards the debtors, while a few reflect socio-economic notions which indicate an interesting fusion of primitive and advanced civilisation. For a comparative study, there is no dearth of source-material. In the Ancient Near East, in spite of superimpositions of cultures, we have the old Sumerian laws and edicts of Urukagina, Ur-Engur and a host of other patesis, however sketchy, and finally, the

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great Code of Hammurabi. In Greece, we have Solon's laws followed by others in the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. while in Rome, we have the customary laws of debt in the early days of the Republic gradually modified and finally systematised in the Imperial period.

As for India, we have to depend mainly on the Dharma-Śāstras or Smṛitis which incorporated local customs and usages. As such, they constitute our chief source of information in regard to debt and usury. The underlying principles and prevailing practices can well be gleaned from a detailed study of Manu, Yājnavalkya, Gautama, Viṣnu, Nārada, Bṛihaspati and Kātyāyana Smṛitis. The importance and popularity of these Smṛitis as social documents is undisputed. What is relevant to our immediate purpose is that they give us a good idea of the civil laws of debt, the rates of interest (vriddhi) varying with the time-limits, the importance of deposits, *i.e.* pledge or mortgage as also some principles of equity that should govern contracts and loans. Accepting Kane's view about the antiquity of the Smṛitis, we can place them roughly between the 2nd century B.C. and the 6th century A.D. During the eight centuries between the upper and lower limits, India's social economy must have been stabilised and the existence of an agrarian and some sort of a money-economy can be taken for granted.

Side by side with agriculture which still constituted India's chief source of wealth, there were arts and industries, internal trade and foreign commerce which must have led to the accumulation of private wealth and its investment. Hence we find frequent mentions of money-debts as well as loans of agricultural commodities. Money-lending was an accepted practice and the income from interest was a recognised source of wealth for the third and fourth castes, though early law-givers like Manu and Gautama permit usury to the two higher orders, only in exceptional cases—'Kusida' being normally restricted to the Vaiśyas and Śūdras. Though income by usury was considered tainted money, Yājnavalkya,[1] Gautama,[2] Viṣnu,[3] Bṛihaspati[4] and other Smṛitikaras laid down regulations which obviously permitted money-lending and indicated the contractual relationship between the debtor and the creditor.

Lending and borrowing being essentially a private contract, the state had no direct responsiblity in enforcing it, except probably in extreme cases. But even then, it could not very well ignore local custom or prevailing practice, and judicial decisions were obviously based on such current rates and rules fixed by individuals concerned and by guilds

1. *Yājñavalkya*, II. 31-50.
2. *Gautama*, XII.
3. *Viṣnu*, VI.
4. *Bṛihaspati*, X.

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and corporations. Individual liberty and freedom of contract were the recognised principles which naturally placed the creditor at an advantage. But non-intervention by the state and the absence of controlling measures did not always put the debtor at the absolute mercy of the creditor. With professional money-lenders operating from one end, the poor peasant and toiler, of course, must have suffered, for there must have been a large measure of indebtedness in the lowest social ranks. But we have evidence to show that jusitce did not miscarry in ordinary cases. The great Smṛitikaras while laying down rules governing debt did not forget the principles of equity.

For example, Manu allows interest on debt at the rate of 2, 3, 4 or 5 per cent according to caste-order. But at the same time, he mentions that all agreements contrary to settled and right usage are invalid[5] and the pledges and deposits, open or sealed, do not confer a prescriptive right upon the enjoyer.[6] Yājnavalkya is more explicit on the law of debt and says that the sanctioned interest on debts by pledges is $1\frac{1}{4}$% per month, *i.e.* 15% per annum, while the interest in other cases is what is laid down by Manu. Debtors however, undertaking risky journeys are discriminatively subjected to heavier premiums. In the same context, he lays down the maximum rates of interest for different kinds of articles borrowed, such as loans in agricultural products, as also the laws against usury.[7] Nārada and Bṛihaspati also prescribe 15% per annum as the usual rate of interest on secured loans,[8] while in unsecured loans, the rates are 24, 36, 48 and 60% per annum according to the descending order of castes. Thus Brāhmaṇas and Kṣatriyas, the two non-producing classes, enjoyed a distinct advantage. Even so, the high rates of interest given above compare favourably not only with those in some other ancient civilisations but with those obtaining in India and elsewhere in much later times.

Nārada sanctions four kinds of interest[9] :—Kālika (periodical), Kārita (stipulated), Kāyika (corporal) and Chakravṛiddhi (compound), though Manu condemns the last three. Bṛihaspati adds[10] two more to the list—Śikhāvṛiddhi (hair-interest or interest growing ceaselessly like hair until the principal is paid off) and Bhogalābha (interest by enjoyment, *i.e.* mortgaged property). Bṛihaspati gives more details about debt and its recovery while all lawgivers mention ādhi and bandha (proper pledge and deposit), pratibhū (guarantor) and written bond with attestation by witness as the essentials in all money-lending transactions.[11] In the event of the principal remaining unpaid, Kāyika,

5. *Manu*, VIII, 163-164.
6. *Manu*, VIII, 145-149.
7. *Yājñavalkya*, II. 38-41.
8. *Nārada*, I. and X.
9. *Nārada*, I. 102f.
10. *Bṛihaspati*, I. 10.9f.
11. *Bṛihaspati*, I. 10.5.

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Śikhāvṛiddhi and Bhogalabha may be taken. But the use of pledge after twice the amount of the principal has been realised from it, as well as compound interest and the exaction of principal and interest (together as principal) is reprehensible.[12]

Kātyāyana's version of the law of debt is an interesting attempt to reconcile incompatibles. The last great Smṛitikara, while he allows on the one hand interest fixed by contract in excess of what is valid by law (if the debtor promised it under duress) and permits the running of interest even in the absence of an agreement to that effect, makes some wise provisions on the other and favours some protection to the borrowers. In addition to ordinary borrowings between individuals, there were also loan-transactions between business-groups and joint money-lending groups. Both Nārada and Bṛihaspati have laid down specific regulations governing such business-debts in prartnership and their recovery by joint creditors.[13] There are also elaborate rules about the inheritance of debts, not limited by time, and their repayment down to the third generation.

Certain facts clearly emerge from the account given above. The repayment of debt was a moral obligation. The higher castes enjoyed certain privileges and immunities in lending and borrowing.[14] Interest accrued with or without specific agreement and the creditor was given a large measure of latitude in the matter of realising his dues, the laws being mainly on his side. Loans of foodstuffs and agricultural products, wool and cloth, that is, of essential commodities were more fetching than loans of money, gold and other metals. This is a clear indication of the predominance of agrarian economy. As commerce and industry developed, there was more and more indebtedness in society. With the gradual expansion of economy, the frequency of debt increased, bringing with it elaborate provisions by the later Smṛitikaras. Extortion or exploitation by the creditor was an unquestioned fact. Yet there are specific articles and conditions mentioned which do not permit the taking of interest.[15] Later legislation must have made itself more elastic with growing debt and usury but the earlier law-givers in days of comparatively static economy set definite limits to the accretion of interest and prescribe its cessation when it reaches the principal amount.[16] It thus appears that the laws of debt, though mostly favouring the creditor and naturally exploiting the debtor, were not so absolutely rigid and merciless as roundly assumed by some scholars. They had some redeeming features, particularly when the

12. *Bṛihaspati*, I. 10, 16, 21.
13. *Bṛihaspati*, XIII, 4, 25; *Nārada*, I. 15.
14. *Bṛihaspati*, X, 113-114; *Nārada*, I. 2-4.
15. *Nārada*, I. 108-109; *Bṛihaspati*, X. 23.
16. *Manu*, VIII. 151; *Gautama*, XII. 30-31.

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interests of debtors were noted and partially protected and some relief was granted to defaulters with *bona fides*.[17] At least, there should be no hasty, sweeping generalisation.

Thus, the overall picture is not so dark as that of some other ancient slave-owning civilisations. Admitting the ineptitude of comparisons between cultures widely separated and differently conditioned, one may note that even prior and contemporary civilisations had laws of debt that were much more harsh and severe than the Indian laws. In Sumer and Babylon, the laws professed to give some protection to the debtor. The numerous business and government records indicate that credits and loans were carefully regulated by Sumerian law and the recognised rates of interest were 20 to 33⅓ per cent. As for Babylon, the great code of Hammurabi which is an interesting mixture of crude and advanced ideas of justice states that loans were made at a high rate of interest. The state fixed 20% for loans in goods and 33% for money-loans. But even such rates were exceeded by lenders who employed clever scribes to circumvent the law (para 39). Apart from private persons and priests, there were prowerful groups or families of money-lenders who dealt in property and financed industrial enterprises (para 40). The law, of course, occasionally helped the debtor when placed in a difficult situation by flood or drought or other ' acts of God ' (para 42). But, generally speaking, the law was devised with the ostensible purpose of protecting property and preventing losses. No person had a right to borrow unless he meant to be wholly responsible for paying off his debt. Thus, the debtor's slave or son could be seized and held as a hostage for an unpaid debt for three years (para 43). This plague of usury in Babylon was the penalty for a complex credit system, the natural result of a social economy that had changed its pattern from primitive agriculture to commerce and industry. The practical business character of both Sumerian and Babylonian societies is clear from the host of surviving tablets and cylinder seals mostly relating to loans and contracts, sales and partnerships. The serf cultivators of Assyria also were perpetually in debt and, in addition to rents in kind and physical service on the noble and crown lands, had to meet a high rate of interest for loans secured.

In Greece, primarily a land of agriculture and never attaining agricultural self-sufficiency for her size and want of proper soil, poverty for the small farmer was proverbial and interest on loans was very high even before the sixth century B.C. In Solon's time, the scarcity of money for the lack of domestic coinage and consequent low prices for farm products drove the peasants into mortgaging their farms for debt. The high interest of 18% made payment impossible, thus making them

17. *Nārada*, I. 131-132.

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lose their land to the wealthy creditors. The landless freemen (hectemori) pledging themselves and their families as security for loans were sold into slavery. It was for this double burden of debt and slavery that Solon had to improvise legislation, cancelling existing debts and prohibiting future mortgage of the person (seisactheia). But in spite of Solon's economic reforms, conditions did not materially change even in the 5th century B.C. when Athens under Pericles launched into economic imperialism and switched over to a kind of money-economy with rapidly increasing trade and industry. But it was mostly import trade in grains and other necessities, for Athens was still agriculturally poor and her commercial development was hardly an answer to the needs of a swelling population with its influx of metics and slaves. The result may have been good for a time but Athens and Greece for the matter of that, did not in spite of her private wealth and capital, rise above an agricultural economy and slave-economy at that. She suffered all along from interference with production, from the disturbance of trade, from repeated ravages of town and country and from frequent expenditures for war, a more normal occurrence than peace. The rural mortgage inscriptions prove that she was a land of small farms, insufficient and indebted, a land that had poverty for its foster-sister. Internal conditions in fourth-century Hellas were no better. In spite of expanding economy, the lot of free labour with slavery encroaching on it was poor indeed. Small farms suffered extremely from the unscrupulous operations of money-lenders, private bankers and citizens with capital to invest in land. Larger opportunities for investment brought out capital, but for the debtor the normal interest rates were high. And for maritime tradesmen, interest on bottomry loans was still higher, often going up to 30%. Such high rates are some index of the general insecurity of property and capital in ancient Greece. In the Hellenestic age, with the advent of a new world trade extending over three continents, merchants had better facilities of credit. But it was a prosperity only for the upper classes. In populous trade-centres, credit was easy and profits large. Increase of capital and decrease of risks brought down the normal rate of interest from 12% to 10% in the third century B.C. But for the small farmers and tenants unable to pay rents, evictions for debt were common and their poverty sinking into serfdom was an important factor in the later general decline of Hellas.

With Rome, conditions were as bad if not worse. Solon had annulled slavery for debt at a single stroke; but to the Roman, as Greenidge said in 'Roman Public Life', it was a sacred thing, an expression of Romana fides. Continued pressure produced some measures in the latter half of the 4th century B.C. to mitigate the curse of debt by giving the nexus a legal remedy against the money-lender

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charging illegal interest. But the evil was always there, causing many a bitter social conflict at the end of the Republic. At one time, the rules of private property demanded that a man who had contracted a debt on the security of his person and failed to meet his obligations was assigned (addictus) to his creditor as his bondsman (neuxus) and might be imprisoned or even put to death. In the case of more than one creditor, his body might be cut to pieces and distributed in equal portions. With the extension of Roman trade and commerce the penalty for debts by nexal contract were by a refined procedure extended to those made by verbal promise (stipulatio, sponsio). It was this cruel law of debt or binding obligation (nexum) that called out the Plebs in non-violent resistance. Lex Marcia, Lex Poetilia and other enactments somewhat improved the position but to the harshness of law was added the ignorance of its forms so that the agricultural masses in particular never got out of the vicious rut. The decay of agriculture and depopulation of villages at the end of the Punic and Eastern wars only augmented the evil and the addictio and imprisonment of debtors by the order of the court continued right through the Republic and into the Empire.

Thus, a comparative study of the regulations of debt and usury in ancient civilisations seems to indicate that conditions in India even in the sixth and seventh centuries A.D. were somewhat better. Even Kātyāyana, the last of the important Smṛitikaras, prescribes various rules against usury and sanctions only double the principal as the maximum amount recoverable. That is to say, accrued interest should not exceed the original loan. The creditor may exert social pressure but the debtor disputing the claim for dues has the right to be sued in court, in other words, the right to force a legal decision.[18] Viṣṇu Smṛiti, an earlier work, makes some nice and distinctive provisions. For instance, it says that a creditor is not entitled to interest if he refuses to accept payment of the principal.[19] Again, if the debor being oppressed in the course of realisation goes to the king, the creditor is to be fined an amount equal to the principal.[20] Viṣnu lays down further a few regulations in favour of debtors. Any debt to be proved requires a written deed, witness and oath. If a loan is made before a witness, its repayment needs the presence of a witness. A deed for loan should be torn when the principal has been realised and even when there is no deed with the creditor at the time of repayment, he should give the debtor a deed of release on his own account.[21]

18. *Kātyāyana*, vv. 580-590.
19. *Viṣṇu*, VI. 10.
20. *Viṣṇu*, VI, 19.
21. *Viṣṇu* VI. 23-26.

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It is a fact that though slavery, a natural corollary of debt, existed in ancient India, hers was not a slave-economy. The laws of debt, pulling in favour of creditors and not infrequenly pressed hard against debtors, were on the whole less rigid and severe. Discrimination of caste not withstanding, the Smṛitis show more balance and subtlety in legal attitude. A growing capital and an expanding economy, if such terms may be used, did not entirely negative the principles of equity. A patient analysis of the various Indian regulations, however theoretical, will indicate the absence of such constant emphasis as found in other ancient codes on property above human life.

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THE CULT OF NINE DEITIES

(A Ceiling Sculpture from Manod)

Dr. V. S. Pathak

If Early Medieval Age (700 A.D.-1200 A.D.) was the period of great disintegration and partial rebirth in social and political spheres, it was also the time of great rebirth and partial disintegration in religious field. There was a slow yet sure decay of imperial and traditional orders in state and society but in religion if it was a decay in one sense because its bonds were loosened from ancient vedic moorings, it was a progress in another as new sources and tendencies infused indomitable faith and energy which burst forth in innumerable cults with their complex pantheons, elaborate and syncretic iconographies, complicated rituals and esoteric schools of philosophy. This in its turn gave a new lease of life to art. New forms with almost bewildering varieties came into existence which when correctly interpreted give us a glimpse into the mighty religious movement of that period. But several of them still await correct identifications.

For example, a ceiling sculpture from Manod (Gujerat) may be mentioned. According to Cousens this " curious sculpture representing Vishṇu seated on Śesha, whose tail and those of two attendant snake *devīs* interlaced and knotted together from the border of the panel. The tails in crossing from one side of the border to the other enclosed eight somewhat oval spaces around the circle and in these are small sculptured figures, among which it is easy to recognise Narasimha and Varāha *avatāras* of Vishṇu but the other six are not apparently of the same class."[1]

Sankalia,[2] however, doubts the identification of Vishṇu on Śesha and interprets it as a Kāliyamarddana scene. He compares it with similar other sculptures from Somnath, Mangrol and Abu.

But Sankalia's identification seems to be wrong. Firstly, the figure is represented as having conch, discus, mace and lotus in his four hands

1. *Arch. Survey of Northern Gujarata*, 109.
2. *Arch. of. Guj.*, p. 153.

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while at Somnath Krishṇa is having only two hands holding *chakra* and noose which passes through the nostrils of Kāliyā. Secondly, the figure is not at all represented as trampling the serpent. Vishṇu is represented as riding over Śesha who is sculptured exactly like Garuḍa of early medieval period. Cousens seems to be right in identifying it with Vishṇu on Śesha—iconographically known as *Ādimurti*.

This ceiling sculpture seems to depict a tāntric maṇḍala. Such tāntric circles are scultptured in the ceiling of Badami caves and have been illustrated by R. D. Banerji.[3] The *Paushkara-saṁhitā* dwells over various kinds of *maṇḍalas* one of which has been called *navanābha* containing nine circles with images therein.[4] This portion of the *Paushkara-saṁhitā* is incomplete and badly corrupt. Names of the deities are known from the *Vaikhnāsāgama* which describes the construction of a temple for "Nine Images." According to it *Ādi-murti i.e.* Vishṇu seated on Śesha should be installed in the sanctum, Nara Nārāyaṇa in the north, Nrisimha in the west, Varśha in the south, Purusha in the east, Satya in the south, Achyuta in the west, Manmatha also in the west and Aniruddha in the north.

With the help of the *Vaikhānasagama*[5] the scene may be interpreted as follows :—

1. The central maṇḍala consists of *Ādi-mūrti*, Vishṇu seated on Śesha who is represented as a *Vāhana* of the god with human face and a pair of hands in *namaskāra-mudrā* like Garuḍa of this period. Cousens remarks that "this is more like the Buddhist representation of Nāgārājas." Serpent has a canopy of three snake-hoods. Vishṇu is represented as placing his right foot on the right shoulder of the serpent while the left foot is turned up towards his elbow.

2. It consists of a pair of human beings. The photograph does not show details. They may be identified with Nara-Nārāyana of the *Vaikhānasāgama*.

3. The place has been assigned to Satya in the above quoted work. The *maṇḍala* contains a two-handed image. Attributes are indistinct. It may be mentioned here that the *Vaikhānasāgama* describes Satya as a two-handed deity.

4. The *maṇḍala* according to the scripture is meant for *Manmatha*. The protograph shows a pair in close embrace. They seem to be Manmatha and Rati.

3. *Bas-reliefs of Badami*, Pl. XIIIa.
4. आद्यं पद्मांदराख्यं तु नवसंख्यांपलक्षितं ।
मण्डलानामतां मध्यं बिम्बसंघं प्रकाश्यते । *Paushkara*, p. 1.
5. *Vaikhānasāgama*, ch. 41. See appendix at the end.

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5. The *maṇḍala* for Achyuta. The photograph shows a seated four-handed figure holding *gadā*, *padma*, and two other indistinct attributes. The iconographic works describe the four *ayudhas* of Achyuta as *gadā*, *padma*, *chakra* and *śankha*.

6. The *maṇḍala* for Nṛisimha. The photograph clearly shows the seated image of Nrisimha.

7. The *maṇḍala* for Varāha. The image is clear from photograph.

8. The *maṇḍala* for Purusha. According to *Vaikhānasāgama* a white umbrella should be represented over the image of Purusha. The photograph distinctly shows the umbrella.

9. The *maṇḍala* for Aniruddha. The photograph is indistinct.

It is, therefore, very likely that the present sclupture depicts the 'Nine Images' in a circle (*maṇḍala*).

This cult of "Nine Deities" was an important Pāñcharātric school. *Pādma, Paushkara* and *Haysirsha—samhitās* classify Pāñcharātra into (*i*) Mantra, (*ii*) Āgama, (*iii*) Tanṭra and (*iv*) Tantrāntara subdivisions.[6] In *Mantra-siddhānta*, only one god is worshipped and therefore it is identical with *ekāntika* school. The Āgama enjoins the worship of Vāsudeva in the Vyuha and therefore it is same as the Sāttvata-Bhōgavata school. The *Tantra* lays down the worship of 'Nine Images'.[7] Lastly, *Tantrántara* school is devoted to the worship of different forms of Vaikunṭha-Nārāyaṇa *i.e.* the ancient Pāñcharatric school.

6. पाद्म संहिता as quoted by *Vedantadesika*, p. 9 :—

तच्चतुर्धा स्थितं शास्त्रं ऋगादिवदनेकधा ।
एकैकं मिद्यते तंत्रं शाखामेदेन भूयसा ॥
प्रथमं मन्त्रसिद्धान्तं द्वितीयं चागमाव्ययम् ।
तृतीयं तन्त्रसिद्धान्तं तुर्यं तन्त्रान्तरं भवेत् ॥

हयशीर्ष quoted in the same, p. 8.

आगमाख्यं हि सिद्धान्तं सन्मोक्षेक फलप्रदम् ।
मंत्रसंज्ञं हि सिद्धान्तं सिद्धिमोक्षप्रदं नृणाम् ॥
तत्रसंज्ञं तु सिद्धान्तं चतुर्वर्ग फलप्रदम् ।
तन्त्रान्तरं हि सिद्धान्तं वांछितार्थं फलप्रदम् ॥

7. नवानामपि मूर्तीनाम्प्राधान्यं यत्रकथ्यते ।
तत्र तन्त्रसिद्धान्ताह्वानं चतुर्थं परमं पुनः ॥ *Pāñcharātraraksha*, p. 11.

For further details with regards to these cults, see author's "Early Vaishṇava Pantheon" in *JUPHS*, 1952.

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This ceiling sculpture is perhaps the only archæological evidence of the existence of this school and, therefore, it is of great importance for iconography as well as cult history.

APPENDIX

नवमूर्ति विधान

Installation of Nine Images

अथोर्ध्व नवमूर्तीनां ध्रुवबेरमानं धाम गर्भगृहद्वारस्तम्भयजमानमानांगुलीद्दिष्टमानेन ध्रुवबेराणि कारयेत् । देव्योर्मानं देवस्य बाहुमानं कण्ठसीमान्तं वा तत्समं त्रिपादमर्थं वा पूजकमुनिभ्यां परिवारदेवानां चाकारं यदि तन्मध्यतले विष्णुमादिमूर्ति सिंहासने भोगासन-मार्गेण श्रीभूमिभ्यां ब्रह्मशंकरभ्यां युक्तं परमित्तियुगे दक्षिणवामयोर्वन्द्यमानौ चामरचारिणौ किष्किन्धसुन्दरौ च कामिनी व्याजनीभ्यामर्कचन्द्राभ्यां युक्तं प्रथमद्वार दक्षिणे तुर्हणं वामे बलिन्दं द्वितीयद्वारे तापसं सिद्धिदं चैवमादिमूर्ति तस्यालीन्द्रे दक्षिणामुखौ नर-नारायणौ च स्थितौ प्रजापतिशंकरावर्चकमुनिभ्यांमर्कचन्द्राभ्यां युक्तं द्वारस्य दक्षिणवामयोश्चक्रचूलिनं शंखूचलिनं च तस्यालीन्द्रे पश्चिमे नृसिंह योगासनमार्गेणासीनं कटच्या चोरूवद्धब्रह्मशंकरा-भ्यामर्चकमुनिभ्यामादित्यचन्द्राभ्यां युक्तं द्वारदक्षिण वामयोश्चण्डप्रचण्डाभ्यां सहैव नृसिंहवत् कुर्यात् । तस्यालीन्द्रे चोत्तराभिमुखं वाराहं पूर्ववद् देवस्य दक्षिणे चन्द्रं वामे हलेशं पूजकमुनिभ्यां ब्रह्मशंकराभ्यांमपरमित्यूर्ध्वमागे सनकसनत्कमारौ चन्द्रादित्यौ द्वारदक्षिणवामयोर्दुर्गा विघ्नेशौ तु कुर्यात् । अधःस्थले प्राच्यां पुरुषं भोगासनमार्गेण देवीभ्यां पूजकमुनिभ्यां ब्रह्मशंकराभ्यांम-परमित्युर्ध्वमागे श्वेतच्छत्रं दक्षिण वामयोश्चामरधारिणीभ्यां मायासंहलादिनीभ्यां सनक-सनत्कुमाराभ्यां चन्द्रसूर्याभ्यां च कारयति । प्रथमद्वारे तुर्हणवलिन्दौ द्वितीयद्वारे शंखपद्मनिधौ पूर्वद्वारसोपानस्थल मित्तौ प्रमुखं श्रियं वरणा-मिषेकयुक्तं कारयेत् । दक्षिणे सत्यमूर्ति दक्षिणा-मुखं देवीभ्यां पूजक मुनिभ्यां ब्रह्मशंकराभ्यांमरमित्यूर्ध्वमागे छत्रं चयाभद्राभ्यां चामर-धारिणीभ्यां शुक्रबृहस्पतिभ्यां प्रथमद्वारे नासत्यदण्डौ द्वितीये चक्रशंखचूलिनौ दक्षिणे सोपान-स्थलमित्तौ दक्षिणामुखीं वाग्देवीं कारयति ॥

पश्चिमे पश्चिममुखमच्युतं देवीभ्यां पूजकमुनिभ्यां ब्रह्मशंकराभ्यां परमित्युर्ध्वमागे छत्रचामरधारिणीभ्यां जयाभद्राभ्यां सूर्यचंद्राभ्यां प्रथमद्वारे गृहजाम्बवौ द्वितीये पद्मशंख-निधौ सोपानस्थलमितौ पश्चिमामुखो मन्मथं कारयेत् । उत्तरे चोत्तराभिमुखमनिरुद्धं देवीभ्यां सहितं रहितं वा पूजकमुनिभ्यां ब्रह्मेशाभ्यां परमित्यूर्ध्वभागे छत्रचामरधारिणीभ्यां जयापुष्टिकाभ्यां सूर्यचन्द्राभ्यां प्रथमद्वारे विद्युदप्सरसौ द्वितीयद्वारे चक्रशंखचूलिनौ सोपान स्थलमितौ चोत्तराभिमुखं मुद्गलमुनिं च कारयति ॥

एकोनचत्वारिंशः पटलः वैखानसागमः

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MYSORE UNDER RĀJA RĀJA

Dr. M. Sheshadri

We know the exploits of Rāja Rāja the Great (985-1014 A.D.) The thirty years of his rule constitute the formative period in the history of Chola Imperialism. A relatively small state at his accession, and hardly recovered from the blows dealt by the Rastrakutas, the Chola kingdom had, by the end of Rāja Rāja's reign been transformed into an extensive Empire. We see the hand of the great king in his organisation of the army, the Civil service, in religion and literature, and Architecture. His campaigns against the Pandyas, Kerala, Ceylon and the western Chalukya king Satyasraya have been set forth in all their details by that brilliant historian of the Cholas, Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastry. In this short paper, a brief resumé of the political and cultural activities during his reign in Mysore is presented.

In Rāja Rāja's time portions of the Mysore territory variously termed as Gangapadi, Nolambapadi and Tadigaipadi became part and parcel of the Chola Empire. We may take 1004 A.D. as a land-mark in his conquests in Mysore. It was in that year that the Cholas captured Talkad and overthrew the sovereignty of the Gangas. As Dr. Derrett has rightly pointed out, the Hoysalas were gathering strength and power and looking for an opportunity to measure their strength against the Cholas. In 1006 A.D. was fought one of the fiercest battles between the Hoysalas and the Cholas at Kalavur (the modern Kaliyur) on the south-bank of the Kaveri, immediately opposite to the town of Talakad. The great hero on the Chola side was Aprameya, who combined within himself the position of a great minister (Mahāmatya), a feudatory (Sāmanta) and a governor Kotha Mandala Nathan. The epigraph at Kaliyur which constitutes an important historical document on Chola history in Mysore gives a number of titles of Aprameya. He is called "*Malapa Kula Kālam*" a yama to hill-folk. He calls himself a bee at the lotus feet of Rāja Rāja Deva (Srimathu Rāja Rāja Deva pada pankaja bhramaram). Mr. Rice who first read this inscription could not read it completely since the inscribed slab had been embedded into the ceiling of the Gopalakrishna temple. This temple which is a modern

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structure collapsed some time ago, and made it possible for the Department of Archæology to take a new estampage, and thus complete the reading.*

Rāja Rāja's general inflicted a crushing defeat and many generals including Naganna on the Hoysala side met with their death. There is a sculptural representation of this spirited battle at the top of the inscription. The elephants with their uplifted trunks are running away; the horsemen are charging; and arrows are flying helter-skelter. The fruits of Raja Raja's victory paved the way for Chola supremacy in Mysore for nearly a century, and it was lost in 1116 A.D. when Vishnuvardhana's general Gangaraja defeated Adiyama on the sands of Talkad and enabled his master to assume the title of "Talokkadukonden."

The excellent system of administration founded by the Cholas was extended also to the Mysore area. We find village assemblies at work. Marudur, four miles from Yelandur, had the name Panjavanmādevichchaturvedimangalam, obviously named after Panjavanmādevi, one of the queens of Rāja Rāja. Bannur was known as Jananathachchaturvedimangalam. Kudalur in the Channapatna taluk was Rāja Rājachchaturvedimangalam.

The general belief that the Cholas were ardent saivites and did not countenance Vishṇu worship is not borne out by facts. In point of fact Rāja Rāja's reign witnessed the construction of many Vishṇu temples An inscription at Agara calls him 'Chola Narayana'. The Narayana temple at Malurpatna, Channapatna taluk has two inscriptions of Rāja Raja, both belonging to 1007 A.D. One of them says that in the 23rd year of the king the God of the temple named Jayagondashola Vinnagaralwar was set up. It may be recalled that Jayagondasola was one of the titles of Rāja Rāja. Further, we gather from these two records that the village Manalur had its own assembly and that members of the assembly met and made a grant for the maintenance of the temple.

The Narasimha temple at Marehalli,Malavalli, taluk, has a Kannada inscription where the temple is called 'Rajasraya Virnagaram'. As Rajasraya was the title of Rāja Rāja, we may conclude that the temple was either built by him or during his reign. In 1004 A.D. was built the Janardhana temple at Tadimalangi. One of the inscriptions found on the basement of that temple states that out of the money paid by Periya Kundavai, a sum of 100 Kalanju of gold was given to Vasavagamudan and others of Mayilangi in Idai-nadu who sold their lands to provide

* A descrepancy in the calculation of its date has made Keilhorn to disregard the historical value of this important inscription.

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for the daily services of the God Iravakulamannikka Vinnagaralwar. Ravikula mannikka was one of Rāja Rāja's many titles. Periya Kundavai of this record was the elder sister of Rāja Rāja and is different from his daughter who had also the same name. Another inscription on the same temple refers to a sale of $1\frac{1}{2}$ vel. of land to the same temple by some citizens of Madeva chchaturppedi mangalam. It is interesting to note that the custodians of the sale-deeds were the Srivaishnavas of the place. This position accorded to the Srivaishnavas in a record long prior to the birth of Ramanuja would make us infer that Srivaishnavas did exist, and had attained some prominence in the conduct of the affairs of their village even before Ramanuja's time.

Another important Vishṇu temple of Rāja Rāja's time is the Aprameya temple at Dodda-Malur. Obviously, it was constructed by the same Aprameya, who won the battle of Kaliyur, for his master. It is very unlikely that he died in the battle as suggested by Rice and followed by other writers. It is very probable that he built this temple soon after his victory. In 1024, during the 13th year of Rajendra Chola's reign, the members of the great assembly of Rajendrasimha chchaturvedi mangalam made a grant for Aprameya Vinnagaralwar.

Apart from these Vishṇu temples, many Śiva temples were also built during Rāja Rāja' time in Mysore. The Hanumantheśvara temple at Bannur, is a very good example. Kudalur, an important village in Chola times must have had many temples of Śiva belonging to the reigns of Rāja Rāja and his son respectively. Some of the temples, like Rajasimhesvara at the place, have been destroyed but their existence is known to us through epigraphs. There is epigraphical reference to the temple of Rajarajesvara at Talkad. This temple is also no longer in existence. In fact Talkad was known as Rajarajapura. Many of the temples of those days at this place have been destroyed either by human vandalism or swallowed up by the ever advancing sands.

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THE RIVERS AND MOUNTAINS OF MAHĀRĀSHṬRA

Dr. V. R. Deoras

The Vindhya mountains form the dividing line between Northern and Southern India. This range is mentioned as one of the Kulaparvatas in the Mahabharata and the Puranas.[1] Dr. H. C. Raychaudhuri has rightly explained that each Kulaparvata is associated with a distinct country or tribe.[2] Thus Vindhya is the mountain of the Pulindas, Kishkindhakas and the Śabaras. The river Narmada or Reva takes its rise from the Amarkantak mountains in the present Mandala district of Madhya Pradesh. This Amarkantak mountain is the same as the Āmrakuta of Kālidasa's Meghaduta.[3] The river Narmada runs from east to west along the foot of the Vindhya range and enters the sea below Broach in the Bombay state. It is the sacred and important river of Maharashtra and is always mentioned first. In the Brahma Purana it is noticed together with the Mahanadi, Mandakini, Dasarna and Chitrakuta.[4] The river Mahanadi may be easily identified with its modern namesake which flows into the Bay of Bengal. The river Dasarna is the modern Dasan that flows between the Betwa and the Ken.[5] The river Reva or Narmada and the Vindhya range are referred to in the Aihole inscription of Pulikesin II[6] and the Mandasor stone inscription of Yaśodharman.[7] The river Suktimati is said to be flowing from the slopes of the Vindhya mountains in the Markendaya Purana.[8] A satisfactory identification of this river has not been made. Dr. B. C. Law wrote that "there is, however, hardly any clue to its definite identification.[9] It is worth suggesting here that it is the present Suktā which rises in the Khandesh district and enters the Burhanpur tahsil.[10] Cunningham has identified the Mandakini with the modern Mandakin,

1. *Bhīshma Parva*, p. 14, v. 11.
"*Mahendro Malayaḥ Sahyaḥ Śuktimān Ṛikshavānapi, Vindhyaścha Pāriyātraścha saptaite kulaparvatāḥ.*"
2. *Studies in Ind. Ant.*, p. 105.
3. *Meghaduta* (Ed. by Hultzsch), p. 12, v. 17.
4. *Brahma. P.*, p. 76.
5. *Mark. P.*, p. 296.
6. *EI*, vol. VI, p. 6.
7. *CII*, vol. I, p. 154.
8. *Mark. P.*, p. 296.
9. *Geog. Ess.*, vol. I, p. 112.
10. *Nimar Dist. Gaz.*, p. 258.

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a tributary of the river Paisuni in Bundelkhand.[11] His suggestion is fully justified by a verse in the Mahabharata, which runs as follows:

"Tato girivaraśreshṭhe Chitrakūṭe Viśāṃpate
Mandākinīṃ samāsādya sarvapāpapraṇāśinīm."[12]

The Satpura range runs parallel to the Vindhya mountains and is the same as the Rikshavat of the Epics and the Puranas. The name of this mountain is rarely met with in the inscriptions. According to Raychaudhuri, the ancient Hindus usually regarded Vindhya and Riksha as interchangeable terms.[13] The Riksha probably included the present Mahadeva hills of the Hoshangabad district and other minor hills of the Seoni and Nimar districts. The Markandeya Purana relates that the river Tapti, Payoshni, Nirvindhya and Sipra have their sources in the Riksha mountains.[14] The Tapti river flows westwards parallel to the river Narmada and enters the Gulf of Cambay. The Tapti valley provided an easy access to the interior of the country for trading purposes from Surat—the seaport till the seventeenth century; but after that period the silt at the river mouth made it difficult of approach from the sea.[15] The Tapti river was probably important for commercial purposes during the period under review, though there is no direct proof of that.

The river Payoshni has been generally identified with the modern Purna river, which is a tributary of the Tapti. A Payoshni-māhātmya still exists in Berar. It was separated from the river Narmada by the Vaidurya mountains, according to the Mahabharata.[16] The river Nirvindhya in the opinion of Pargiter is the same as the Penganga, a tributary of the river Warda.[17] There is no evidence at all for this identification. A satisfactory identification is the one proposed by Mr. Dey.[18] In his opinion Nirvindhya is the same as the modern Newuj, a tributary of the Chambal. Newuj may be phonetically derived from Nevijja—Naiwidhya. The Vayu Purana gives a slightly different form Nirbandhya.[19] Kalidasa refers to this river in his Meghaduta and places it between Vidisa and Avanti.[20] The Sipra is the famous holy river on whose banks the modern Ujjain stands, and is mentioned by Kalidasa.[21] The Markandeya Purana omits the river Kavery; but it occurs in the

11. *Geog. Dict.* (Dey), p. 124.
12. *Mbh. Vana Parva*, p. 147, v. 58.
13. *Op. cit.*, p. 128.
14. Mark. P., p. 299.
15. *CHI*, vol. I, p. 16.
16. Roy's Trans., vol. II, p. 269.
17. *Mark. P.*, p. 299, notes.
18. *Geog, Dict.*, p. 141.
19. *Vayu. P.*, p. 138.
20. *Meghaduta* (Hultzsch), p. 17, v. 28. See also vs. 24 and 30.
21. *Ibid.*, p. 19, v. 31.

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Brahma Purana, according to which it is a river flowing from the Riksha mountains.[22] The Kavery river is the one that joins the river Narmada at Onkara-Mandhata.[23] It should not be confused with its famous namesake that flows through the Tanjore district.

The other rivers associated with the Riksha mountains are Venyā, Nishadhavati and Sinibali or Sinibahu.[24] Venya is the river Wainganga, which rises in the Balaghat district and falls into the Godavari. The Bennakarpara bhāga or division is mentioned in the Sivani copperplates of the Vakataka Maharaja Pravarasena II.[25] As the river Wainganga flows through the Sivani district, the identity of the river Venya or Benna is easily established. The name Nishadhavati naturally suggests a connection with the Nishadha country, and hence is to be located somewhere in Southern Malwa.[26]

The Sahya or Sahyadri range is the northern part of the modern Western Ghats situated between the river Narmada in the north and Kaveri in the south. It also includes several minor ranges penetrating into the heart of Maharashtra ; for instance, the Ajanta range, running through Berar and the old Nizam's Dominions, is called the Sahyadri Parvata. The Sahya is traditionally associated with the Aparantas, *i.e.* the people of Konkan. The Nasik Praśasti of Gautamiputra Satakarni mentions Sahya as one of the mountains over which he claimed lordship.[27]

The rivers flowing along the foot of the Sahya range according to the Vayu Purana are Godavari, Bhimarathi, Krishna, Venya, Vanjula, Kaveri, Tungabhadra and the Suprayoga.[28] The river Godavari rises from a hill near Tryambaka in the Nasik district. About 900 miles in length, it is held sacred in Maharashtra, and is commonly known as the Ganges. The rivers Krishna and Bhimarathi are still known by the same names. The region near the sources of the Krishna and Bhima, *i.e.* the modern Satara district, is really the heart of the Maratha country. The Hathigumpha inscription of Kharavela contains the earliest epigraphic reference to this river and gives us the form Kanhabemnā.[29] In the Karhad plates of the Rashtrakuta king Krishna III, dated A.D. 959, the river Krishna is called Kanhavannā, which is clearly a Prakrit form of the Sanskrit Krishnavarnā.[30] The river Vena, a

22. *Brahma. P.*, p. 58., vv., 11-12.
23. *Nimar Dist. Gaz.*, p. 240.
24. *Mark, P.*, p. 300.
25. *CII*, vol. III, p. 248.
26. Barnett , *Antiquities of India*, p. 13.
27. *EI*, vol. VIII, p. 61.
28. *Vayu P.*, p. 138.
29. *EI*, vol. XX, p. 79.
30. *EI*, vol. IV, p. 286.

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tributary of the Krishna, is called Vena or Yenna today.[31] Pargiter has missed the mark by suggesting the identification of Vena with the river Penner.[32] The Vanjula of the Vayu Purana is probably the same as Vanjura of Rajasekhara.[33] It may be suggested that it is to be identified with the modern Manjra river flowing through the Hyderabad State.[34] The Kaveri is sometimes known in literature as Sahya-kanyakā or the daughter of the Sahya mountain. The river Tungabhadra flows into Krishna and is well-known. Bilhana, the Court poet of Vikramaditya the Chalukya king, who lived in the eleventh century, speaks of the river Tungabhadra as 'Dakshiṇāpatha-Jānhavī' or the Ganges of the South.[35]

The name Mahendra is sometimes applied to practically the whole of the Eastern Ghats,[36] but is used chiefly to denote the range of hills in the Ganjam District, where it is known today as Mahendragiri. It is in this sense that the term is used by Kalidasa in his Rahguvamśa, where the Kalinga king is called the lord of Mahendra.[37] The Mandasor Pillar inscription of Yaśodharman tends to support Kalidasa in his view.[38] Another noteworthy mountain is Śriparvata, which has been identified with Sriśaila, situated in the Kurnool district. The Mahabharata informs us that one obtains the merit of the Aśvamedha sacrifice by the worship of Vrishadhwaja or Siva at Śriparvata.[39] Mayuraśarman, the founder of the Kadamba dynasty, is stated in the Talgund inscription to have established himself in the forest stretching to the gates of Śriparvata.[40] Moreover, the kings of the Vishnukundin dynasty are often spoken of as meditating 'on the feet of the holy lord of Śriparvata' in their inscriptions.[41]

Dakshinapatha and the peoples of Maharashtra

The name Dakshināpatha was applied to the region stretching south of the Vindhya Mountains. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar writes that this term was used to designate the portion of the Indian Peninsula lying to the south of the Narmada.[42] But strictly speaking, we cannot regard this definition as accurate, as Avanti and the country around Ujjain, which lies to the north of the river Narmada, was considered by Buddhist writers to be an integral part of Dashināpatha. Thus in the

31. *Bombay Gaz.*, vol. XIX, p. 14.
32. *Mark, P.*, p. 303, notes.
33. *Kavyamumansa*, p. 94 (G.O.S.)
34. *Hyderabad State Gaz.*, p. 3.
35. *Vikramankadevacharita*, p. 33 (Text), V. 62.
36. *Geog. Ess.*, vol. I., p. 97.
37. Canto VI, v. 54.
38. *CII*, vol. III, p. 146.
39. *Vana Parva*, p. 146.
40. *EI*, vol. VIII, p. 34.
41. *EI*, vol. XVII, p. 337.
42. *EHD*, p. 1.

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Jatakas, Avanti is spoken of as a part of Dakshināpatha.[43] The Mahavastu tells us that a Brahman of Ujjayini (the capital of Avanti) in the Dakshinapatha came from the Himalayas to see the Bodhisattva.[44] Abhinavagupta, writing in the tenth century A.D.[45], seems to have based his definition of a 'Dākshiṇātya' or a resident of the South on the above Buddhist writings. In his opinion the Dākshiṇātya countries are those lying between the Vindhya range and the Southern ocean.[46]

However, the Brahman writers always thought that Dakshinapatha lay to the south of the Narmada. In the Nandampundi grant of Rajaraja I, dated A.D. 1053, Vishnuvardhana, the son of Vijayaditya, the founder of the Chalukya dynasty, is said to have ruled over Dakshinapatha which is situated between Rama's Bridge and the Narmada river.[47] The same inscription also relates that there were seven and a half lakhs of villages in Dakshinapatha. A similar term in use was Irattapāḍi.[48] Rajasekhara, the famous Sanskrit writer of the tenth century, regards the river Narmada as the boundary between Aryavarta and Dakshinapatha. His words are : "Yā kila bhagavatī Āryāvarta-dakshiṇāpathayorvibhāgarekhā."[49] In the Natyaśastra of Bharata we come across a definition of Dakshinapatha, where he says that it is the area containing the mountains Mahendra, Malaya, Sahya, Mekala and Pālamanjara.[50] This agrees with the one given by Rajasekhara in the Kavyamimansa.[51]

The Greek author of the Periplus, writing in the first century A.D., also used the word Dakshinapatha in the same sense. He writes, "Beyond Barygaza the adjoining coast extends in a straight line from north to south ; and so this region is called Dakhinabades, for Dakhinos in the language of the natives means 'south'." The inland country back from the coast towards the east comprises many desert regions and great mountains."[52] He further tells us that all kinds of wild beasts were found in this region. But he does not forget to inform us that many populous nations existed as far as the Ganges, and mentions the two important cities of Paethana, the same as modern Paithana, on the upper reaches of the river Godavari, and Tagara, the modern Ter in the Nizam's Dominions. The Greek Dakhinabades is the exact transliteration of the Prakrit Dakhiṇāvadha.

43. "Dakkhiṇāpathe Avantiraṭṭhe", vol. V. (Text),p. 133.
44. Vol. II, p. 30.
45. Keith, *Sanskrit Drama*, p. 291.
46. *Natyasastra*, vol. II, p. 208.
47. *EI.*, vol. IV, p. 305.
48. *Ibid.*, p. 94, n. ii.
49. *Balaramayana*, p. 170.
50. Vol. II, p. 208.
51. "Māhishmatyāḥ parato Dakshināpathaḥ", p. 93.
52. *Periplus* (Schoff), p. 43.

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Fa-hien, the Chinese pilgrim, who visited India in the fifth century A.D., speaks of a country named Dakshina, about which he received some information while at Benares.[53] His ' kingdom of Dakshina ' is probably the same as that of Maharashtra, governed by the great Vakatakas during the period. Dakshina is evidently a shorter form of Dakshinapatha and is of common occurrence in Sanskrit literature.

Sir R. G. Bhandarkar remarks that the country of the Pandyas was not included in Daskhinapatha.[54] For this he finds authority in the Mahabharata. The Pandya king whom Sahadeva conquered may have been the one residing in Madhyadeśa. This view gains support from a verse in the Mahabharata, which mentions a Pandya prince who joined the Pandava side, immediately after a Magadha prince.[55] Moreover, it is possible that the passages dealing with the encounter between Sahadeva and a Pandyan king may be corrupt, as the chapter betrays a lack of geographical knowledge and confusion about the exact route of Sahadeva's march. Perhaps Bhandarkar confused the Pandyas of Madhyadesa with those of Dakshinapatha, who are noticed together with the Dravidas, Andhras, Keralas and Kalingas in a later verse.[56]

Sir R. G. Bhandarkar also misunderstood a pasasge in the Vayu Purana, which led him to believe that the valleys of the rivers Narmada and Tapti were not included in Dakshinapatha.[57] The Vayu Purana does not exclude them from its list and notices them together with other rivers like the Godavari, Krishna, Bhima, etc. Again, the same Purana while enumerating the peoples of Dakshinapatha mentions the Mahishakas, Abhiras, Pulindas and Vaidarbhas in its list,[58] who were undoubtedly occupying the territories watered by the rivers Narmada and Tapti.

The Aitareya Brahmana of c. 800 B.C. contains the earliest reference to the peoples of Dakshinapatha. Here we are informed that the sage Viśvamitra had a hundred and one sons, fifty older than Madhuchchhandas, fifty younger.[59] He placed them all under the supremacy of Madhuchchhandas, but those who were older were not satisfied with the arrangement and migrated to the southern frontiers. The Dasyus namely, the Andhras, Pundras, Sabaras, Pulindas and Mitibas were descended from them. The story seems to reflect the mixture of Aryan and indigenous blood along the frontires.

53. *Travels of Fa-hien* (Legge's Edn.), pp. 96-97.
54. *EHD*, p. 2.
55. *Udyoga Parva*, p. 25, v. 9.
56. *Sabha Parva*, p. 51, v. 73.
57. *EHD*, p. 2.
58. *Vayu. P.*, p. 139.
59. *Ait. Br.*, (Kieth's Trans.), p. 307.

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It is not difficult to identify the tribes mentioned by the Aitareya. The Andhras are well-known in history and literature. They are now represented by the inhabitants occupying modern Telingana. The Mayidavolu plates of the early Pallava king Sivaskandavarman tell us that Dhannakada or Bezvada was the centre of the Andhra country.[60] It is interesting to note that a tribe of the name of Andh still exists today in the Yeotmal, Buldana and Akola districts of Berar.[61] The Andh is a low cultivating caste numbering more than 50,000. In Russell's opinion, they are ' a non-Aryan tribe of the Andhra or Tamil country from which they derive their name '.[62]

The Andhra ladies are referred to in two passages of Vatsayana's Kamasutra, and he speaks of a custom by which a newly married damsel among the Andhras was sent to the king's harem on the tenth day with some presents.[63] Bharata remarks that the inhabitants of Dravida, Andhra, Kasi-Kosala, etc., should be painted in black if represented on the stage.[64] The famous temple of Mahadeva called Bhimesvar at Sapta-Godavari is included in the Mahabharata list[65] of sacred spots, and is located by Murari in the ' Andhra-vishaya '.[66]

The Pundras occupied parts of Dinajpur and Rajsahi districts in Bengal. Dr. B. C. Law remarks that the capital of the Pundras must now be definitely identified with Pundanagala (= Pundranagara) mentioned in a fragmentary Mauryan Brahmi inscription.[67] In the Sangali copper-plates of Govinda IV, dated 933 A.D., Paundravardhana is mentioned as the place from which the donee, Kesava Dikshita, is said to have come.[68] Pargiter observes that the Pundras had moved southwards from Bengal in the early centuries of the Christian era and established themselves in Chota Nagpur, which is very likely.[69] His view is supported by the Kudlur plates, dated 962 A.D., which state that the Ganga king Rajamalla was victorious over the Andhras, Pundras and Kalingas.[70]

The Sabaras and Pulindas are mentioned in the Matsya and Vayu Puranas as inhabitants of the Southern region.[71] The Mahabharata locates the Pulindas, as also the Vindhyachulikas, in the Dakshina-

60. *PHAI*, p. 64.
61. *Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces*, vol. II, p. 38.
62. *Ibid.*
63. *Kamasutra* (Bombay Edn.), p. 294.
64. *JASB*, 1909, p. 359.
65. *Vana Parva*, p. 146, v. 44.
66. *Anargharaghava*, p. 302.
67. *Ancient Indian Tribes*, vol. II, p. 16.
68. *IA*, vol. XII, p. 251.
69. *Mark.* P., p. 329, notes.
70. *M.A.S., A.R.*, 1921, p. 21.
71. *Matsya*, P., 201, v. 48.
Vayu. P., p. 139.

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patha.[72] In the sixth century A.D., we find the Pulindas occupying the modern Nagod State. The Navagrama inscription of Maharaja Hastin records the grant of a village in the 'rashtra' of the Pulinda chief.[73] This Pulinda chief was apparently a feudatory of the nripati-Parivrajakas. The mention of 'Pulindarājarāshtra' in the present inscription justifies the inference that the Pulindas should be located within the Parivrajaka dominions, which lay on both sides of the Vindhya range. It is difficult to locate the Sabaras precisely. Tradition says that Rama met a Sabara woman in the Dandaka forest and ate berries out of her hands. The modern village of Sabari Narayan in the Bilaspur District is said to represent this holy spot. If the tradition is correct, the Sabaras were the residents of Dakshina-Kosala, *i.e.* the Chhattisgarh Division of the Central Provinces.

Mutibas.

The Mutibas are not known to us either from the Epics or Puranic sources. Hence it is difficult to identify this tribe. Dr. H. C. Raychaudhuri has made a valuable suggestion that they should be identified with the Mushikas of the Puranas.[74] The Hathigumpha inscription of Khāravela mentions the Mushikas.[75] It is possible that they were settled on the banks of the river Musi, a tributary of the river Krishna.[76] Perhaps the Mutibas were a Dravidian people like the Nolambas and Kurumbas of Mysore.

72. *Bhishma Parva*, p. 16.
73. *EI*, vol. XXI, p. 126.
74. *JAHRS*, January 1935, p. 1.
75. *Ibid.*
76. *Ibid.*, p. 8.

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JOKHA, AN IMPORTANT ARCHÆOLOGICAL SITE IN THE KAMREJ TALUKA, SURAT DISTRICT

Dr. R. N. Mehta

Site :

Jokha is a small village about six miles to the South of Kamrej, in the Kamrej taluka, Surat District. It could be reached either from Kamrej or from Vāv, a State Transport station on the Surat-Kathor Bus Route. Half a mile to the N.W. of this village, there is a low mound known locally as Gabhāṇa.[1] The mound is now completely under cultivation as such the antiquities from the old smaller mound seem have spread over a wider area. The whole mound occupying roughly an area of 100 metres × 100 metres is covered up by the fields having the survey Nos. 333, 334, 335. In the surrounding flat area of black cotton soil this flat low mound is distinctly marked from a distance by its ashy colour.

According to the information supplied by the local gentry bricks, potsherds and coins were occasionally found from this mound, but upon closer inquiry it was noted that none of these antiquities could be traced from any person in the village. The bricks were used to fill in pits or were crushed and used as concrete for flooring in the residential area. Hence no antiquities that were reported by the local gentry could be studied.

Careful examination of the mound, however, revealed the existence of stone artifacts and pottery. The following antiquities were recovered from the Gabhāṇa at Jokha.

Antiquities :

(1) A fluted core of white chalcedony, showing in parts the original cortex and the natural line of cleavage showing difference in the colour of the stone. The striking platform shows the deep negative scars and the other end shows possibly the evidence of hinge fracture. Most of the flakes were taken on the major axis; but evidence of cross flaking possibly to remove the cortex is also found on one side of it.

1. Gabhāṇa and Gabhāṇio Vago are two terms which often signify the old deserted sites in the Central and Southern Gujarat.

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(2) A fluted core of white chalcedony with a large part of the weathered cortex. This core also shows the evidence of flakes taken on the major axis and a few flakes taken on minor axis. The flakes on the latter show battering and not the well-marked punches as on the major axis, suggesting thereby, that the flaking was carried on for removing the cortex.

(3) A core of banded agate, having affinity to Nos. 1, 2.

(4) A core of mottled chert, similar to Nos. 1-3.

(5) A Variant of No. 4.

(6) A core of banded agate which is similar to those described above but is more weathered.

(7) A core of chalcedony similar to the above mentioned cores, but the cortex here is rather large.

(8) A semi-triangular core of mottled agate, with much smaller cortex. Near it are small flakes intended to remove it.

(9) A fragment of a core of carnelian.

(10) A core of banded agate with a large cortex and small flakes are taken from one side of it.

(11) A scraper on a flake of Jasper. Retouch is seen on the side and end of it, hence, it may be termed as ' double side scraper '.

(12) A core-scraper of mottled chert.

(13) An end-scraper on thick flake of banded agate. It shows distinct crystal formation of the raw material.

(13A) An end-scraper on a thin flake of agate.

(14) A parallel-sided flake of agate.

(15) A flake similar to No. 14.

(16) A parallel-sided flake, but curved at one end possibly due to hinge fracture.

(17) A thick flake of chert showing retouch on both sides of the major axis.

(18) A thick broken flake of carnelian.

(19) A thick flake of carnelian.

(20) A broken thick flake of chert.

(21) A thick triangular flake of mottled chert.

(22) A broken piece of agate with flutings and scars on one side, pointing thereby that it may be a broken core.

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Pottery :

Besides these cores scrapers and flakes a number of potsherds were also discovered. Some of these fragments suggest that they are the parts of dish, dish-on-stand, bowls and pots. The following is the description of the sherds that were collected.

(23) A fragment of the junction of a dish and stem. It is a weathered potsherd with red burnished slip seen at a few points on it. The sherd is massive and is well-fired. The parts from where the slip is destroyed are also red colour. It shows strong affinity with the sherds from Mehgam in the Broach District.

(24) A stem of a small dish-on-stand of grey colour.

(25) A small fragment of a bowl having black-burnished slip, gritty core and slightly incurved rim.

(26) A variant of 25.

(27) A large bowl with straight rim. It has red burnished ship in the inner side, the outer side is plain.

(28) A variant of 27 with slightly excurved rim.

(29) A shallow dish with slightly incurved rim, and carination below it; and sagger base. It is a crude ware with burnished black slip on the inner side. It is of grey colour and gritty porous core. This shered is not very old because of its strong affinity with the mediæval form which continues up to this day. It is highly probable that it might have come here along with the manure.

(30) A fragment of an excurved beaded rim with rectangular section. It has well lavigated smoky core and burnished light red slip.

(31) A beaded incurved rim of a red pot with burnished slip and gritty porous core.

(32) A fragment of a pot of unburnished red ware, with beaked rim, and a groove in the inner side.

(33) A variant of 32.

(34) A rim of burnished-black-pot with two grooves on the inner side and strong carination at the neck.

Besides these potsherds there are a few non-descript sherds. One of them (No. 35) is a fine grained, well-brunt potshered of red colour having a design of three oblique lines. The other sherd (No. 36) has seven incised lines on one side whereas on the other side there is a red line running on it. Nos. 37 and 37A are massive like No. 35.

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A few sherd of 'Red-and-black ware' are also discovered from this site. One of them (No. 38) seems to be a fragment of a dish while three more are of non-descript nature (39-41).

The other eleven sherds fall into the following varieties :—

(A)	Burnished-black ware (Nos. 42-47) ...	6
(A)	(*i*) A sherd of black colour on outside and blackish-red inside	1
(B)	(*i*) Plain red ware (No. 48)	1
	(*ii*) Red ware with finger-tipped design and incised oblique lines (No. 49)	1
	(*iii*) Thick red ware with fine grained core (No. 50)	1
	(*iv*) Red sherd with grafitti (No. 51) ...	1

Correlation :

The study of the material suggest that the cores from this site have strong affinity with those found from other sites in Gujarat, but the large scrapers are interesting as they resemble those of the stone age series II, but it is highly risky to assign this hoary antiquity to the material from Jokha, hence, in the present stage of our knowledge it is reasonable to assume that this artefact is rather late. Still, however, it is necessary to check up the position of this artefact by a systematic excavation before expressing any definite opinion on the issue.

The pottery from this site also has important implications. The dish-on-stand type (No. 23) and the painted and thick sherds (Nos. 35-37A) have strong affinity to the pottery of the Pre. N.B.P. phase. The existence of the 'Red-and-black ware' along with the above mentioned types suggest that the whole assemblage has some affinity with the chalcolithic cultures of Khandesh, Maharashtra and Malwa on one side and Saurastra on the other.

Some other potsherds (No. 30) and the sherds of burnished-black ware suggest that they are not earlier than the early centuries of Christian era.

Conclusion :

The above correlation and study suggest the existence of a culture with stone tools, painted-pottery, dish-on-stand type, etc. in South Gujarat. It also suggest that this culture has some links with the

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chalcolithic cultures of Maharastra, Malwa and Saurastra that existed before the N.B.P. ware, that is in the early part of the 1st millennium B.C. or in the later part of the 2nd millennium B.C.

It is extremely necessary to systematically excavate the site for a proper study of the material for forging new links, for correlation, and establishment of chronology that would help one to get a clear idea of the culture of South Gujarat before 5th century B.C.

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SOME UNKNOWN FACTS ABOUT BIMBISĀRA

SHRI JNAN CHANDRA

VERY little is known about Bimbisāra, the founder of Magadhan imperial power in the historic period. According to the *Purāṇas*, he belonged to the Śaiśunāga line, which is said to have been founded by a king named Śiśunāga. Aśvaghoṣa refers to him in his *Buddha-carita* as a scion, not of Śaiśunāga dynasty, but of the *Haryaṅka-kula*.[1] He is said to be the son of a petty chief of South Bihar, whose name is given by various late writers as Bhaṭiyo (Bhaṭṭiya, Bodhisa), Mahāpadma, Hemajit, Kshemajit, Kshetroja or Kshetrauja.[2] It is also said about him that he was anointed king by his own father when he was only fifteen years old.[3]

While this information has been gleaned from Puranic and Buddhist sources, it seems the Jain sources have been altogether ignored by the modern scholars, while these sources throw much more light on the early life of Bimbisāra than anyone else. And here it is proposed to draw attention to some of the facts that are given in Jain literature.

According to *Trishashṭi śalākā puruṣha charitra* by Hemachandrāchārya, Bimbisāra belonged to *Vāhīka-kula*. This is disclosed in a conversation between a messenger sent by Bibisara to Cheṭaka, the king of Vesāli, with the proposal for his daughter's hand. Cheṭaka, on hearing the proposal, refuses it on the ground that while his daughter belonged to *Haihaya* family, the messenger's king was of *Vāhīka-kula*,[4]

1. *Buddha-charita*, XI, 2.
2. *C.f.* Ray Chaudhury, *Political History of Ancient India*, p. 205, f.n. 2.
3. *Mahavamsa* (Geiger's trans.), p. 12.
4. चेटकोऽप्य ब्रवीदेवमानात्मज्ञस्तव प्रभु :
   वाहीककुलजीवाञ्बन कन्यां हैहय वंशजाम् ॥
   समान कुलयोरेव विवाहो हन्त नान्ययो :
   तत्कन्या न हि दास्यामि श्रेणिकाय प्रयाहि भोः ॥
   Trishashṭi Śalākā Puruṣha Charitra, Parva X, pp. 226-227.

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thereby suggesting that he was of lower social status than that of Cheṭaka. The same is also mentioned in the *Āvaśyaka-Chūrṇī*.[5]

We need hardly say that Punjab was called *Vāhīka* in ancient days and according to the *Mahābhārata*, it was the country of five rivers, but was outside the Aryan society (*dharma-bāhya*), devoid of religion (*naṣṭa-dharma*) and impure (*aśuchi*).[6] This explains what Cheṭaka had replied to Bimbisāra's messenger.

In spite of this social prejudice, we know that Bimbisāra married the daughter of Cheṭaka named Chellanā. So, it seems necessary to point out that after having the refusal from Cheṭaka, Abhaya-kumāra, the son of Bimbisāra by his wife Nandā, managed to abduct Chellanā for his father, according to the above sources.

Bimbisāra's father, whose name was Prasenjit, according to these sources, had carved a small kingdom of his own, near Rājgṛiha, known as Kuśāgranagara.[7] After that town was destroyed in a fire, Prasenjit built the town of Rājagṛiha.[8] This name Prasenjit is very much similar to the names Hemajit, Kshemajit, which is given by some other late writers.

Lastly, it is believed that Bimbisāra bore the name or epithet of Seniya or Śreṇika. But the Jain sources inform us that his real name was Śreṇika and he was later called *Bhambhasār*, for the reason that he preferred to take a *Bhambha* musical instrument, while coming out of the town under fire, which he considered to be the prime insignia of victory and it should be saved above all.[9]

5. तं अणति चेऽओ—कहऽहं पाघिय कुलए देमित्ति
Avasyaka-Chūrni, Vol. II, page 164-165.

6. *Mahabharata, Karṇa parva* 44.7.32.

7. इतच्चात्रैव भरते कुशाग्रपुर पत्तने ।
कुशाग्रीयमतिरभूत प्रसेनजिदिलापतिः ॥१॥
Tṛishashṭi Śalākā Purusha Charitra, Parv. X, Chap. VI.

8. ततो राजगृहं नाम तत्रैव नगरं नृपः ।
चकार परिरवावप्रचैत्यसौधाट्टवन्धुरम् ॥११७॥
Trishashti Śalākā Purusha Charitra, Parv. X, Sarga VI.

9. सर्वे कुमारा हस्त्यादि समादाय यथारुचि ।
निर्ययुः श्रेणिकस्त्वेकां भंभामादाय निर्णयौ ॥१०९॥
ततश्चैवं महेच्छत्व प्रसनः पृथिवीपतिः ।
श्रेणिकस्य ददौ भंभासार इत्यपराभिधाम ॥११२॥
Trishashṭi Śalākā Purusha Charitra, Parv. X, Sarga VI.

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The Jain sources support the Buddhist information that Bimbisāra was anointed by his father. Here we are told that his father fell suddenly ill and he called Bimbisāra and handed over to him the kingdom.[10]

Thus we find that Jain sources, while corraborating the information, known from other sources, add at the same time some new information.

10. माऽन्या तातस्य रोगार्तेर्मदर्तिर्भूदिति द्रुतम् ।
उष्ट्रीं श्रेणिकमारुहय ययौ राजगृहं पुरम् ॥१३७॥
तं दृष्ट्वा मुदितो राजा हर्षनेत्राश्रुभिः समम् ।
राज्येऽभ्यषिञ्चद्विमलैः सुवर्ण कलाशंबुभिः ॥१३८॥
Trishashṭi Śalākā Purusha Charitra, Parv. X, Sarga VI.

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PAONI, A CENTRE OF CULTURE

Shri G. Landge

(*Summary*)

It is believed that Paoni, a town in Bhandra District of former C.P. but now of Bombay State, is a town of hoary memories. The writer has been able to trace it to 400 years on documentary evidence and the relics and particularly the mound reserved by Archæological Department for excavation disclose facts which may corroborate the probable conclusion that Paoni has been once the capital of Pravarasena II of the Vākāṭaka dynasty. Even as it is, Paoni has a heritage of culture and civilization which has in no small degree contributed to the cultural advancement of Nagpur Province. The clue to the antiquity of Paoni has been found in the old manuscripts of Dasaputra family of Paoni and the original letter of Balkrishna Pant Dasaputra written above 180 years ago has thrown some light on the proposition.

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ORIGIN OF THE PRATIHĀRAS

Shri D. P. Sharma

(*Summary*)

Scholars are evenly divided on this question. Some hold them to be indigenous people, while the others trace their origin from a foreign tribe. The writer of this paper has found, after an examination of epigraphical references and some new evidences, such as the Kalki incarnation story of the Brahmanic Puranas, Kalki Raj story of the Jain works, and some stray stories of Skanda Purāṇa, that the Pratihāras were the outcome of a Brahmanic revival which swept India, soon after the downfall of the Gupta Empire, under the leadership of Kalki (Vishṇu Vardhana) son of Yash (Yasodharman).

The progenitor of the Pratihāras Saumitra (Gwalior Inscription), who was also known as Manu or Manu (Kalki Purāṇa), was a leader of a Brahmana army, which hailed from Kalāpa Grāma celebrated as the abode of illustrious Brahman's somewhere near (Vindu Sar). He traced his genealogy from Sumitra, the last King of the Ikshvāku Dynasty, who had migrated to that land after being expelled, in the Fifth century B.C. He was a lieutenant of Kalki in his conquests and has worked as a Pratihāra in a sacrifice performed by Yaśo Vikrama (Yaśo dharman Vikramāditya) which name occurs in Jodhpur Inscription of Bauka. He was the progenitor seed and the Manu of the Ikshvāku Dynasty of the new Kṛita Age after the fall of the house of Kalki (Vishṇu Vardhana).

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ERAS IN MITHILA

Dr. Upendra Thakur

(*Summary*)

Mithila or Tirhut (North Bihar) has been an important ancient seat of learning since time immemorial. There has been a constant flow of ideas in the land from outside world which has influenced and, to a great extent, moulded the daily life of the people in all spheres. The history of the origin and spread of the eras has been likewise the history of the intermingling of cultures and ideas springing and borrowing from one another. Like the rest of India there have been many eras prevalent in Mithilā, but it is difficult to determine as to when and how these eras got their way into the land. It is true, Mithilā's contributions in the sphere of learning and culture have been immense, but it is also true, that no era was ever introduced by Mithilā rulers either in ancient times or in the mediæval period. It is yet a matter of speculation and nothing conclusive can be said in the present state of our knowledge.

As regards the eras prevalent in Mithilā the L. S. and the Śaka era gained the widest popularity amongst the Maithila scholars and the common people. It would be no exaggeration to say that in course of time they came to be reckoned as the national eras of the Maithilas. Next to these, in point of popularity and recognition, comes the Vikrama Samvat, associated with the name of the legendary king Bhoja of Dhārā. The importance of the era can be judged from the fact that it came to be invariably mentioned side by side with the L. S. and the Śaka eras by the Maithila Scholars in almost all their works and day-to-day correspondence.

The Fasli San introduced by Akbar, came to be widely recognised by the Mithilā Scholars partly because of the patronage they received from the Emperor and partly because of the grant of the kingdom of Mithilā to Mm. Maheśa Ṭhākura the founder of the Khandavata dynasty of Mithilā (1556-1951 A.D.) of which the present Mahārājādhirāja of Darbhanga is a distinguished scion. In the present paper, therefore, an attempt has been made to throw light on the origin and introduction of these eras in Mithilā on the basis of available materials.

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NATURE OF THE ORIGINAL PURĀṆA

Dr. S. D. Gyani

(*Summary*)

A critical study of the Puranic literature reveals the various stages of development through which it passed before it assumed its complicated form. The earliest reference to *Purāṇa* as a literary composition occurs in the *Atharva Veda*, where it is mentioned along with *RK*, *Saman chhandas* and *Yajus* and is also associated with *Itihāsa*, *Gāthā* and *Nārāśaṁsi*. The term *Purāṇavid* also occurs in the same Veda in the sense of a person well-versed in the Puranic lore. In most of the earlier references, the word *Purāṇa* is used in singular and not in plural as at a later stage. This suggests that the *Purāṇa* in its original form was one, embodying epic narratives, genealogies etc. as references to Puranic literature in the Vedas, Brāhmaṇas and Upaniṣads clearly indicate.

A critical study of the dialogue hymns in the *Ṛgveda* reveals that from the early Vedic times, there existed certain popular epic narratives embodying the account of mythological and historical heroes. The epic narrative regarding Pururavas and Urvaśī is to the point, the metrical portion of which occurs in the *Ṛgveda* and the narrative as a whole is adopted in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* and later on, in the *Purāṇas*.

The Ṛgvedic hymns embodying *Dāna-stuti* preserve the memories of some important and glorious Kings, who were liberal to their singers. There may have existed several such songs as frequent references to *Gāthā* in the Vedic and the Brahmanic literature clearly point out. The earlier genealogical lists of the extant *Purāṇas* may, in substance, be traced to the Ṛgvedic age as may be ascertained from the Ṛgvedic references to the Purāṇic kings and sages. Several illustrious kings of the *Purāṇas* find a mention in the Vedic literature.

From the earlier Vedic period *Akhyana Gāthā*, *Nāraśaṁsi*, *Dānastuti* as also the genealogies of old kings and sages existed in society, preserved by the professional persons. These must have gradually supplied material for the original *Purāṇa*, which had attained a definite literary form by the time of the *Atharva-Veda*, or perhaps even earlier. But it was still confused with *Iithāsa* till the period of the *Upaniṣads*.

Thus, as a result of a close study and examination of the references to Purāṇic literature in the *Vedas*, *Brāhmaṇas* and *Upaniṣads*, it may be inferred that the original *Purāṇa* was one and comprised old *Ākhyāna*, genealogies etc.

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A NOTE ON ANCIENT BENGAL–SHIP–BUILDING, SEA VOYAGES AND CULTURAL CONTACT

Dr. B. K. Majumdar

(*Summary*)

The paper seeks to examine ancient Bengal's part in colonial expansion in the light of its geographical conformation, maritime activities and cultural trends.

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THE PLACE OF ŚVETAKETU IN THE HISTORY OF ANCIENT INDIAN THOUGHT

Professor Sadashiv Athavale

(*Summary*)

The Upaniṣadic period was one of remarkable intellectual activity. Knowledge of ब्रह्मन (Brahman) was the pursuit of high and low alike. And almost everybody, whether he was a Brahmin like Yājñavalkya or a Kshatriya like Janaka, had a very presumptuous claim to make that he and he alone knew the truth. The tireless zeal of the Upaniṣadic thinkers should certainly command our respect. Yet respect for the effort of a thinker need not mean any acceptance of his methods or conclusions. A close survey of the philosophical literature of that period makes it quite clear that there was hardly any method worth the name in the Upaniṣadic inquiries. The thinkers do not seem to be insisting on logical consistency in their expressions. One may make note of an extraordinary intellectual ability of elemental thinking markedly seen in some of the Upaniṣadic expositions ; and yet one must not fail to see a considerable amount of rant therein.

Śvetaketu, of the 7th or 8th century B.C., presents himself as an honestly puzzled philosopher in the galaxy of the bigots of his age.

We meet the real intellectual, the thinker, in Śvetaketu in his disputes with a number of masters of his time. Śvetaketu was, as a rule, defeated in every debate. Chitra asked Śvetaketu, 'What is the fruit of sacrifice? Is it Heaven or worldly prosperity?' 'I do not know,' was the reply from Śvetaketu. Śvetaketu had been to the assembly of the Pañchālas. The king, Pravahana Jaivali, asked him, 'Do you know how these creatures, when departing, proceed in different directions?' 'I do not know,' said Śvetaketu. And the answer was the same to every question put thereafter. Janaka mocks at Śvetaketu ; Yājñavalkya fools him. What do all these defeats mean? Why should this young man of recognised merit always run away from the Seminars? Why did he keep saying that he did not know? It only means that he had absolutely no regard for metaphysical thought.

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The learned young Śvetaketu rather confused and unsettled in the field of philosophy was, nevertheless, very clear and emphatic in his views on social institutions like marriage. He thought that human beings could be distinguished from animals only by a social order. Unrestricted sex relations could not be visualised in that order. Full faith and undivided loyalty should be the basis of marital life.

A close scrutiny of the Śvetaketu Jātaka, with a discount for Bodhisattva's part therein, reveals that Śvetaketu had seen the meaninglessness of the Varṇa institution. The Jātaka also tells that he gave up ascetic life and entered the service of the king of Benares.

A materialistic school of Indian philosophy, known variously as the Cārvāka, the Bārhaspatya, the Nāstika and the Lokāyata Darśana can be traced from the sixth century B.C. Śvetaketu's negation of metaphysics, affirmation of social philosophy together with his preference for erotics and administrative service take him very close to the Lokāyata system. The scanty information available cannot lead us to any definite conclusions; and yet there are quite good reasons that tempt us to take Śvetaketu as one of the pioneers of the intellectual revolution of the Cārvākas in Ancient India.

Sources :

(१) शतपथब्राह्मण (२) गोपथब्राह्मण (३) सांख्यायन श्रौतसूत्र
(४) आपस्तंबधर्मसूत्र (५) कठोपनिषद् (६) बृहदारण्यकोपनिषद्
(७) छांदोग्योपनिषद् (८) कौषितव्युपनिषद् (९) महाभारत
(१०) वात्स्यायन कामसूत्र and जयमङ्गला (११) श्वेतकेतु जातक.

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REPRESENTATIONS OF THE BUDDHIST DEITIES TRAMPLING HINDU DEITIES

Dr. B. P. Sinha

(*Summary*)

There are certain Buddhist deities such as Aparājitā, and Trailokya-vijaya who have been represented in images as trampling Hindu deities specially Gaṇeśa and Siva-Pārvatī. So far no satisfactory explanation of such aggressive Buddhist images, tremendously provoking to the Hindus, has been reasonably put forward. In this paper an attempt has been made to explore the background of such a very strange feature of the usually tolerant religious history of the country.

It is interesting to note that there are certain representations of Hindu deities showing superiority over or contempt against some other important deities of the Hindu Pantheon. In the Purāṇas the rivalry among various Hindu sects often takes a very unbecoming turn. There are some iconographic representations of such unhealthy rivalry *e. g.* Śiva as Śarabha trampling on Vishṇu in the form of Nṛisiṁha. But there appears to be some evidence to suppose that in such a movement the Buddhists did not lag behind.

Buddhism had started as a reformist movement protesting against dogmatism and ritualism of Brahamanism. In course of time the character of Buddhism underwent very important changes. Introduction of the worship of images of the Buddha and the Bodhisattvas provided fruitful scope of imagination to the artists. The development of Tantricism, which enormously enlarged the Buddhist pantheon, introduced numerous new features in Buddhist Iconography. The significance of a critical study of Iconography does not lie only in increasing our knowledge about the distinguishing features of the deities of the particular religious sect concerned, but also in understanding the spirit of relationship between the different sects of the time.

It is beyond dispute that a benevolent spirit of religious toleration and mutual understanding as a whole prevailed in ancient India. Different religious sects flourished side by side and freedom of religious propaganda and proselytisation prevailed on the whole. Asoka's clarion

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call to adherents of one sect to honour other sects was generally accepted. The most religious and humanist king had proclaimed that one who honours one's own sect and disparages other sects harms his own religion; while one who honours other sects contributes to the glory of his own sect. Historically speaking, this remained the basic feature of the policy of Indian kings and religious communities.

This salutary atmosphere led to mutual impact of one religion and its philosophy, ritual and iconography on other religions. So far as the actual antiquities discovered so far are concerned, they are first Buddhists in point of time. Later, with the development of Bhakti cult numerous Hindu images came to be created for worship. Hindu iconography became at once very varied and extensive. In course of time with the increase in the Mahayanist pantheon and its development of Tantricism we find numerous Buddhist deities taking over the form and attributes of Hindu gods and goddesses.

In such a background it becomes necessary to explain the presence of Buddhist deities like Aparājitā and Trailokyavijaya. In this connection it is important to bear in mind that such representations are very few and that they belong to Tantrik pantheon. Stylistically, these sculptures in stone or bronze belong to a much later period, say from the 9th or 10th century A.D. These sculptures are also found in Magadha, in Nālandā and Gayā (Kurkihāra) religion. Kurkihāra and Nālandā bronzes belong to the same period. Some special reasons must have been there to bring out such representations. As I pointed out above, free competition prevailed between different religious sects. From the advent of the Gupta rule Hinduism was marching ahead as the dominant religion in the country and in spite of religious toleration policy of the rulers Buddhism was declining. This naturally sharpened the edge of rivalry and competition. Kumārila Bhaṭṭa and Śaṅkarāchārya waged a highly intellectual war on Buddhist philosophy and faith. The University of Nālanḍā and Odantapuri and later Vikramaśilā continued to bring out philosophical treatises, often in rejoinder to Hindu philosophical treatises largely produced in Mithīlā, in north Bihar. This vigorous intellectual and scholastic rivalry going on in ancient Bihar among Buddhists and Brahamins, largely Śaivas in faith, was bound to have some reaction on popular mind, artists and worshippers. In this sectarian rivalry which sometimes took unhealthy turn the Śaivas appear to have taken the lead. Mihirakula who was a convert to Śaivism had ordered a general persecution of Buddhism and it was one of the factors which led Narasiṁha Gupta Bālāditya to raise his head against the Hūṇa chief. It was again a Śaiva king Śaśāṅka who on making himself master of Magadha carried on many anti-Buddhist activities in Magadha, including the uprooting of the Bo-Tree and the throwing of the sacred stone with Buddha's footprint at

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Pāṭaliputra into the Ganges. It has been also mentioned by Yuan Chwang that in order to save Buddha's image the Buddhist priest at Bodhgaya had installed Śiva's image in front of the Buddha's image and thereby hiding it from view in order to escape Śaśāṅka's vandalism. The fact that most of such images showing insult to deities of other sects even in the fold of Hinduism are Śaivistic in character, such as Śarabha and Liṅgodhava images, only emphasize the zealous, jealous and aggressive character of Śaiva movement. The particularly unkind attitude of the Śaivas towards the Buddhists is expressed at many places in the Purāṇas, specially in the Saura and Liṅga Purāṇas. The aggressive rivalry between the Buddhists and the Śaivas continued down to the Muslim conquest of Bihar. Bharmasvāmi of Tibet who visited India, particularly Magadha and Tīrabhukti in 1234-36 A.D., refers to certain interesting facts. When the Muslim contingents raided Nālandā the head of Nālandā with other monks had hid himself in a Śaiva temple. When Bodhgayā was in imminent danger of invasion by the Turks, the Buddhist monks fled away after putting an image of Śiva and hiding the Buddhist image.

All these facts appear to suggest the existence of deep antagonism between the Buddhists and the Śaivas in ancient Bihar. It also appears that the trend towards unhealthy expressions or expositions by some Buddhists were results of provocations by the Brahamanical opposition, specially Śaiva's aggressive history. But it is important to note that I have not come across any representation from Bihar showing insult by Hindu deities to Buddhist deities. The explanation might lie in the fact that Hinduism was already very predominant in this part of the country, especially under the patronage of the Senas and the Gāhaḍvālas. Some Buddhists therefore might have, in a spirit of angry frustration, adopted such unbecoming policy in exhibiting such provocative images as Aparājitā and Trailokyavijaya. But this attitude was bound to have disastrous results. According to Tāranātha the Nālandā monastry was burnt by Brahamins performing sacrifices and throwing fire inside the monastery.

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AN UNIQUE ANTIQUITY FROM SOJITRA (DISTRICT KAIRA)

Prof. Arya Ramchandra G. Tiwari

(*Summary*)

A low polished and mutilated human head (about 8″ in height) of bluish dark sandstone, recovered from the bottom of a staired tank (Kuṇḍa) from Sojitra, is housed by the efforts of Shri B. D. Patel, Vice-Chancellor, S. V. University, in the Museum of Archæology, Vallabh Vidyanagar. The exquisite features and the soft round face of the subject encased in stone the thrill of the beauty and the effortless suppression of the natural smile of a young charming maiden. The impact of the unrelished youth on the mental waywardness of a female physical maturity has blended into her person an artistic compound, at the same time both highly innocent as well as powerfully inviting. A turban of one horizontal band with three vertical feather-like strips, supported by an irregular wheel with inner spikes, rests delicately but securely on her head to enhance the beauty of her round face, sweetened by a slightly pointed chin. The monotony of horizontal rolled band of the head-dress has been relieved by obliquely incised linear decoration. The cheeks of the lady are prominent and her ear lobes specially artistic. The nose, true to the physiognomy characteristic of such a figure, is both flat and depressed. The opening of the mouth, delicate and normal, has a beam of joy, reminiscent of the touch of Eros. Here is a true specimen of a female face, beautiful, mature, lively, delicate and powerfully seductive, animated in conception and perfect in execution.

Time :

Positively speaking, the stylistic medium of the facial expression, the low polish, the simplicity of the head-gear compared with the Bharhut specimen, and, to some extent, the high cheeks, and negatively speaking, the absence of both the high polish and the perceptible insistence of the Persian naturalism, fix the time of this female face in the later Aśokan period though this limit *might*, through permissible latitude, be extended upto the early Śuṅga era. Shri A. V. Pandya's fixation of this piece in *cir.* I–II century A.D. is wrong both in conclusion and methodology.

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SECTION II

MEDIEVAL INDIA

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PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

Dr. K. S. Lal

Friends,

I am deeply beholden to the Executive Committee of the Indian History Congress for the honour they have conferred upon me by asking me to preside over the Medieval History Section of this session of the Congress. It is no mere formality when I say this. In the past this chair has been honoured by many renowned scholars, including two of my revered professors, Dr. Tara Chand and Dr. B. P. Saksena, and it is with great diffidence that I now occupy it. However, I hope to do my duty by this high office, not because of any claim to scholarship on my part, but because of the encouragement and co-operation you have extended to me.

When the General Secretary of the Indian History Congress wrote to me about the venue of this session, I was reminded of a very significant fact of our nation's history which north Indian students are generally prone to forget. It was here on the Malabar coast that Islam had first appeared in India, not as a result of conquest but in the wake of peaceful vocations of trade and commerce. Commercial intercourse between India, Arabia, Iran, Palestine and Egypt goes back to very ancient times. With the rise of Islam this movement had gained a fresh life. The Arabs were a seafaring people, and naturally they took a very active part in the commerce between the east and the west. From the seventh century onwards, Arabian and Persian traders settled in large numbers at different ports on the western coast of India. These settlements were specially large and important in Malabar, where it seems to have been the policy of the kings to afford every encouragement to traders. Hajjaj's persecutions drove many people out of Iraq. Most of them settled down on the western coast from Konkan to down south upto Cape Comorin. Early in the ninth century the king of Malabar, Cheraman Perumal, embraced Islam and adopted the name of Abdur Rahman Samri. In his time a number of mosques were erected on the Malabar coast. The Zamorin of Calicut even went so far as to encourage the lower castes of Hindus to embrace Islam in order to enable them to man his ships on voyage to far-off lands. Under the tolerant patronage of Zamorin, Arab traders settled in large numbers

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in South India. The Arab geographer Mosaūdī, who visited India in the early years of the tenth century found over ten thousand Muslims of Middle Eastern towns living at Seymore (modern Chaul), besides many others who were children of Arabs born there. Islam is a proselytising religion, and wherever Muhammedans went they converted. In later centuries there is the testimony of Ibn Said, Ibn Haukal, Marco Polo and Ibn Battutah about the peaceful settlements of Muslims in southern India. Early in the fourteenth century when Malik Kafur carried Muslim arms into the south, he found a large number of Muslims in the service of Hindu Rajas. This spirit of tolerance never leaves the people of the south. Deva Raya II of Vijayanagar employed a large number of Muslims in his armed forces. In deference to their religious feelings he always kept a copy of the Quran before his throne and used to show it due respect. From the beginning of the Arab immigration in the seventh century all through the centuries following, we find a brotherly feeling between the Hindus and the Muslims of Southern India.

I sometimes wonder how different our approach to Medieval Indian History would have been had our history books begun with the study of Arab immigration in the south in place of Arab invasion of Sindh, with the story of Muslim Commerce and coloniastion in place of Muslim conquest. However, we cannot change over and start the study of medieval Indian history from the south just to make believe that all was well with Muslim conquest or rule in India. In northern India Islam was introduced in as bad a way as any religion could possibly be. The motives of the conquerors were undoubtedly mundane, but from Mahmud of Ghazna to Amir Timur all the conquerors and not a few rulers had proclaimed, and their chroniclers had confirmed, that they were determined to spread Islam in this land through all the means at their command. Their attitude could not but have left a bad impression on the minds of the people about the great religion of Islam. The Hindus, perhaps more than any other people in the world, have given more time and thought to religious speculation and study of religious philosophy, but the Hindu intellectual did not study Islam. So far as I am aware, there is no commentary on the Quran or the Hadis by a Hindu of the Medieval period. It cannot just be due to Hindu arrogance or a feeling of superiority of their own faith to which Alberuni refers, but also certainly due to the disgust in which the Hindu held the Muslim conquerors and everything about them. The nature of Muslim conquest need not be lamented here. It is writ large on the pages of history and the disfigured sculptures of the few remaining shrines in the country. The nature of Muslim conquest had stunned the Hindu completely in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The nature of Muslim rule in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries had made him depressed and dejected. His pride was gone. He was sullen and sad.

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At the same time he had become understanding. He had been impressed by the simplicity and directness of the teaching of Islam.

On the other hand perennial Hindu resistance had proved the hollowness of Muslim conquest by the sword. This fact is clearly borne out by Timur's catastrophic invasion. Timur had claimed to destroy idolatry in this country, but the effects of his invasion were just the opposite. His visitation not only dealt an irreparable blow at the Muslim Sultanate of Hindustan, but also gave the Hindus a chance to recuperate. Never had the Hindus felt so strong ever since Muhammad Ghori's invasion, as after Timur's invasion. While by the living together of the two—Hindus and Muslims—the Hindu had come to learn that there were other religions besides his, the Muslim by the close of the fourteenth century had come to learn that it was beyond his power to show " the light of the Shariat " to the infidels in any very large numbers. He too had seen the goodness and greatness of the people of the country, even if he had not read Alberuni or Amir Khusrau. The arrogance of the Hindu was gone during the course of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, that of the Muslim by the beginning of the fifteenth. Both were ready to meet each other, and both sat at the feet of masters like Kabir and Nanak to learn that their quarrels were futile and in the ultimate analysis the essence of all religions was but the same.

Gentlemen, even in the deepest darkness light persists. In the politically inglorious record of the fifteenth century the Indian nation was emerging with a new outlook and vitality, and no rulers could have been better fitted than the Mughals to nurture this sapling of a resurgent nation. The history of the Mughals reads like a romantic story. Any nation in any age would be proud of the galaxy of rulers it brought to the forefront. And yet one fact stands out clear; and it is that even in this great and glorious age, Akbar's Din-i-Ilhai did not meet with the success it promised; and an Alamgir succeeded over a Dara Shikoh. Was Dara's defeat only a military defeat? I am afraid, perhaps not. Aurangzeb had repeatedly proclaimed that Dara was a heretic, and Alamgir's policy undid most of the work of those who had tried to weld the people of India into one nation from Ramanand to Akbar.

The services of the fifteenth-sixteenth century saints were of no mean order. However, looking retrospectively, we find that they could not unite the Hindus and the Muslims into one nation, although they spared no efforts to do so. People of the two faiths listened to their behests, followed their teachings, but then continued to cling to their religions tenaciously and continued to quarrel over petty matters. On the death of Kabir there was a quarrel between his Hindu and

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Muslim followers about the disposal of his body. The story repeated itself on Nanak's death. In days to come if there was an Akbar in India, there was an Abdul Qadir Badaoni also; if there was a Dara Shikoh, there was an Aurangzeb too. The division of India and the creation of Pakistan (whatever the part played by the divide-and-rule policy of the British Government) point to the painful fact that centuries of history and the association of the people of the two faiths could not weld India into one nation. There was, therefore, something wanting in the approach of our socio-religious reformers.

Perhaps it was in the fifteenth century that a cry for Hindu-Muslim unity was first raised with any forceful voice and in so many quarters. —by Nanak in the west, by Kabir in Madhya Desa and by Chaitanya in the east. It was well received too. People had hailed it, Babur had appreciated it (when he had met Nanak at Aminabad) and Akbar had worked upon it. Therefore, the work of these reformers was unique and deserves all praise. But it lacked in one major sphere. The audience of these reformers generally comprised low class people whose lot they had sought to improve. The high caste privileged classes seem hardly to have paid any serious attention to them. They even suspected their motives and some pandits and Mullas appealed to Sikandar Lodi to put a stop to the activities of Kabir, which the king did. Now, if an idea or an appeal which is meant for everybody reaches or influences only a certain section or sections of the people, it does not succeed in its mission. This is what seems to have happened with the appeal of the saints of the Medieval period.

When Akbar took up the same mission, he started the other way round. His appeal was confined to the nobles and high officials of the state. He would not admit all and sundry into his cosmopolitan society of the Din-i-Ilahi. In fact he made a searching investigation before admitting one into the fold of his Divine Monotheism. He failed to impress the teeming millions of his countrymen, for his message hardly reached them.

In ancient times when Gautama the Buddha had attacked the evils current in his day, he had met with resounding success. It was because his message had an appeal for all sections and strata of society. Perhaps after Buddha, Mahatma Gandhi was the only thinker and reformer whose message reached all sections of the Indian people. His success too has had no parallel.

We know, however, that even Mahatma Gandhi failed in bringing about Hindu-Muslim unity, for Pakistan was created in spite of his message of goodwill and amity. We are too close in time to Mahatma Gandhi to be able to objectively assess the success or otherwise of his

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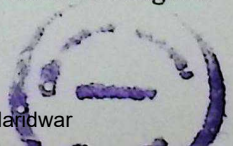
mission. However, it may be remarked that all efforts during the last six centuries in bringing about complete unity on the basis of religion between the Hindus and the Muslims have not been quite successful. It is perhaps because the followers of each religion have been taught to stick to their "own God" rather too closely, and to use Alberuni's phraseology people have been kept under the "thraldom of priestly tricks." A news item under *Delhi Day by Day* in the *Hindustan Times* of the 28th September, 1958, would bear me out. I shall quote it verbatim.

> "Yesterday was Id-i-Milad.....
>
> A reporter who evidently got to the Jama Masjid too late broke into a group of his friends to announce his discovery. "To-day," he declared with confidence, "is not Id." Another, wiser without having stirred out of his house, observed in all seriousness : "Of course, it is not. Who told you it was ?" He pronounced it was in all probability Good Friday. This provided provocation for a third to intervene. "How can that be ?" he said somewhat diffidently. "I thought that was on Sunday." A fourth said it was something else, and a fifth, obviously orthodox and religious, was more emphatic. "I am sure it is Anant Choudas." A sixth was prevented from pronouncing his verdict by a newcomer to the group who declared it could be either Anant Choudas or Id-i-Milad."

The above press report shows at once that for the common man there is hardly any difference between Anant Choudas and Id-i-Milad, between Sivaratri and Shab-i-Barat and Good Friday, but for the priestly "tricks." It is because of these that religions have divided us. Because of this I have come to the conclusion that if in our study of Medieval Indian History emphasis is shifted from political wars and religious differences to our cultural synthesis, we would be living in a better world today. A nation's culture is its proud heritage, and so is India's. If Indians have failed to unite on the religious plane, they have all along possessed a common composite culture.

Although to study Medieval Indian History with a view to achieving unity smacks of motivation, it is an object worth striving for. For while the historian of today can remind mankind of its debt to the past, yet his main responsibility is to the future. Today we are the Jury, tomorrow we ourselves will be judged. Today we can advise Alauddin, Muhammad Tughlaq and Alamgir as to how they should have acted in the best interests of the country, but let posterity not accuse us of not having learnt a lesson from our past. Centuries of history has taught us that we have not been able to unite on the basis of religion.



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Our history again has proved that disunity has been our greatest enemy. I dare say that if we cannot achieve unity through religion, let us try other avenues. And I think that the study of our nation's history in its all comprehending cultural aspects, is the answer.

I need hardly remind this learned audience that the same has not always been done. The older historians who over-rated war were blind to other forces and movements, silent in operation but far-reaching in effect. Those who were witnesses of the grandeur of the Roman Empire hardly knew that the movement of the Jewish rebel Jesus would one day conquer the whole world. Similarly those who heard of the crash of Constantinople and thought it would change the face of the world, hardly heard the click of the printing machine which Guttenburgh was developing. But while the fall of Constantinople is only a matter of memory, the Printing Press is a living force. The same is happening with the study of our Medieval history. The annals of Medieval India are replete with accounts of wars. We have shifted these wars from the field of battle to the field of History. The only difference is that today the Hindu historian is on the offensive : he is the accuser. The Muslim is on the defensive : he is an apologist. This war, you will agree with me, must come to an end. We must learn to view the events of medieval India in their true perspective, and discover what has been of value to the progress of our nation from that which is less important, if more picturesque.

I thank you once again for the honour you have done me, and also for your indulgence in giving me a patient hearing.

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HISTORICITY OF SAṂYOGITĀ THE HEROINE OF THE PṚTHVĪRĀJA-RĀSO

Dr. Dasharatha Sharma

The chief arguments advanced against the historicity of Saṁyogitā can, in brief, be given as follows :—

1. Saṁyogitā is not mentioned in the *Rambhāmāñjarī*, a play by Nayachandra Sūri (written c. 1403 A.D.) which has Jayachandra of Kanauj as its hero and describes his qualifications and achievements in nearly two pages.
2. Saṁyogitā is not mentioned also in Nayachandra Sūri's poem, the *Hammīramahākāvya*, which deals with the Chauhān hero Hammīra of Raṇthambhor and his ancestors.
3. The details of Saṁyogitā's *svayaṁvara* and marriage with Pṛthvīrāja III are too romantic to be true.[1]

But the writers who advance these arguments should first see whether their authorities are really reliable. They have to think also of the nature of the evidence they have. All that the *Rambhāmañjarī*, for instance, says about Jayachandra of Kanauj can be boiled down to this much :—

(*a*) That he was a scion of the Ikṣvāku family.
(*b*) That his arms served as an elephant's post for Madanavarman's goddess of fortune.
(*c*) That he was a son of Malladeva and Chandralekhā.
(*d*) That he bore the designation *dalapaṅgula* on account of the immensity of his forces.

Of these the first three statements cannot be substantiated; the last one may be true, because he is given a similar designation in the *Pṛthvīrāja-rāso*. Gāhaḍavāla records do not describe Jayachandra

1. The above arguments were advanced by Dr. G. H. Ojha (*vide Ojhā-nibandha-saṅgraha*, vol.II, pp. 78-112) and have been repeated, without anya ttempt at their critical assessment, by most subsequent writers on the historicity of the *Pṛthvīrāja-rāso*.

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and his ancestors as solar Kṣatriyas. The line actually is said to have come into existence when the solar line had disappeared.[2] Their modern representatives in the Uttar Pradesh regard themselves as lunar Rājpūts.[3] Madanavarman, the Chandel ruler of Jijhotī, passed away before 1165 A.D. How could then Jayachandra, who succeeded to the throne of Banaras and Kanauj in 1170 A.D., be described as doing anything to buttress or destroy Madanavarman's prosperity? A way out of the difficulty would perhaps be to assume that the reference is to one of Jayachandra's exploits as a *yuvarāja*, but this too is ruled out by the fact that Jayachandra's installation as a *yuvarāja* took place on the 16th June, 1168 A.D.,[4] *i.e.* nearly three years after Madanavarman's death. Jayachandra's father is said to have been some Malladeva. Gāhaḍavāla records, however, state that he was the son of Govindachaṇdra's son, Vijayahcandra. If it be assumed that Malladeva was one of Vijayachandra's titles, should not one enquire why the title was known only to Nayachandra Sūri, who wrote the *Rambhāmañjarī* nearly two hundred years after Jayachandra's death and to none of the numerous Gāhaḍavāla inscriptions incised during the reigns of Vijayachandra and his successors?[5]

As regards the *Hammīramahākāvya*, it is silent not only about Saṁyogitā's *svayaṁvara* but also about Pṛthvīrāja's victories in his wars with Nāgārjuna, the Chandel ruler Paramardin, the Chaulukya king Bhīmadeva II and the Bhādānakas. It has nothing to say also about Pṛthvīrāja's many marriages, though they are mentioned even in the fragmentary *Pṛthvīrājavijaya*. If on the basis of its silence, we neither regard his wars and victories as unhistorical nor conclude that Pṛthvīrāja remained unmarried, what valid reason can we have to make that very silence the main reason to discredit an old tradition, found at least in three languages, Sanskrit, Persian and old Rājasthāni, and having, as we propose to show, its roots in the contemporary poem, *Pṛthvīrājavijaya*? No doubt the traditional story of Saṁyogitā is extremely romantic. But romance is a part of life and can therefore be equally true and real. That the story had a romantic setting from the beginning can be inferred from the *Pṛthvīrājavijaya*, too, which brings earth and heaven together, as it were, before describing the romance.[6]

Tradition is unanimous in recognising the existence of Saṁyogitā, though sometimes under names that differ from each other. The *Surjanacharita* of the Bengali poet Chandraśekhara, written to commemorate

2. *Āsidaśītadyutivaṁśajātakṣmāpālamālāsi divaṁ gatāsu.*
3. *Mirzāpur Gazetteer*, p. 204.
4. R. S. Tripathi, *History of Kanauj*, p. 231.
5. Dr. R. S. Tripathi has listed 4 inscriptions of Vijayachandra, 16 of Jayachandra and two of Hariśchandra.
6. See the last but one paragraph.

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the achievements of Surjan Hāḍā, a scion of the Sapādalakṣa-Raṇthambhor line and *mansabdār* of Akbar, has almost the same account of the *svayaṁvara* as the *Pṛthvīrāja-rāso*, though it gives the name of the heroine as Kāntimatī.[7] As early as the sixteenth century and probably earlier still—because the tradition could not have sprung into existence all of a sudden—the descendants of Pṛthvīrāja III and Hammīra must thus have regarded Kāntimatī-Saṁyogitā as one of their ancestresses. Similarly, Akbar's historian, minister and friend, Abul Fazl, recounts the whole story, mentioning Jayachandra's sacrifice, Saṁyogitā's *svayaṁvara*, the installation of Pṛthvīrāja's statue in the place of a gate-keeper, the carrying away of Saṁyogitā by her lover, and the bravery of his *sāmantas* who fought a rear-guard action to cover the escape of Pṛthvīrāja.[8] In its most popular form the story, as most historians and students of Hindī literature know, is found in the *Pṛthvīrāja-rāso*,[9] which originally may have been an Apabhraṁśa work written in the thirteenth century of the Vikrama era.[10]

According to the *Pṛthvīrājavijaya*, Pṛthvīrāja III fell in love with the heavenly nymph, Tilottamā, even though he had many beautiful queens, the reason for this otherwise inexplicable behaviour being that in his previous life as Rāma, Tilottamā had won his favour by playing excellently the rôle of Sītā in a play staged by the gods.[11] A little further, we are told that Tilottamā was born as a princess destined to marry Rāma's incarnation, Pṛthvīrāja III. Can we identify her with Saṁyogitā of our tradition? Though the printed editions of the poem do not help us in settling the issue, we are, thanks to further investigations into the manuscript material of the *Pṛthvīrājavijaya* by Dr. S. K. Belvalkar, now in a position to state that the lost verses describing the princess referred to *nāka-nadī*, *i.e.*, the Gaṅgā, to a palace or town situated on its bank (*nāka-nadī-taṭa-sthita*), and to certain circumstances in which the heroine with her heart set on her lover could be compared to a *kamalinī* (lotus-flower) thinking of the Sun alone, when faced by the Moon.[12] Should not we conclude from these references that she was probably the daughter of a ruler, whose capital was on the bank of the Gaṅgā and who had decided to give her in marriage to a prince who, whatever his other good qualifications may have been, did not enjoy the privilege of having the princess's love?

7. In this connection, the following papers of mine may be consulted :—
   (*a*) The historicity of the *Pṛthvīrāja-rāso*, *IHQ*, 1940.
   (*b*) *Pṛthvīrāja-rāso ki kathāon kā aitihāsika ādhāra*, *Rājasthānī*, Calcutta, vol. III, part 3.
   (*c*) *Surjanacharita-mahākāvya*, *Nāgarī-prachāriṇī-patrikā*, 1929.
8-9. See the papers listed in the last foot-note.
10. See my paper, "The original *Pṛthvīrāja-rāso*, an Apabhraṁśa work," in the *Rājasthāna-Bhāratī*, I, 1, pp. 93-103.
11. See the last verse of the 11th canto and canto 12.
12. The verses are 74-78 of canto 12.

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The above account has obvious resemblances to the story of Saṁyogitā in the *Pṛthvīrāja-rāso*. In the *Rāso*, Saṁyogitā is regarded as an incarnation of the heavenly nymph Rambhā. The princess of the *Pṛthvīrājavijaya* is the *apsaras* Tilottamā born in this world. Both the princesses had their residence somewhere near the Gaṅgā, and both obviously had been promised to suitors they did not love. Other resemblances also exist.

What is there after all that makes Saṁyogitā's story incredible? Her father, Jayachandra, is said to have been on bad terms with Pṛthvīrāja III. We know from history that it was actually so.[13] His putting up of Pṛthvīrāja III's statue at the gate reminds one of an old Rājpūt practice designed to humiliate one's political rivals. Dantidurga Rāṣṭrakūṭa for instance, made his rivals, the Gurjara ruler and some others, his gate-keepers in the *hiṛṇyagarbha-mahādāna* at Ujjain.[14] Even *rākṣasa vivāhas* were not unknown to Indian history.[15] Pṛthvīrāja carried off merely a not very unwilling princess. Even in this twentieth century, the present writer has seen a bride being carried away from a marriage *paṇḍāl*.

We, of course, have every right to examine the truth of an old tradition. But if the only arguments that can be advanced against it are those summed up above, the old tradition must be permitted to hold its ground. There is nothing illogical or irrational about it. Nor does it go against any known historical facts.

13. See my account of Pṛthvīrāja III, the last Hindu Emperor of Delhi, *IC*, 1944.
14. Sanjan Plates of Amoghavarṣa *EI*, vol. XVIII, pp. 235-57.
15. Rāṣṭrakūṭa Indra married the Chālukya princess Bhavanāga in this way. We are not quoting examples from the epics, for they may be dismissed as legendary and pre-historic.

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BACKGROUND OF MAHMUD'S VICTORY OVER JAIPAL

Shri K. L. Akhgar

Making good his escape from the furious Jaipal, the *King of Hind*, Adaira[1], an Afghan relative of his, crossed over to Ghazni at the time when war-hysteria was rocking it. Adaira embraced Islam[2] at the hands of Mahmud and professed allegiance to him. The traitor from Jaipal's court divulged the ins and outs of the dominion of Jaipal and persuaded the Sultan to attack the Hindu Raja unawares. Out of devotion to the new faith, Adaira undertook to guide[3] the forces of the Sultan to Indian frontier with complete surety of victory. The Sultan who was previously contemplating to march against Sijistan[4] changed his mind and decided to embark on a holy war against Hind in consonance with the wishes of Adaira. He distributed[5] arms among his people which was a signal for a new venture. The Muslim army left Ghazni[6] in A.H. Shawal 391 H, 1001 A.D. to raise the 'standard of faith'[7] and 'to extend the area of belief' in the land of the Hindus. Many ghazis[8] and volunteers joined the regular Muslim army bound for India. The crusading army marched from Rahibo Jaihar (the place is yet unidentified) stealthily so that none heard the peal of the military drums and none realised its march.[9] Adaira conducted it to a place between Peshawar (Barshur) and villages Kiram and Tapur[10] (unidentified) where it encamped. This battle-field was a wise and strategic selection of Adaira as it being stony[11] was quite favourable to the Muslim Cavalry. Jaipal came to know of the surprise approach of the invaders and made a quick decision of defending[12] his home land with whatever force he had or could mobilise at the spur of the moment. He had then 30,000 cavalry and 300 elephants with him in his fort

1. Alharab wa-al-shujaat *ms.* fol. 137 a.b. (Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta).
2. *Ibid.*
3. *Ibid.*
4. Utbi in *ED*, vol. II, p. 24 (Aligarh edition).
5. *Ibid.*
6. *Ibid.*, p. 440.
7. *ARJ*, 1941, p. 130.
8. *Ibid.*
9. Alharab fol. 137 a.b.
10. *Ibid.*, fol. 136 a.b.
11. *Ibid.*
12. Utbi in *ED*, vol. II, p. 25.

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called the fort of Bikram[13]. He alerted them and despatched swift couriers to other parts of his kingdom to summon more forces. Mahmud got wind of the determination of Jaipal and exercised greater caution in dealing with the changing situation. He took a 'Muster' of his army. He selected 15,000 strong host consisting of cavalry, infantry and officers and kept the rejected populace at an arm's length lest it should disparage the morale of the picked force.[14] Meanwhile Jaipal got ready with 12,000 horse, 30,000 infantry and 300 elephants.[15] Spontaneous character of Jaipal's mobilised army becomes evident when Utbi notices that he bided his time to import more troops from various clans and 'tribes'.[16] He posed all along to be plunging in action but in reality waited for the new troops to arrive behind the columns of his army. Nevertheless it was not possible to throw dust into the eyes of vigilant Sultan. Mahmud got at the game and ordered the charge with spears, swords and arrows. The Hindus responded by throwing their cavalry into action to the accompaniment of the war-music. Their elephants dashed at the enemy and 'line' advanced against 'line'.[17] Fleet-footed horses of the Turks worked havoc against the slow horses and the bulky elephants of the Hindus. The small stones of the battle-field lacerated the feet of the elephants whereas the hoofs of the horses defied the hardness and sharpness of the stones. Their movement remained unaffected and they so easily outmanœuvred the elephants. The Muslim army freely indulged in 'plundering, seizing and destroying.[18] They surrounded the Hindus on all sides. The Hindu army true to its brave traditions fought with full courage but was routed with 5000 soldiers and 50 elephants dead.[19] The Muslim army chased the fleeing Hindu army and another action was fought in the forest of Jani.[20] Here again the already tottering resistance of the Hindus was broken and they lost the day. This victory was due to the selection of good battle-field and marvellous espionage of Sultan Mahmud.[21]

13. Alharab fol. 137 a.b.
14. Utbi in *ED*. vol. II, p. 25.
15. *Ibid.*
16. *Ibid.*, *ARJ*, 1941, p. 131.
17. Utbi in *ED*, vol. II, p. 25.
18. *Ibid.*
19. *ARJ*, 1941, p. 132. Utbi (*ED*, vol. II, p. 26) says 15000 soldiers and 15 elephants; *ED*, Appendix, p 440 puts down the loss at 5000 men as does also Haft Gulshan fol. 15 a.b.
20. Alharab fol. 137 a.b.
21. *Ibid.*

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SOME TAMIL POETS OF THE 14TH CENTURY A.D.

SHRI A. KRISHNA SWAMI

THE 14th century was a period of great confusion in the political history of the Tamil country. From A.D. 1300 to 1371 there was no settled and strong government and there were no great rulers who patronised Tamil poets. The Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam region was subject to the rule of the Sambuvarāyas of Paḍaivīḍu and the region between Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam and Chōḷamaṇḍalam, usually called Naḍu-nāḍu with Tirukkōyilūr as the focal city, was ruled over by a Koṅgar chieftain called Varapati Āṭkoṇḍāṉ. According to literary evidences his capital was Vakkappāgai.[1] Rulers belonging to these two minor dynasties seem to have patronised the twin poets called the Iraṭṭiyars and Villiputtūrāḻvār respectively.

Date of the Iraṭṭaiyars :

The Toṇḍaimaṇḍalasatakam of Paḍikkāśupulavar mentions that the Iraṭṭaiyars were patronised by one Ekambaranātha Sambuvarāya. We know from inscriptional evidences that this Ekambaranātha Sambuvarāya became an independent ruler in A.D. 1321, defeated and drove the Muslims from the Tamil country and assumed the titles of Veṉṟumaṇkoṇḍāṉ and Sakalalōkachakravarthi and ruled till A.D. 1339.[2] The twin poets, Iraṭṭaiyars mention in their work called Ekāmbaranāthar ulā that this Sambuvarāya, had endowed Lord Ekāmbaranātha of Kāñchi with a crown adorned with nine gems, a ratha (car) and built two maṇḍapas called Tulabhāramaṇḍapam and Tula-maṇḍapam.[3] Further, the poets have praised one Sambandāṇḍāṉ, the head of a monastery at Tiruvaṇṇāmalai.[4] An inscription dated A.D. 1340 mentions Sambandāṇḍāṉ as the supervisor of the Tiruvaṇṇāmalai temple.[5] It may be inferred from these evidences that the Iraṭṭaiyars lived in the early half of the 14th eentury during the period of the Sambuvarāyas.

1. It is not possible to identify this place at present since the majority of the inscriptions of the Kongarayars are unpublished.
2. No. 85 of 1934.
3. T. V. S. Pandarattar, *A History of Tamil Literature*, p. 72.
4. *Tamil Navalar charitam*, p. 111.
5. *SII*, vol. VIII, no. 89.

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According to tradition, the Iraṭṭaiyars were uterine brothers and they were born in a village called Ilandurai in the present Tanjore district.[6] We do not know their correct names but they were known as Mudusūriyar (the elder Sun) and Iḷañsūriyar (the younger Sun). The Tamil Navalar charitam mentions that the elder was lame and the younger was blind and the younger carried his brother on his shoulders led by the elder and thus they were able to visit several places in the Tamil country. But this account is not supported by any reliable evidence except tradition. The poets never mention in their works that they were either blind or lame. If they had been so, the rulers and chieftains who patronised them would have provided them with some convenient means of travelling from place to place. Therefore, it is not reasonable to regard them lame and blind as the Tamil Nāvalar charitam does. Since it was written at a much later period, such unreliable account of the poets seems to have been introduced to strike the imagination of the readers.[7] The poets seem to have been called Muduśūriyar and Iḷañsūriyar because they travelled throughout the Tamil country dispelling human ignorance just as the Sun is dispelling darkness. The Iraṭṭaiyars were staunch Saivaites and their important works are the following: (1) Tillaikkalambakam; (2) Tiruvāmattūr kalambakam; and (3) Ekāmbaranāthar ulā.

(1) *Tillaikkalambakam*:

The Iraṭṭaiyars were regarded as experts in composing Kalambakams and this view is proved by two Kalambakams written by them. Tillaikkalambakam is a praise work of superior merit praising Lord Nataraja at Chidambaram. We know about cetrain new facts about the temple at Chidambaram from this poem. Two of the stanzas mention that the worship in the temple during those days was conducted according to the Maguda Āgama, one of the 26 Āgamas.[8] The poem mentions the five sacred halls in the temple and alludes to the sufferings of the merchants, agriculturists and others as a result of the Muslim invasions from the north.[9]

(2) *Tiruvāmātturkalambakam*:

Kalambakam means a garland of poems of various metres and this particular work was written in praise of Lord Śiva at Tiruvāmattūr in South Arcot district. Tiruvāmattūr is one of the thirty-two Saivaite holy places sung by the Nāyanmārs in Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam. The work proves that the Iraṭṭaiyars were Saivaites in religion and an important

6. Pandarattar, *op. cit.*, p. 64.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 63.
8. *Tillaikkalambakam*, stanzas 29 and 69.
9. *Ibid.*, stanza no. 39.

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information which they mention is that Hari (Vishṇu) is the feminine gender of Haran (Śiva).[10] The work consists of 102 stanzas and they are noted for literary excellence.

(3) *Ekāmbaranāthar Ulā* :

Ulā means 'procession poem' and it may be written both on Gods and human beings. This Ulā praises the greatness of Lord Ekāmbaranātha of Kāñchi in 1110 lines. It is a description of the procession of Lord Ekāmbaranātha followed by several subsidiary Gods and the emotions of women of various stages who follow the procession. The poets also mention the various gifts and endowments made by Ekambaranātha Sambuvarāya to the Śivā temple at Kāñchi. A special feature of this work is that it mentions the term Tirumuṟai for the Saivaite religious works in the 14th century.[11]

Besides the above three important works several stray poems are attributed to the Iraṭṭaiyars.

Villiputtūrālvār :

Another great Tamiḻ poet during the 14th century was Villiputtūrāḻvār, the author of Bharatam in Tamiḻ. He was a Vaishṇava Brahmin, son of one Vīrarāghava of Saniyūr in Tirumunaippāḍināḍu. Vīrarāghava was a staunch Śrivaishṇava and he was so much attached to Periyāḻvār of Śrivilliputtūr (Tinnevelly Dt.) that he named his son after the famous Āḻvār, the father of Āṇḍāḻ.

The period in which Villiputtūrāḻvār and his patron Varapati Āṭkoṇḍāṉ lived has not been definitely fixed so far. The available sources of information do not help us very much. However, an attempt is here made to arrive at least their probable dates. The poets Iraṭṭaiyars have referred to Varapati Āṭkoṇḍāṉ, the Koṅgar chieftain, who ruled the Naḍu-nāḍu, with Vakkappāhai as his capital. The Iraṭṭaiyars lived during the reign of Veṉṟumaṇkoṇḍa Sambuvarāya (A.D. 1321-1339). It is probable that Varapati Āṭkoṇḍāṉ was a contemporary of Veṉṟumaṇkoṇḍāṉ. It was this Varapati Āṭkoṇḍāṉ who had patronised Villuputtūrāḻvār and he had praised his patron in four contexts in his Mahābharatam. At first he says that Varapati Āṭkoṇḍāṉ used to shower gold on poets who praised him.[12] Secondly, he says that Āṭkoṇḍāṉ was ruling with Vakkapāhai as his capital.[13] Then he mentíons that the soldiers of Yudhiṣṭhira returned from the battlefield with great victory just as the poets who attended the court of Varapati

10. *Tiruvamattur Kalambakam*, stanza. 64.
11. Pandarattar, *op. cit.*, p. 74.
12. Bharatam, *Kandavadhānaccarukkam*, stanza 50.
13. *Ibid.*, *Niraimeetchicharukkam*, stanza 104.

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Āṭkoṇḍāṉ returned home with plenty of gold.[14] Lastly, the poet compares the gifts of Karna to the poor to the munificience of his patron.[15] These are definite internal evidences to show that Varapati Āṭkoṇḍāṉ patronised Villiputtūrāḷvār. Varandaruvār, the son of Villiputtūrāḷvār mentions that his father was requested by Varapati Āṭkoṇḍāṉ to translate the Mahābharatam into Tamiḻ. Further he maintains that the above chieftain saved Tamiḻ language from being overwhelmed by Kanarese and that he patronised the Tamiḻ poets in such a way that his court could be regarded as the fourth Tamiḻ Saṅgham.[16] It is easy to infer from the statements of Varandaruvār that Varapati Āṭkoṇḍāṉ lived at a time when there seemed to be a great danger to the Tamiḻ country and the Tamiḻ language owing to the intrusion of Kanarese and foreign rulers.

Who were the foreigners who established themselves in the heart of the Tamiḻ country and made Kanarese the official language? It must be either the Hoysaḷas of Dvārasamudra or the Saṅgama rulers of Vijayanagar. We have inscriptional evidences to prove that Hoysaḷa Ballāḷa III and his Daṇḍanāyakas had established themselves firmly at Tiruvaṇṇamālai and the surrounding region from A.D. 1318 to 1342.[17] It is certain that the Hoysala rulers would have given prominence to Kanarese and Tamiḻ was pushed to the background and this fact is mentioned by Varandaruvār. Therefore, Villiputtūrāḷvār was a contemporary of the Iraṭṭaiyars who lived during the period of Ekāmbaranātha Sambuvarāya and Varapati Āṭkoṇḍāṉ from about A.D. 1321 to 1340.

It was not merely the request of Varapati Āṭkoṇḍāṉ that induced Villiputtūrāḷvār to write the Bharatam in Tamiḻ. As he himself says, it was his keen devotion to sing the praise of Lord Krishṇa that induced him most to undertake that tremendous task. The views that Villiputtūrāḷvār and Aruṇagirināther of Tiruppugazh fame were contemporaries and the former wrote the Bhāratam on the request of Aruṇagiri have no evidences to be maintained. Because Aruṇagirināther lived in the fifteenth century between A.D. 1406 and 1465 during the reign of Dēvarāya II, the Vijayanagar emperor.

The Bharatam of Villiputtūrāḷvār is a monumental work on the first ten Parvas of the Mahābharatam and contains 4,339 stanzas. Though the author was a staunch Vaishṇavite, he was not a fanatic.

14. Bharatam, *op. cit.*, 16th day charukkam, stanza 90.
15. *Ibid.*, 17 day charukkam, stanza, 33.
16. *Ibid.*, Introduction, stanzas nos. 22 and 17.
17. K. R. Venkatarama Iyer, *Hoysalas in the Tamiḻ country*, p. 32.

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Because he showers equal devotion to both Vishṇu and Śivā in his work. The stanzas in the Bharatam are written in such a way that they could be read with musical tunes and rythmn. But the large admixture of Sanskrit words is pointed out as a defect by some critics. But we must know that Villiputtūrāḷvār was not solely responsible for this use of large number of Sanskrit words. Sanskrit terms came to be used in Tamiḷ works from the Pallava period and the scholars in those days did not consider these ancient languages as mutually exclusive.

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PEACE-POLICY IN EARLY MEDIEVAL INDIA

Dr. R. C. Prasad Singh

Political history of the period in question is the history of constant struggle between rival powers. Men at the helm of power continued to play tricks and fight against one another. But the disastrous consequences of disunity and frequent wars led theoreticians of our period to realise the importance of unity and peace.

Somadeva,[1] the grand ancient Indian politician condemned differences among rulers and held " When water is drained from the lake, the crocodile grows as thin as a snake. A lion when he leaves the forest is no more than a jackal. And a snake whose fangs are drawn is a mere rope. In union is strength. Even a mad elephant will trip in a twisted clump of grass." Here we see Somadeva presenting parallels between Indian kings and crocodiles, lions, snakes and others. In his opinion Hindu kings as a consequence of disunity and war would loose their territory and hence, they would suffer like above mentioned creatures. He did not like kings to face this lot, therefore, he laid emphasis upon unity and wanted every Indian King to be united by giving up the policy of war.

The Buddhist text *Suvarṇabhāsottama* Sūtra[2] suggested that rulers of India should be contented with what they had. According to it contention would bar kings from fighting, attacking, quarreling or disputing with their neighbours and would bring good-will amongst nations.

Hindu authors of our period such as Śukra, Medhātithi and others framed the policy of *sāma*, *dāna*, *daṇḍa* and *bheda* and wanted Hindu rulers to follow them in international affairs. All of them emphasised on *sāma*. *Sāma* stands for the English word friendship. Once friendship is established, ideas of enmity and war will be ironed out, and hence, peace will prevail throughout the world.

1. *Nītivākyāmṛta*, XXX.
2. *S. Sūtra*, vi., pp. 73-75.

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It can be gathered from the commentary of Medhātithi[3] that to bring peace, meetings of rulers were advised and kings followed by chief queens were advised to attend the conference. It appears that royal ladies used to help a good deal in bringing out peaceful talk. In course of these talks Śukra[4] suggested that rulers should promise that "We should not mutually injure each other but should rather help each other in time of need." Thus friendship achieved would result in the prosperity of the people because Suvarṇabhāsottama[5] Sūtra contains the reference "When all the eighty-four thousand kings of eighty-four thousand cities of India think of their mutual welfare and feel mutual affections and joy.....contented in their own domains.....India will be prosperous, well-fed, pleasant and populous. The earth will be fertile and the months and seasons and years will all occur at the right time, planets and moon and sun will duly bring on the days and nights. Rain will fall upon earth at the right time. And all living beings in India will be rich with all manners of riches and corn, very prosperous but not greedy."

Thus we see, though ahead of their time, these Indian authors belonging to different faiths advised their kings to be satisfied with what power they had. The strength of unity was recognised and rulers of the period were suggested to give up the war tendency even in those early days. These authors realised that peace alone would bring prosperity as was also suggested by Kāmandaka[6] that "The sovereign who desires to reach acme of prosperity should make peace even with one equal to him in all respects."

3. *Medhātithi on Manu*, vii. 198.
4. *Śukra*, iv. 1,61-62.
5. *S. Sūtra*, vi. p. 75.
6. *Kāmandaka*, ix, 60.

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A PLEBIAN REVOLT OF DELHI DURING THE REIGN OF SULTAN ALA-UD-DIN KHALJI

Shri Asit Kumar Sen

During the reign of Sultan Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī there took place in the city of Delhi a thunderous outburst against Tirmuzī, the Koṭwal of the city. This rebellion took place due to the negligence and oppression, on the part of Koṭwal Tirmuzī, and was lead by Hājī Maulah an ex-Slave of Malik-ul-Umra Fakhr-ud-din. Hājī Maulah had stuck up friendship with some ex-Kotwali officers.[1] At this time Sultan Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī was prosecuting his siege at Ratambhor and Tirmuzī was left in charge of the city, and at Siri where a new fort was under construction of Alā-ud-din Ayaz, the father of Ahmad Ayaz was holding the same office. Hājī Maulah saw that the oppression of Tirmuzi had created dissatisfaction and the city was denuded of soldiers. The condition of siege at Rantambhor was such that the Sultan could not leave behind any soldier in the capital.

At mid-day int he month of Ramzan 700 A.H. (May 1301 A.D.) with a band of armed followers and paiks he went to the house of the Koṭwal Tīrmuzī who was falsely informed about the arrival of a letter from the Sultan and as soon as the unsuspecting Koṭwal came out to receive it, he was cut into two.[2] Hāji Maulah now summoned Koṭwal Alā-ud-dīn Ayaz intending to do away with him also but the latter had already received scent of the disturbance, and instead of going out to meet the former, gathered his followers around him and refused to open the gates of the new fort.[3]

Hajī Maulah followed most novel method of securing adherents because the first step that he took after entering the Red palace was to liberate the prisoners many of whom after liberation became his followers. The arms that were brought out from the royal armoury helped the rebels to provide themselves with sufficient weapons, and horses brought from the royal stable were utilised by them. Bags of gold

1. *Futuh-us-Salatin* (Agra ed.) p. 268. Barani says that Hājī Maulah was the superintendent of Crown lands at Rataul which according to Dr. K. S. Lal is situated in the Bhagpat-tahsil, Meerut (*History of the Khaljis*, p. 118 N).
2. Barani, pp. 278-279.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 280.

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tanks were also brought out from the treasury and distributed among the people. An Alwai (descendent of Ali) related on his mother's side to Sultan Iltutmish,[4] was placed on the throne at the Red palace and the principal men of the city were forced to pay him respect.

The news reached Sultan Alā-ud-dīn at Rantambhor but he did not divulge it to his soldiers for obvious reasons. The city was under the rebel for nearly a week.[5] On the third or fourth day Amir Hām-ud-din, Amir of Koh and his sons all of whom were valiant men together with his retenue arrived at Delhi and forced the Ghaznī gate. A number of followers of Zafar Khan arrived from Amroha and helped in suppressing rebels.[6] A battle ensued between the followers of Hājī Maulah and the royal army, and after two days at Bhandarkal gate—the followers of the Amir Hāmi-ud-din cornered the insurgents including some shoemakers. Hājī Maulah was brought down from his horse by Amir Hāmi-ud-din who disregarding all the blows that fell upon him killed the former with his own hand. After the suppression of the insurrection, the Alawī[7] was killed, and all those who had taken money from the Hājī Maulah were made to disgorge the amount and were cast in prison. The Sultan sent Ulugh Khan from Rantambhor to finish the followers of Hājī Maulah. The former took his residence at the Muzzī palace. The insurgents were severely punished so that blood flowed like stream.[8] The family of Malik Fak-hr-ud-din, the late Kotwal of Sultan Balban's days was completely eradicated on suspicion that without their instigation Hājī Maulah would have dared to rise in rebellion.[9] The unfortunate sons and grandsons had no knowledge of the revolt.[10] According to Ferishta, the sons of Fak-hr-ud-din, Malik-ul-umra, were not a party to these rebellion but because Hājī Maulah was a personal slave of their father they were punished.[11] The account of other historians also agree with Ferishta on this point.[12] Therefore, it may be safely concluded that Hājī Maulah in his rebellion was not supported by the descendents of Malik Fak-hr-ud-din. There is no other evidence of any help being received by the rebel leader from Balban Amirs or their descendents, except that he was helped by some ex-Kotwalī officers.[13]

4. Barani calls him a grandson of Shah Najaf. Badaoni has given his name as Sayyid Zada Shah Nabasa *Munta Khab-ut-twarikh* (B.I), p. 193.
5. *Barani*, p. 280.
6. *Ibid.*, and Ferishtah, p. 188.
7. Barani, p. 281.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 282.
9. Badaoni, (*B.I.*), p. 194.
10. Barani, p. 282.
11. Ferishtah, p. 189.
12. Barani states that the descendents of the Ex-Kotwal had no knowledge of the uprising. Badaoni of cit. also states that they were put to death on suspicion.
13. See above.

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On the other hand the insurgent leader made friendship with prisoners released from the jail, shoemakers and others who were attracted by the gold distributed by him from the royal treasure.

Hājī Maulah had placed Sayyid Shah Nabasa,[14] a man related to Sultan Shams-ud-din from his mother's side on the throne to give a legal sanction to his rebellion but the poor Alwai had no knowledge of this uprising and he was carried by force and made to wear the crown.[15]

The aristocracy of the city were forced to pay their obedience to Shah Nabasa and there is no evidence in contemporary history about their voluntary support nor any mention about a planned conspiracy of the supporters of Ilbari-Turks to replace the Khaljīs and revive their power. Barani clearly states that the rebellion had its root in the distress of the people due to the oppression of Kotwal Tirmuzi. Therefore, it is difficult to agree with some scholars who called the rebellion of Hājī Maulah an attempt of the Ilbarites to regain power.[16] The insurrection was a protest of the plebeian citizens including shoemakers agaisnt the tyranny of the Koṭwal Tirmuzī. After the suppression of this insurrection Sultan Alā-ud-din, on an analysis of the causes of rebellion, ascribed four main reasons for the recurrence of disobedience among his subjects, *viz.*, the Sultans disregard and negligence of the interest of his subjects, wine bibbing, intimacy among the Maliks and increase of wealth which create evil and strife, and brings forth pride and disloyalty.[17] It is interesting to note that the Sultan's ignorance of the affairs of his subjects topped the list. It was due perhaps to the fact that the rebellion of Hājī Maulah was largely a product of official oppression done behind the back of the Sultan.

14. Badaoni, p. 193.
15. Barani, p. 280.
16. Tripathi, *Some Aspects of Muslim Administration* (Second ed.) p. 52. Lal, *History of the Khaljis*, p. 118.
17. Barani, pp. 282-83.

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SIDE-LIGHTS ON FIRUZ SHAH AND HIS TIMES

(Mainly from literary sources)

Professor Hasan Askari

Besides well-known historical works, there is a considerable amount of contemporary literature, general and religious, produced during the Tughlaq period which, when carefully examined will serve as valuable, though indirect, source-materials of history. Of the works in Arabic which throw a flood of light on Muhammad Tughlaq and his times, the relevant volume of the Rihlā of Ibn-i-Batuta has already been published in full[1] both in Urdu and English. Elliot has given some extracts from Subhaḷ Āshā Fi Sanāat-al-Inshā, compiled by Abul Abbās Ahmad-al-Qalqashandi[2] (d. 821 = 1418), on the basis of an earlier work, Masālik-ul-Absār fi-Mamālik-ul-Amsār by Shihābuddin Ahmad-al-Umari of Damascus (d. 749 = 1348). Though the author of Masālik did not come to India, he had derived his information from those who had seen it including such Indians as Sh. Mubārak Ambāti of Cambay, Qāzi Sirāj uddin and Sh. Abdur Rahmān-al-Hindi, Sh. Abu Bakr bin Khallāl, etc. A complete and critical edition of the whole chapter dealing with 'Iqbim-ul-Hind' is still a desideratum, for it gives such useful information about the magnificence of Muhammad Tughlaq's empire, his camp, army, conquests, Subas, salaries of officials, products, industry, commerce, communication, works of public utility, such as hospitals, tanks, postal system, price rates, costumes of the people, etc.

The enlightened king, Firuz Shah, had a large number of scholarly admirers because, among other things that he did, he bestowed special care and attention upon religious leaders, mystics, poets and litteratures of the times. Some of the numerous works other than historical which were written during the period of his beneficent reign have fortunately come down to us, but they still await the attention of scholars. Fatāwā-i-Jahāndāri[3] by the historian, Barni, has been noticed and a fairly

1. Urdu version byM. Muhammed Husain and English Translation with Introduction by Dr. Agha Mahdi Husain (Gaekwad of Baroda publication).
2. Elliot has not mentioned Algalgoshand. See Oriental College Magazine, Lahore, 1535.
3. Perhaps with Proceedings of I. H. Records Commission.

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lengthy paper was published in J.A.S.B. (1923) on Inshā-i-Māhru[4] which is a collection of 123 letters of Malik-us-Sharq, Ain-ul-Mulk Māhru, a high official of Firuz Shāh, and Governor of Multan. Both these works are very important and deserve a more detailed treatment. The 'Diwāns', or collection of poems of Mutahhar[5] of Karā, a court poet of Firuz Shāh, and of Sher Khān *alias* Masud Bak, a relation of the Sultān whose reckless utterances, so obnoxious to the Ulemas, brought about his death, arrest our attention. The poems of Mutahhar on Firuz Shah's benevolence, his public works, his monuments, his philanthropy, and his expedition and conquests in Bengal, Jājnagar and Thatha deserve more than a passing notice. Even purely religious and theological works such as those on 'Fiqh' (jurisprudence), when closely scrutinized, will yield something of historical interest. There are two voluminous works in O.P.L. Patna, namely Fiqh-i-Firuz Shāhi and Fawāid-i-Firuz Shāhi of which the second was dedicated to Sultan Firuz Tughlaq and the first was edited in Persian, at the instance of the same emperor, from the original Arabic compilation by Maulana Sadruddin Yāqub Guhrāmi. These and even 'Muftāhul[6] Jinān' by Mūjir Wajih Adila and 'Tuhfatun Nasāih', a poem of Yusuf Gadā, both disciples of the celebrated Chisti Saint, H. Nasiruddin Mahmud Chirāg-i-Dehli (d. 757 = 1356), though concerned with the duties and rites and observances of the Muslims, as also Khair-ul-Majālis, containing the discourses of this saintly successor of the famous Nizāmuddin Auliā (d. 725 = 1325) are not devoid of interest to a student of history. Indeed, the mystic literature, produced in such profusion in the fourteenth century, specially by saintly personages of Bihar belonging to the Firdusia order of Sufism gives us a glimpse into the social and religious condition of the times and we can have an idea of the cultural trends of the period from these and also from some other works written in Persian and 'Hindvi' languages.

Nurul Yaqin, or the Diwān of Masud Bak[7] and his other treatises, Mirat-ul-Ārifin and Tamhidāt, patterned after a work of the same name by the famous mystic, Ain-ul-Qazzāt-Hamadāni,[8] are not easily available but some of the poetical pieces of Mutahhar of Karā are before us and it is worth while to consider those which are of historical interest. In a long ode of 'Qasida' praising Firuz Shah Tughlaq "who was distinguished for his skill and wisdom and for his strict observance of the

4. The only copy consulted by the writer belongs to the Asiatic Society Library, Calcutta.

5. Dr. Wahid Mirza of the Lucknow University contributed a learned paper on Mutahhar and the rare copies of his Diwan in Oriental College Magazine, Lahore, May 1935. See also the issue of August 1935.

6. Ethe has noticed it in the Catalogue of India Office Library, London. Yusuf Gada's book has been printed.

7. See Ethe's Catalogue.

8. Admired and quoted frequently by H. Shafuddin Munsi, the celebrated 14th century saint of Bihar.

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Shariat and who reigned as no other king had reigned," the poet writes about his accession, his virtues, his solicitude for the welfare of his subjects. We are told that the Sultan "made it incumbent on himself to follow the rules of justice and display the virtues of generosity and benevolence and he adopted for himself the canon of forbearance tinged with a sense of dignity and prestige." Wherever there was a captive in the country, he was released and countless favours[9] were shown "wherever there were scholarly, pious, saintly and ascetic persons, they were provided with bread, convent (Dair) and money (Dirhem)". He set apart lands and villages for travellers and wayfarer in every quarter of the country. He gave so much allowance and provisions to old and decrepit persons and orphan children that they became affluent." As regards grandees and nobles of the court they also got an increase in their rank and position. Scarcity and famine were banished from the country so much so that the caravans of grain dealers carried bags of grain laden on hundreds of beasts of burden." There was so much safety and security in the country that a lone wayfarer could pass his nights wherever he had to stop." The places where in the recollection of men there had been no cultivation, no well had been ever sunk, and no enclosure had been set up, the barren fields were turned into blossoming gardens, and much was given to the people in accordance with the rules of 'Khums' (1/5th) and 'Ushr' (1/10th of the produce). Today, even in name, nobody can point out any village which is deserted and desolate and in the dry grassless deserts, where neither beasts nor birds lived, he caused so many canals and fountains to be made that in a distance of one 'Kos' there appeared two canals."[10] "He made so many Cāravansarāis, Madrasas (colleges), inns, hospices, mosques, tanks and fortresses that from the river Sindh up to the gate of Delhi the whole country appeared to be full of sown fields, gardens and rest houses, looking like those of paradise." And as Delhi, on account of its highly congested population, had become dirty and had begun to smell badly, he built another populous town on the bank of the Jamuna and named it (Firuzabad) after himself. "There was such a beautiful town that even Māni could not draw the picture of its beauty from the point of his pen." And within the town he constructed a palace round which like so many stars and moon the edifices of nobles and grandees were erected." "There he laid the foundation of a congregational mosque, on the edge of the river Jamuna which, on account of its splendour, looked like a pearl worthy of king." Thereafter a

9. Yahya Sarhundi writes "A general farmān was issued to the various parts of the kingdom granting compassion, favour and education to the subjects." T. M. S. No reference to the release of all prisoners.

10. Mutalhar omits to mention Hospitals. See Afif's T. F. S. and Ferishta for the works of prophetic utility and about the plenty and prosperity in the country under Firuz Shah. Yahya has given an account of the canals in greater details. See Basu's translation. Afif mentions only 2 canals.

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Minār[11] made out of one stone and reaching from the earth to the sky was planted on a platform." Then he set up on the top of the portico of the palace, an hour glass clock (Tās)[12] for marking the time and people could ascertain from that hours and time of prayers and fastings both in the bright day and the dark night." This is a brief account of his generosity and philanthropy and out of thousands of such items, even one cannot be adequately mentioned."

In Qasida (Ode) no. 30 the poet describes his perambulation in the city of Delhi. He first visited the holy sanctuary which contained the mausoleum of H. Nizāmuddin Auliā and refers reverently to the vaulted building and the adjoining streams. Then he mentions other vaulted monuments, the domes and arches of the edifices, looking like stars, the closets of the Sufis and their attendants. Then he turns to the Madrasa building, the like of which was not to be seen either in Hamadān or in Rum or Bulgharia. After loitering round the 'Hauz-i-Khās' he reaches the garden of the Madrasa which was full of green grass and odoriferous plants and flowers such as sweet basils, rose, tulip and fruit-bearing trees like those of pomegranates, oranges, citrons, quince, apples which were produced in such abundance as to be sent elsewhere. The poet writes enthusiastically about the glittering dome, roof, towers, doors, walls, sweet-scented sandal wood and other timber, lime plaster, pavements resembling those of Yemen, Shirāz or Damascus. More important are the following lines "I said this Madrasa and the garden built by the king of the world are such that if you enter them you will see only one type of beauty in thousands. When I got inside that paradise I found a row of angelic scholars. There were very learned men, well-versed in Arabic language and full of Irāqi wisdom and all were clothed in Syrian 'Jubba' (long vest or shirt) and Egyptian 'Dastār' (turban). Everyone was a verity of the age in possessing a variety of accomplishments, and everyone was a source of inspiration of wisdom to the people of the surrounding lands. In the knowledge of 'Fiqh' they rivalled those of Bukhāra and Samarcand and in rhetoric they served as towers of learning to the people of Hejāz, Yemen and Nejed. The chief of that assembly and the Principal of that institution who from the head to foot appeared is a personification of wisdom and dignity.....was the scholar of the age named Jalāluddin whom Rum and Ray claimed as their own with pride. He was an authority on the seven types of the recital of the Qurān and on 14 branches of learning. He was

11. This was the Asokan pillar removed from Topra in Suwalik Hills to Firuz-abad. The stone obelisk was according to Afif, 32 Gaz high (8 Gaz sunk in pedestal) with a gilded copper cupula or Kalas above some ornamental freezes of black and white stone placed round its two Capitals. See *ED*, vol. III p. 350.

12. Afif has also mentioned this Tāo Gheryal which means a plate of brass or bell metal for sounding the 'Glories' of each Pahar or Witch of the day and night—a clock.

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the commentator of the 5 standard groups of ordinances or the traditions of the Prophet and he was the 'Mufti' of the 4 schools of[13] supreme heads of law (Jurists).....I listened to his talks, on the variety of sciences. I derived something from him about Tafsiv (Qurānic commentaries), 'Usul' (principles of jurisprudence) and 'Akhbār' (history). I saw also students engaged in various directions in loud discussion and refutation of each other's points of view. After a time when the hot discussion over controversial questions ceased, the chief of the food servers came in".

No less interesting is the account given of the food served in the Madrasa. We are told 'nearly all the dishes consisted of preparations from the meat of the partridges, young pigeons, large fowls, starlings, fish, fat cocks, hill-bred goat-kids or fawns. They were stuffed with pomegranates, sugar, almonds and were perfumed with fragrant saffron, sandal juice and musk. There were round loafs fried in 'Laiba'[14](?) several cutlets made of almonds, dry and fresh, which were piled up on every side. Indeed a whole spring of dainty dishes had come and saucers like leaves and narcissus-like cups were found all around. The water carriers carried choicest goblets filled with pomegranate juice with a mixture of sweet and sour syrup.....When the assembly of feasting and drinking was over, the table-cloth was wrapped up and the good people withdrew their hands. Then the bearer of the betel leaves came swiftly with betel leaves cases made of gold and silver. The 'Birāhs'[15] were like the 'Sadbarg' flower (hundred petal) and rose and they were pierced on one side by thorns. They were saffron-like in colour, delicious and sweet scented like ambergris and they were oily, jucy, and like a Chafigdish[16] to the cheek."

Our poet now went to the 'Khānqah' (monastery or the religious establishment of the Sufis) which had also vaults, arches and domes. Inside every domed building he saw the 'Qalandars'[17] and ascetic people, who had celibate lives and had renounced the world. They were robed in black or white garment. There were travellers and wayfarers and pilgrims and those used to night vigils. All of them were provided for by the king and everyone was offering thanksgivings to God for the beneficence conferred on them by the king. The poet next

13. Hanafi, Māliki, Shafai, Hanbali.

14. If it could be read as 'Laban' which is an Arabic word for 'milk fricd' would have to be substituted for, soaked or mixed. The line reads as follows:— O Qurs-i-Biryān Ze Laibāo was Digar Arāish-Khist-o-Vozina Taroo-Khusk Behar Su Ambar.'

15. The use of this Hindi word and reference to the thorn being used to hold together betel leaves made up of different ingredients are interesting.

16. The reading is doubtful here the word written looks like 'Tanaggat' or it may be Mangal.

17. A kind of ascetic Darwish who renounces the world, relations and friends and travels about with shaven head and beard.

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turned towards the row (Suffa) of the 'knowers' (Ārifān) and the Sufi saints and their disciples and on the right side he saw a group of 'Haidari' ascetics. They included old and experienced people and bright young men many of whom were widely-travelled. They were black robed and had shining faces because of the spotless lives they led. The Chief of this group was Shaikhul Islam, the pole of the age, named Shaikhzāda Sadruddin, a descendent (grand son on the daughter's side) of the celebrated Suhrawardi saint named H. Bahāuddin Zakaria[18] Muḷtāni. We know that he had been appointed Shaikhul Islam in 753 A.H., the year in which the congregational mosque near the Kushk, and the Madrasa on the bank of Hauzi-Khās were built.

The description of the Khānqah is follwed by that of the Masjid-i-Ādina (congregational mosque) which finds mention in Afif's Tārikh-i-Firuz Shahi and which is now in a deserted and ruined condition in Firuz Shah Ka Kotla. The poet writes in glowing terms about the magnificence of this arched building with 'domes above the domes', 'cupolas above the cupolas', its roofs, its paved flooring, its height, its breadth, the rare carvings on its stones, and the skill shown in its construction. Elsewhere, in a Tarkib-band,[19] devoted to a description of the city of Firuzābād and its buildings, the poet mentions the Masjid-i-Jāma' there and says that there was no similar building either on the side of Khurāsān or Irāq or that of Khitā (China) or Khafehāq. We are told that all the avenues and the passages in the galleries or the balconies were made of alabaster stone and they rested on pillars made of pure marble stones. It had a unique pulpit and its arches were multicoloured. It is a mosque, we read, which has been built on such a plan as to look like that of paradise on earth. Iron, cotton[20](?) lead, agate or coral have been melted and used as mortar and cement under every stone. The domes which raise their heads to the sky are like stars not to be distinguished from the moon. The knowers who have wandered over the various directions of the earth feel strongly tempted to have a look at it. The 'Sunnis' have drawn the sword of the Divine will on its gates so that the wicked licentious people may not disobey the command.

The significance of the last line will be considered later. Here it is worthwhile to notice what the poet says about the Delhi-Siwālik Asokan pillar which was brought by Firuz Shah from Topra at the foot of the Siwālik hills near the Khizrābād, on the Jamuna, and which was set up on the top of a building in what is now known as Firuz Shah Ka

18. See Akhbār-ul-Akhyār for life.

19. A kind of poetic composition.

20. The line reads as follows:—"Ahan-o-Rū,ī-o-Rasās O Shiba (or Shaba) Bugdākhṭa Sud—Zer-i-Har Sang Bamānind-i-Gachh Andākhlā Auḍ."

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Kotla. Mutahhar has already referred to this ' Minār ' and to the ' Tās ' (clock or bell) which was placed on the top of the Darbār of the Kushk (palace or mansion) at Firuzābād to tell the time. Strangely enough, there is no mention in his poem of another Asokan pillar which was removed from Meerath and set up on a ridge to the south of Shah-jahanabad near the ruined building known as Pirgah and was broken to pieces in British time by the explosion of a powder magazine.[21] The poet says about the Firuzabad Minar as follows :—" This sky-high pillar which was made out of one piece of stone goes tapering from the base and becomes narrow at the top. The foot is down below the earth and the top is very high like the seven constellation. Every part below and above is coated with glittering gold. Indeed it looks like a hillock of gold from a distance of 100 leagues. It is resplendent like the sun in the morning .....If you ask me about this Minār which the exalted king brought from a distance as to how and by what means and methods it was done, how it was dug out from its original place, how it was driven out by 500 spades[22] (or carried by 500 oxen) how it was fastened by a heavy chain of 1,000 maunds in weight, how it was floated along the the Nile-like river in 100 boats, how it was planted inside the mosque in the light of 1,000 hanging lamps, I would say, in response to your wishes, that I cannot give the details, more or less, for the life is short and the story is long." Oh God ! how could they raise that hill-like heavy thing and with what was it held so that there was no shaking in it. How did they lift it upwards, and how did they place that which was high as sky on a platform ? How could they manage to make almost the whole of it inscribed in gold so as to look like coloured mornings? It is a standard which the angels have installed on the earth and it is an angelic mansion which the people have imagined to be a hillock. Its base and its stem are carved out of iron and stone[23] and its trunk and its branches (outer parts) have been made out of gold and coral. Whom did God give such power and support as to enable him to dig out a hill from its place and plant it elsewhere ?"

We should not forget that the Diwan of Mutahhar is not a history but a collection of poems and one has to make allowance for poetic hyperboles and exaggerations. Nevertheless, our poet supplies us with information, which, on the whole, finds corroboration in the accounts recorded by contemporary[24] historians. It is interesting to find that some of the lines of Mutahhar in the poems describing the City of Firuzābād and relating to its congregational mosque and also to the

21. See the Archæological Survey Report—old series, vol. II.

22. The line runs thus : Chūn Bekandand Ze Buṇ Rāndo Bado Pānsad Bel (or Bail)-chun Be Bastand Bayak bak Man-i-Zanjir-i-Saqīl.

23. This is the line : Bron-o-Bekhash Ba Hadid-o-Hajar Ampāshta And—Tan-o-Shakh-i-Za-Zar-Sākhta and o Marjān."

24. Afif's Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi, Sirat-i-Firuz Shahi als.

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Minār or pillars have been quoted by the anonymous author of the rare contemporary history in O.P.L., Patna named Sirat-i-Firuz Shāhi, where we get a detailed description, with illustrations, of the engineering feats performed in removing the famous Asokan pillar from such a distance to the newly-built city.

We get some information of a political nature also from the Diwān before us. About the emperor's wars and conquests over Bengal, Orissa, Nagar Kot and Thatha, the poet says :— " Now hear the story of the conquests and the wars which he waged for the sake of faith..... It comes to my mind that in the beginning of the reign he had to fight against some refractory people rather reluctantly[25].....And when he unfurled the banner and started at the head of his cavalry with good omen, the surface of the earth became white with fire and iron and the dust raised by the hoofs of the horses darkened the air. He sent for a letter to the king of the East and limited his demands to the recognition of his allegiance and to the payment of tribute in money and elephants. As the king[26] of the East did not comply with the demand, being proud of his command over the armies and armaments, the king had no alternative left but to move his army across the Ganges to devastate his territories. He drew up his army to fight against the 'Zābit' (ruler) to plunder his lands and also enlisted the support of others, with an army of 10,000 Pāiks and 30,000 horses and elephants he laid the seige and pitched his camp. Within a short time the victorious army of the king drew forth their swords and delivered the assault like the waves of the ocean. Those waves of horse and foot-soldiers trampled the enemy under their foot within a short time. Fifty live elephants were captured in one assault and hundreds of the forces on the other side were laid prostrate on the ground.

Thereafter such was the terror struck by him that his lofty banner was moved from Bihar[27] with a view to making the conquests in Jājnagar. He selected 40,000 out of 90,000 and then he rushed alone, ahead of others, and turned his face towards the deserts without green grass. For two months he continued his advance in forests, caves and hills and he also entered many jungles and dark forests. And then he came

25. Bā Lashkar-i-Muāg Masāf-i-Ba Ār Kard. This was quite in keeping with the pacific disposition of the Sultan.

26. This was Hāji Ilyās who had established himself in the whole of Bengal by 1352 and had followed upto Bewarz and even as far as Bahrāih. The proclamation issued by Firuz in 1353 and recorded in Insha-i-Māhru explains the reason of the invasion. The author of Sirat-i-Firuz Shahi gives another interesting reason. Mutahhar does not mention the second expedition against Sultan Sikandar of Bengal, in 760-61.

27. Yahya Sarhundi writes in Tarikh-i-Mubārak Shahi " After the expiry of the rainy season in the month of Zihyya 761 (Oct.-Nov. 1360) the Emperor moved by way of Bihar to Jajnagar.

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within the environs of the fort of Sehki[28] (Sekhara) and turned towards the place where the unjust infidel resided. Although the Rāi had elephants, horses, and retinue which were countless in numbers, such was the terror of the king that he fled towards[29] the ocean. But the Hindu could find no protection except in the court of the king and therefore, he was forced to entreat for amnesty with a hundred tongues.[30] And whatever he had of gold, and jewels, elephants, and horses, he offered as a blood money of the horse-shoe of the victorious king."

And you have heard of Nagar[31] Kot which has got a fort which was the envy of the sky for its height. At the foot of the hill there is a deep stream running on stony grounds and encircling the fort in 180 different ways. And at the bottom of that stream there are pebbles of stones rolling like the dice of the gambler. In short, when the king resolved to conquer such an impregnable fort, he invaded the land with such a huge army that dust raised by the hoofs of the horses served as collyrium to the eyes of the day. And the men of his army who were as quick as lightening easily crossed that river. Those waters and stones, on account of the hoofs of swift footed horses looked like emitting sometimes flames, sometimes sparks. The king led his army through these narrow paths and brought them up on the hills like so many stars. Such a battle was waged on both sides as to make a history and its fame became wide-spread. At last when the king saw that that fort was very strong and it could not be easily stormed with swords and arrows, he ordered many 'Arradas' (Magazine for revolving wheels) to be laid and many 'Manjaniqs' (Catapults or engines for hurling stones) began to throw Naft (Greek five) which fell like rains from the sky. They threw fire and stones so much that those demon-natured people were practically stoned to death. At length, seeing no alternative, the Rāi bent his head of submission and pleaded his guilt and paid money and tribute.

28. Spelt as Sikra in Elliot and Yahyas book as 'Sanghur' in Ferishta as Sankara in Tabqat-i-Akbari. Some identify it with Sirgooyah which is unlikely. Banaras is said to have been the residence of the Rai of Jajnagar in Surāt-i-Firuz Shahi.

29. "The Rai made her retreat towards Telang" Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi by Yahya Māhru says that after the batch of Sāranggarti the Rai fled from Banarasi to Arkanid.'

30. In Insha-i-Māhru we read that after the subjugation of 'Sivan' the Rai submitted and placing his head on the ground he presented 23 Tūls (Colhe Grin) to H. M. out of 19 betrated elephant the Rai sent 18 that as his uncles and grand-father had already been taken prisoner by H.M.'s men so he should be ever obedient and slave of them. Following the custom of the Hindus he fell flat on the ground and from the forehead to the nail of his feet he threw his entire body on the ground. He then stood out.

31. Yahya simply mention the march from Nagerkot to Thathe but Afif gives greater details and Ferishta, a later authority, consulted some books from which he got interesting information from the library of Jawala Mukhi temple consisting of 1,300 volumes out of which some were translated at the instance of the Sultan into Persian and called 'Dalā,-i-Firuz Shahi' translated by M. Izzuddin Khāni and the other books translated in the name of Firuz Shah included one on Srām, Music (Pingāl Paturbāzi (entertanment by dancers and singers.)

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And among the conquests of the king there was the loss of victory over Thatha by the news of the affairs whereof the whole people had been at first upset....It was such a victory which did not fall to the lot of either Tuhamtan (Rustam) or Sikandar of Rum. The victory was achieved at a place the difficulties and hardships whereof had made the sky bite its finger with its tongue. There was the ocean and the five rivers (of the Punjab) all-around as far as the eyes could see. They had countless boats and innumerable men, everyone of whom was like a wrestler armed with lances. They had armies like ants and snakes and each could, with his arrow, make a target of the eyes of the ants and the ears of the serpents. The king of the world rested for his support, in every expedition that he led, on the help of his creator...He marched at the head of such a force that from the hoofs of the horses the plains were afflicted and the rivers became muddy. He waged everyday a war of plunder and devastation so much so that the territories of the enemy became full of blood. Ultimately, when the inhabitants of that place were in such great troubles and anguish as to disclose their perturbation and they bent down their heads in submission and sought protection from the king, amnesty was granted to them and the king held out hopes of further generosity. Bahbanian[32A] the ruler of Sindh and Rāi and Jām came to the stirrup with all their subjects and grandees.

In a ' Tarkibband ' the poet describes the congratulatory assembly held on the victory in Thatha, Sindh and Multan and gives some information of cultural interest regarding feasts and entertainments, music and dancing. He again refers to the difficulties in fighting in the island like Thatta. He mentions Bahbanian, the ' Safdār of Sindh ', his brother, Rāi Tamāchi[32B] and also Rai Jām, and the powerful and numerous army that they had under their command. The poet tells here also how the king made the situation so hot for them that they were compelled to submit. Unavoidably they allowed the hair of their head and the beard to be tied with cord or string " and were taken in such humiliation to the court of the king. The Sultan was magnanimous enough to hold out his soothing hands to all of them and honoured them by giving them ranks and positions and also horses, rich robes, and other things. The rains of his generosity fell on those captives and all of them were flooded with his gracious favours and benevolence."

32.A.B. Yahya calls him Jām Babiniya ad Afif mentions here as " Jām, brother of Rai Unār, and Balaniya as his brother's son. Yahya says that when the king reached Thethe Jām Babiniya, the ruler of Thathe, took refuge in a place, surrounded by water and fought for some time. Forage and provisions running short, the Sultan had to return into Gupat (which occasioned the jubilant reclamation in Hindi of the people referring to the discomfiture of Md. Tuqhlaq—" Barkat Shaikh Thathe Bhegg, Eik Muā—see Afif). On the Sultan's reappearance Jām Brburiya submitted. According to Afif the son of Jām and Tamāchi, brother of Babiniya, were placed in charge of Thathe.

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Besides the other poems written in praise of the Emperor and one in which his son and successor, Nasiruddin Muhammad Shah, has been eulogized, there are many odes composed in honour of the poet's chief patron, 'Malik-us-Sharq Ainul Mulk (Māhru).' The other nobles whom the poet has praised are 'Malik-us-Sharq Hūsmuddin' who, according to him, had participated in the Jājnagar expedition, his son, 'Malik Shamsul Haque Iran Shah,' Malik Alāuddin, his son Shamsuddin, 'Malik-us-Sharq Nizāmul Mulk'. We need not consider these as also the casual notices which Mutahhar takes, in other poems, of Firuz's eastern as Thatha expedition and his beneficent activities and now turn to Fiqh-i-Firuz Shahi, a work on civil and ecclesiastical law, already referred to above. The anonymous editor who has revised and enlarged the original Arabic text, at the request of the Sultan, eulogises the latter for his religiosity and piety and determination to act according to the 'Shariat' (canon law) and practices of the Prophet, and rules of the faith as interpreted and formulated in the light of the 'Fatwas' (judicial decrees) of the 'honest Ulamas' and the pronouncements of the 'extremely cautious' Fuqahās (Jurists). Some of the current traditions, as recorded in this work, in the form of questions and answers, when closely examined, will be found to be very helpful to a student of history. One of the controversial questions was the right of the people to rise in revolt and fight against a bad and oppressive ruler. The influence of Ibn-i-Taimiyya,[33] a noted externalist scholar (d. 728=1328), who was not prepared to justify the rising of the Prophet's grandson, Imām Husain, the martyr of Karbala against such a ruler as Yazid or the reaction against what had happened more recently in the time of Firuz Shah's cousin and predecessor, Muhammad-bin-Tughlaq, reveals itself in the following questions and answers. *Q.* 1. If a group of Muslims threw off the yoke of the king, and using force and gaining strength 'established themselves in a city, and when questioned about this revolt, said that the king was tyrannical and had committed oppression on them and other creatures, does the 'Shara' require the king to abstain from oppression and do justice. *A.* It behoves the king to do that. *Q.* 2. When the people do not support the rebels for it is not conformable to 'Shara' to rise against a ruler and

33. Taqiuddin Abul Abbas Ahmad bin Abdul Halim, a famous Hambali theologian and jurist who became a Professor of Hanbali Law at 20 in 681—1282 and had to suffer from imprisonment and loss of employment several times during the course of his chequered existence. It is significant that he was a bitter enemy of innovation (Bid'ā) and was uncomprising in his denunciation of the cult of saints and visitation of tombs and shrines. An inveterate anthropomorphist, he interpreted literally the passage in the Qurān and the tradition referring to the Deity. He combated such sects of the Muslims as Rāfzis or Shiis, Kharjits, Muatazilits or the rationalists etc. Though an extremely orthodox Sunni he differed from the Asharites in the explanation of the Doctrine of Qad'or Pre-destination. One of the features of the Tughlaq times, specially in the days of Firuz Shah, which would be considered in the second instalment, was the conflict between the thoughts of the mystic and the legists. It would suffice to suggest here that the Sufis were more prone to move with the times than the Ulamas and the Jurists.

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it behoves the people to support the king, would it not be countenancing oppression in doing so? *A.* No. *Q.* 3. If the people who have risen against the king justify their action not because of his oppressive action but because they consider themselves to be on the right side, are possessed of power and dignity, and claim the kingdom and the territories, would the 'Shara' treat them as rebels or not? *A.* It would treat them as so. *Q.* 4. When such people, in these circumstances, become rebels but have power and dignity, is it conformable to 'Shara' for the king to wage war against them, and is it incumbent on the people to support the king, and kill the rebels so that their mischiefs are ended? *A.* Yes it should be so. *Q.* 5. When these people are declared rebels and they are killed, is it conformable to 'Shara' that they be bathed and buried and prayers are offered to their souls? *A.* No. These few extracts will suffice to show that the Ulama of the age belonged to a group of loyalists and they would not countenance any armed revolt against an established king, however bad and oppressive his rule might be. The main reason actuating such decisions was perhaps the fear to cause disruption among the Muslims.

There is a section on 'Kharāj' and 'Jazya'. One of the questions was about Bait-ul-Māl or the public treasury or exchequer into which payments were made, and according to the sources from which they were derived, they were applicable to different items of expenditure. In answer 4 types are enumerated, namely (1) Bait-ul-Māl Ghanā'im (or war booty) of which one section is 'Madfun' (reserved) and the other is 'Masruf' (current); (2) Bait-ul-Māl-i-Sadaqāt (charities), that is Zakāt to be spent on the poor and the destitutes; (3) Bait-ul-Māl-Khirāj-o-Jazya-o-Ushr' (land revenue, capitation tax, and tithes) to be spent on holy wars; (4) Bait-ul-Māl-i-Amwāl-i-Zāi,ā' (lost or unclaimed property vested in government) such as heirless legacies to be spent on repairing and restoring buildings which have fallen in ruins and other such things. We do not know if such a division was within the domain of abstract theory or it was based on actual facts. But as Firuz Shah is known to have tried to act up to the Divine law as interpreted and developed by the Jurists, the following extracts throwing some light on the position of the non-Muslim subjects are not without some interest to us. *Q.* 1. In which of the 'Bait-ul-Māls' the 'Jazya' taxes from 'Zimmis' is to be deposited? *A.* 'Bait-ul-Māl-i-Kharāj'. *Q.* 2. If Kharāji land comes into possession of Muslims or infidels, big or small, slaves or emancipated, slaves licensed or restricted, men or women, would it be incumbent upon them to pay the Kharāj (land tax)? *A.* Yes. *Q.* 3. If a Muslim king captures the town of the infidels and is in a position to kill them who had fought against the Muslims, make their children slaves, and distribute their lands on the warriors, does the law allow that king to show favours, spare their lives and restore their lands and properties by deducting the

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amount of 'Kharāj' and Jazya? *A*. It does. *Q*. 4. Is it obligatory on the 'Zimmis' (protected non-Muslims) to pay the Kharāj on their residential houses? *A*. No. *Q*. 5. If a Zimmi brings a watse land into cultivation would he, in law, become its owner? *A*. Yes. *Q*. 6. If a Zimmi who has made the lands adjoining his house into gardens and cultivated fields by irrigating them from the 'Ushri' water, would the law require him to pay Kharāj or 'Ushr' *A*. Ushr. *Q*. 7. If a Muslim king thought it expedient to send a group of Zimmis from one town to another, would the lands in the other town be treated as 'Kharāj or not'? *A*. It would be so treated. *Q*. 8. If a group of Kharāj paying people fled and left their lands, and the king settles their lands in 'Muqātia' with others and deposits the proceeds thereof in Bait-ul-Māl, is that action conformable to law? *A*. Yes.

The other extracts, taken at random, are no less interesting. (1) If the Muslim soldiers take some people captive in 'Dār-ul-Harb' (a country where Islam does not prevail) and want to cut off their ears and noses and then kill them, would it be conformable to law? *A*. No. (2) If a Muslim whose parents include a Muslim and an infidel wants to join a holy war and he or she who is an infidel denies him the permission out of affection for the son, is the latter allowed by 'Shara' to embark on the war in the fact of that opposition? *A*. No. *Q*. 2. If both father and mother are infidels and they deny the permission for fear of the fight against the infidels, is the son authorised in law to disregard such denial and embark on the war? *A*. It is of no consequence (Bāka Nīst). *Q*. 3. If a Muslim had non-Muslim Zimmi parents, is he allowed to turn them out of his house? *A*. No. *Q*. 4. If a Zimmi purchases (ransoms) his captive brother, sister or aunts, would they be treated, in law, as free? *A*. Yes. *Q*. 5. If a Zimmi falls ill, and a Musalman goes out to visit the sick, is he allowed to do so? *A*. Yes. *Q*. 5. If a Muslim commits the murder of a Zimmi, what would be the amount of the 'Diyat' (retaliatory fine) of that Zimmi? *A*. It would be equal to the 'Diyat', of a Muslim. *Q*. 6. If a Zimmi builds an idol temple in one of the towns of the Musalmans, which is a place distinguished for the observance of Islamic rites, does the 'Shara' require that ruler and Muslims there to forbid him to erect such a temple? *A*. Yes. *Q*. 7. If an old idol temple has fallen in ruins and the Zimmis want to re-erect the building there, will the 'Shara' allow them to do so? *A*. Yes. *Q*. 8. If the Zimmis have ancient idol temples in certain villages, does the 'Shara' permit the Musulmans to damage or demolish those temples? *A*. No. *Q*. 9. And if the Zimmis want to errect idol temples in those villages which have come into the possession of the Musulmans, can the latter forbid the former to do so? *A*. They can. *Q*. 10. If the Zimmis enquire from the Muslims about the path leading

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to the idol temple, does it behove the Muslims to show that path? *A*. No. *Q*. 11. If a Muslim and a Zimmi bring complaints against each other, who would have a preference? *A*. The Muslim. *Q*. 12. If a Muslim is indebted to a Zimmi, say to the extent of 100 Dirhams, and that Muslim practises procrastination in the payment of his debts, does the 'Shara' permit the creditor Zimmi to imprison the debtor Muslim? *A*. Yes.

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HAD BUKKA A MUSLIM SON?

Shri P. B. Desai

In his book, *Origin of the City and the Empire of Vijayanagara*, published in 1933 by the University of Madras, Dr. N. Venkataramanayya has propounded questionable theories concerning the origin of Vijayanagara. They deserve to be subjected to searching scrutiny by scholars interested in historical research. One such is the assertion that Bukka I, the second ruler of the first dynasty of Vijayanagara, had a Muhammadan Son. The passage containing this aspersion runs as follows (p. 96 n.):

> "It is interesting to note that Bukka I, the younger brother of Harihara, had a Muhammadan son. An imperfectly dated inscription from Śimōga (Ci. 65) mentions Gengu Salār, son of Bukkaṇa Voḍeyar. The date of the inscription as engraved is *Śakavarsha sahasrada Vikramavarshada*. The expression *sahasrada* means 'one thousand': and it is evident that the engraver had omitted something after 'and'. Bl. 3, dated about 1397, refers to the rebuilding of the *gopura* at Bēlūr which Ganga Salār, the Turuka of Kallubarage had come and burnt. The Ganga Salār mentioned in Bl. 3, appears to be the same as Ganga Salār of Ci.65, for the names of the two persons agree; and they lived about the same time. It is not unlikely that Bukkaṇa Voḍeyar had a son who was a Muhammadan."

It is unfortunate that this thesis has remained almost unchallenged all these years. Recently, while reinvestigating the problem relating to the beginning of Vijayanagara, my attention was riveted on this queer plea and curiosity induced me to go to the original sources alleged to support the proposition.

The method adopted by the learned author to drive at his contention is remarkable. He starts with a categorical announcement regarding the existence of a Muhammadan son. Ever at once this creates an impression that it is an approved fact. Next, an attempt is made to cite some evidence in support of this theory. This is followed by a showdown statement of probability. All this is unfair in true historical research.

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Now, let us examine the contents of the inscriptions mentioned as evidence in the above thesis. We have nothing to say about Bēlūr 3 (*EC*, vol. V, part I) which belongs to the regnal period of Harihara II. This describes the renovation of the *gōpura* of the Chennakeśava temple at Belūr, said to have been destroyed during the raid of Turuka Ganga Śalāra of Kallubarage. This Ganga Śalāra (correctly, Sālār) was, most probably, a general under the Bahamani rulers as suggested by his epithet Sālār which means in Persian a ' leader '.

But the real trouble centres round the second inscription (*EC*, vol. VII, Channagiri 65), which has been wrongly read and erroneously interpreted. This is an epigraph on a memorial stone purporting to record the death of a hero and the circumstances connected with this event. The hero was Hiriya Nāgeya Nāyaka who fought on the side of Ganga Selāra. In appreciation of this brave deed, Aḍapada Nāge Nāyaka, younger brother of the deceased, received as a posthumous reward in the form of *nettarukoḍagi* (*i.e.*, reward for the sacrifice of life), gift of the village Bankekere from the *Nāḍu Taḷavāra* (Guard of the Region) Yere Permeya Nāyaka. According to the information in the early part of the inscription, the hero's demise took place in the course of an attack launched against Seṭṭihaḷḷi-paṭṭaṇa by Ganga Selāra, son of Bakkaṇa Voḍeyar. Originally there seems to have been engraved an expression to qualify Bakkaṇa Voḍeyar ; but it is damaged and lost. The gift village Bankekere must be identical with Bankīkere where the inscription was found.

The epigraph under reference belongs to a category of inscriptions found in large numbers in the Karnāṭak areas, familiarly called the hero-stones. They usually describe the fights of warriors who participated in the raids of one local chief against another and laid down their lives. Such records are more common in the period preceding the age of Vijayanagara. The event described in this epigraph is connected with a local fight as seen from the details and has nothing to do with an alien invasion.

The inscription bears a date ; but it is not correctly engraved. The Śaka year conflicts with the cyclic year cited. The cyclic year Vikrama corresponded with Śaka 1022 and not with Śaka 1000. But such discrepancies are not uncommon in epigraphic records. Taking into consideration the relevant factors, A.D. 1100 suggested as the date of the record by Rice, does not appear to be far beside the mark. Thus there is no justification for pushing the date of the present epigraph to the end of the 14th century and tagging it on with the Bēlūr record, as the learned author has done just to suit his imagination.

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Further, it is a palpable error to identify Ganga Śalāra of Bēlūr 3 with Ganga Selāra of Channagiri 65. Whereas the epithet *Śalāra* of the former chief must be the Persian *Sālār* as determined by the context, *Selāra* of the latter appears to be either an appellation or a family title. This may be compared with Silāra, Seḷara and other variants of Śilāhāra, met with in inscriptions.[1] Mere similarity in names is misleading and in the absence of other cogent evidence, it is risky to base one's conclusions on such a shaky foundation.

The greatest pitfall in the above argument is the confusion made by the learned author between Bakkaṇa Voḍeyar and Bukkaṇa Voḍeyar. No sane scholar would commit such a grave blunder. Explanation is unnecessary to demonstrate that the two are different and apart. Assuming for a moment that Bakkaṇa Voḍeyar is the same as Bukkaṇa Voḍeyar, it would be sheer height of ignorance to connect the latter with the Vijayanagara ruler who would hardly have been introduced in such an unceremonious manner without his regal titles.

It becomes thus clear from the above scrutiny that there is not an iota of evidence to postulate the existence of a Muhammadan son of the Vijayanagara king Bukka I. The learned historian of the *Origin of Vijayanagara* has, in his enthusiasm to display originality, not only travestied the historical facts, but also landed himself into a riduculous position by advancing highly reprehensible views on a most solemn subject.

1. *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. I, part II, pp. 256 and 536.

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A NEW COPPERPLATE INSCRIPTION OF VIJAYANAGARA KING ACHYUTA RAYA

Shri A. V. Ramabrahmam

I. *History of the Plate* :

This new copperplate inscription of Achyuta Raya is found in the Museum of the Andhra Historical Research Society, Rajahmundry.* Its scale is 2 inches by 2 inches and contains marks of Surya and Chandra with a round hole in the middle. Its size is 14½″ in length and 7½″ in breadth. The inscription is engraved on both sides of the plate. It consists of 41 lines on the outer side and 25 lines on the inner. The *modus operandi* of the Epigraphic writing denotes the type of Telugu dialect as it was in vogue during that period. For the expression of synonyms for the villages mentioned in the inscription and for the purpose of attestation Nandinagari and Telugu scripts were also used.

II. *Language and Alphabet* :

The scribe is very careless in his writing. The script used is Telugu and Sanskrit. The writing is very careless and faulty. The language is Telugu with admixture of Sanskrit.

III. *Subject-matter of the Inscription* :

The inscription contained in the copperplate relates to the grant of two villages by Achyuta Raya who ruled Vijayanagar from 1530-1542 A.D. to two persons by name Muddappa and Kondappa in the year 1534 (Saka 1456). The grant made was by nature a gift by sale which is unique. The transaction involved not only a grant but also a sale in as much as there was consideratin to the Raya in executing the document, of 110 Varahas which he received from the grantees. The villages granted were Alamur and Vyoleru. The recital of the grant denotes an aspect of administration of the Vijaya Nagara Empire at the time. It also shows the business-like care of the Emperor in having taken money from private persons for such official transactions.

*The Honorary General Secretary of the Andhra Historical Research Society, Rajahmundry, Professor R. Subbarao, M.A., L.T., M.E.S. (Retd.) has kindly given it to me and also helped me in preparing this article.

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Text of the Inscription

(*First Side*)

OM ! Śubhamastu / Avighnamastu / Ālamūruku Pratināma /
maina..... Vyôlêruku Pratināma maina /
..... OM Svasti Śri Vijayābhyudaya Śālivāha /
Na Śaka Varushambulunjā & Yêndlu Agu Nêti Vijaya Samvva /
charam Śrāvana Śu Lu Śrimān Mahā Rājādhi Rāja Rāja Paramê /
śwara Śri Veera Pratāpa Veera Achyuta Rāya Dêva Mahā Rāya laiyya /
Vāru Narapati Simhāsanam Vidyānagaramandu Ratna Simhāsanārū /
dhulai Prithhvī Sāmbrajyam chêyuchum Nundadda gamnnu
Kavundyim /
Nyasa gôthram Āpastambba Sūtram Yejuśśākhādhyayu laina Śrima /
Tuka Ipappeddi Jôśyula Pautrunḍḍu Mallappa putrunḍḍu Muddappa /
Ku Kavundyimnyasa gôtaram Kātyāyana sūtram Śukla Yejuśśākha /
dyyayulaina Poulaṭi Yallappa Pautruḍḍu Ramarusu Putrunḍḍu /
Konddappa Sri Putra Jnāti Sāmamttadyadya Sahā Grāma
madhyamam /
ddu Pūrvāhnamanddu Kūrchundi Vappi Yichhina Krayadana Śāsana /
Patra Krama Meṭlamnnanu mêmu mā yavasara nimityainaimīceta /
Nêmu Pucchukomnna Rokham Kalaparivartta Kanaku cella
cellubaḍi pri /
ya Śrāhi ghaṭṭi Pakṣimudramalluga ΛΛΟ Akṣarāla Ive Nūta Padi
Varahā /
lu Puchukoni Svasti Śri Vidyā Nagaram Tūrpuvākitiki cellehôradurg /
am Jagjatapi Gutti Ki cella muntti madugu Peṭhaku celle
kūḍeṭi valitānaku /
Celle dombbali Kaumalipalleku Pratināmamaina Lakshmi
Nārasumhma Puram Gramama/
amddu māku kala yêka satvamsṭhala Karnika Svathsam
Kavundim Nyasa Gôtram Ka /
Tsāyana Sūtram Sukla Yejuśśākhadhyayulaina Mādāyādi
Paulaṭi Nagappa /
Kumārudu Timmappa Amaśānaku Pôgā, Mā Amaśānaku Vachina Rem/
ḍḍu Grāmālluku Vivaram. Swasti Sri Vidyanagaram Turpuvākiṭi
cellehô /
Radurgam Jagatāpi Guttiki celle Kanagānipalle Peṭhaku celle Sanḍda
Vanaviki /
Paschimabhagamandu Ālamuru Vyôlêru i Rendu
grāmālamanddalimnni /
Bharatanirnayam Grāmôtpannamaina dvādaśi samkhya catuppalu
mūdu pradhama /
Catuṣṭamandu dvitīya vritti Ālamūru Vyôlerū i Rendu gramā lamdda
limnni Mā /

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Kukala Yêka Satvamthyala Karnika Svouṭṭham Meeku
Krayadanamgga Ichinā /
Ram Ikarnika Svaṭsṭhaluku Vachina Nidhi Nikeṣapa Jala Pāṣana
Ākṣina Āgāmi Siddha /
Sādhambulaguanēti Aṣṭa Bhôga Tejasvammayai talumnnu Mī Sri
Putra Jnā /
ti Samam ttadāyadya anubhavamavunattu gamnu mī putra pautrapara/
am Paryāmgānnu Āchandrārkadhyimganu Anubhavimppa galavāru. I/
Krayadānanāku Purvakraya bādhadulu lêvu Aparakraya bādha /
dulu Kalpinchagalavarām kāmu. Idāni Śri Putra
Jnāti Samamttadāya /
dya sammatamga Nênu Nā Svana Ruchina, Vappi Ichina Krayadāna
Śāsana Patram /
I Krayadāna Śāsana Patrānaku Sākṣulu-ciṭyāla Hanumam /
tabhaṭṭla Kumārudu Nāgambhaṭṭumnnu—Samudrāla Bhimā Bhaṭṭa /
Kumārudu Omnnubhayamnnu—Sagaram Veerappa Komarudu /
Virupājamnni Kuruguntta Ṣtala Karanam Nāgappa Komārudu,
Lakṣumarusunnu, Poticheruvu Ṣtala Karanam Pālacharla Lakṣuma /

Second Side

Yakomārudu Yellamarusunnu, Tala pulicā /
Mena Bhatlam Kōmarudu Aoubhaḷa Bhaṭlunnu Maddi /
Gubba Ṣtala Karanam Nāgappa Komarudu Nagarusum /
NNu Ālamūru Venkatadribhaṭla Komarudu cem /
nnubhaṭlumnu, Môrataṭi yajamānyudu Śanaghavaram /
Ganggādharabhaṭla Kōmārudu Lakṣumanabhatumnnu /
Maddigubba Viswanadhabhaṭla Kumārudu cemnnu bhaṭumnnu /
Bommepartti Narasambhaṭla Kumārudu Narasambhattumnnu /
Veerala sammati Palati Yalalppa Poutrunḍu Ramaru /
Suputrunḍu Konḍappa Vrasina Svahastapu Vrala Krayadāna Śā /
sana patram Dāyādi Sammati Vralu..... ..... /
.....Sakṣula Vappitālu..... /
.....Ātlamūru Cenubhaṭla Sakṣivrālu..... /
.....
.....
.....
Patra ṭhsuni sammatina dāyādi sammatina sakṣula sam /
mmatina Ālamūrugrāma Agasāla Bhutam cina Nagoju Ko /
Mārudu Nagoju cekkina Kraya dāna Śāsana Patramu.

TRANSLATION

May good happen ! May obstacles disappear ! On the victorious Śālivāhana Śaka year 1456 corresponding to the day of the year Vijaya, Śrāvana Śuddha, Vidiya, Śrīman Mahā Rājādhi Rāja Rāja Paramêśwara

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Śrī Veera Pratapa Veera Achyuta Raya Dêva Mahārāyala Ayyavaru, sitting on the throne is laid with precious stones, in the fore-noon at Vidya Nagaram and reigning over the earth in his Imperial Majesty agrees to execute the following "KRAYA DĀNA ŚĀSANA PATRA-MU" (Regal document conferring Gift by Sale) to (1) Muddappa, belonging to Kaundinyasa Gôtram, Apastamba Sūtram, Yejuśśākha the grand son of Ipapeddi Jôsulu and son of Mallappa and (2) to another Koṇḍappa belonging to Kaunḍinyasa Gôtram, Kātyāyana Sutram, Śukla Yejuśśākha, grand-son of Paulati Yellappa and son of Ramarusu. As we have taken from you hard cash of 110 varahas (one hundred and ten varahas only) to meet our urgent requirements Lakshmi Narasimhapuram village, a synonym for Kaumalipalli in which the share belonging to us after separating the item belonging to Timmappa, a co-heir of ours, and who was the son of Paulati Nagappa and of the Kavuṇḍinyasa Gôtram and Śukla Yejuśśākha.

Details of the Two Villages Covered by the Grant

Ālamūru and Vyôlêru in their entirety—decided as if by Bharata for grant. Out of the 12 divisions of the village of Lakshmi Narasumhapuram again subdivided into three portions of four divisions each, and that in respect of the villages of Ālamūru and Vyôlêru situated in the second division of the first portion, we alienate all our rights as Krayadanam (gift by sale). From this time onwards you are entitled to enjoy all the benefits accruing therefrom in the present and future including the treasure troves, water, rocks, trees etc., together with your sons and grand sons for all time to come, that is as long as sun and moon exist. Further there are no difficulties which tend to render the document invalid either in the period preceding the transaction nor we would frustrate or circumvent the grant by creating impediments in future. This is given under my seal and signature and with my full consent and for proper consideration.

This was attested by eleven persons. The writer of the document was Kondappa who is one of the grantees. This was engraved by a gold-smith from Ālamūr by name Nagoji.

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JASRAT KHOKHAR

Dr. K. S. Lal

Of the many trouble shooters who arose in the wake of Timur's catastrophic invasion of Hindustan, Jasrat Khokhar proved to be an unmitigated menace to the Sultanate of Delhi throughout the reigns of Mubarak Shah (A.D. 1421-1434) and his successor Muhammad Shah (A.D. 1434-1445). He also provides a specimen of the numerous reckless adventurers who harried the land during the first-half of the fifteenth century.

Jasrat was the brother[1] of Shaikha Khokhar. Shaikha was a chief of the Khokhar tribe,[2] and was the master of the country-side between the Ravi and the Chenab. When Amir Timur was marching through southern Punjab (A.D. 1398) on his way to Delhi, Jasrat Khokhar was courageous enough to fight the conqueror between Tulamba and Dipalpur. He was, however, worsted and with great difficulty escaped to his brother.[3] Taking advantage of the confusion created by

1. *Tarikh-i-Ferishtah*, Nawal Kishore Press, Lucknow, text (hereafter abbreviated as Ferishtah), vol. I, p. 156 says that Jasrat was the brother of Shaikha Khokhar. So says Sharafuddin in the *Zafarnamah*. Yahya in his *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shai*, Bib. Ind. Text (hereafter abbreviated as *TMS*, p. 193 has 'Jasrat Shaikha Khokhar'. Badaoni in his *Mutakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, Bib. Ind. Text (hereafter as Badaoni), vol. I, p. 289 mistakingly calls him the son of Shaikha Khokhar.

2. Ferishtah, vol. I, p. 156 ff. makes the mistake of calling Jarat a Gakhkhar. The Khokhars, the Gakhkhars and the Kakars are generally confounded with one another, but these are three different tribes. The Khokhars are of indigenous origin and belong to the race of foreign invaders who came to India prior to Muslim conquest. They live on both sides of the Jhelum, from Mianwali to Jhang-Maghiana, and chiefly in the Shahpur district of the Punjab. In the fifteenth century they were in great strength in the region between Chenab and Ravi in northern Punjab extending upto the Kashmir hill tracts. The Khokhars are split up into Muslim, Rajput and Jat sections.

The Gakhkhars, who claim a Persian origin, belong to one of the invading races of India. They live in Attock, Jhelum and Rawalpindi districts in the Punjab; Hazara district in the N.W.F. region and Jammu region west of the Chenab.

The Kakars are Afghans and inhabit northern Baluchistan. The Gakhkhars and Kakars are Muhammadans.

Ain-i-Akbari, vol. I, pp. 456, 486.

Gakkhars in *Encyclopædia of Islam*, Luzac & Co., London, *Punjab Census Report*, 1881, 149.

Punjab District Gazetteers on Attock, Shahpur and Rawalpindi; *IHQ*, vol. XV, 1939, p. 49n.; *JASB*, vol. XL, 1871, pt. I, p. 67.

3. Yazdi, *Zafarnamah*, II, 57; *Mulfuzat-i-Timuri*, *ED*, vol. III, p. 416; Mir Khwand, *Rausat-us-Safa*, Bombay text, VI, 105.

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Timur's invasion Shaikha Khokhar occupied Lahore, and was later killed by the conqueror's grandson Pir Muhammad on account of his "treachery."[4] Jasrat was taken prisoner and carried away to Samarqand. After some years he effected his escape.[5] Returning to his home land he contrived to resume the leadership of his tribe, and entrenched himself in the Khokhar stronghold of Sialkot.[6] For some time he waited and watched the developments in the country, and when an opportunity presented itself, he plunged himself into the whirlpool of its politics.

It had so happened that Sultan Ali Shah of Kashmir, successor to Sikandar the iconoclast, while going to pay a visit to his father-in-law, the Raja of Jammu, had left the administration in the hands of his brother Shahi Khan. When he returned after some time, Shahi Khan refused to acknowledge him. Thereupon, Ali Shah with the help of the Rajas of Jammu and Rajouri defeated and expelled his brother from Srinagar. At this Shahi Khan sought the help of Jasrat Khokhar. They defeated Ali Shah in Jamadi-ul-Avval 823 H (May-June, 1420 A.D.),[7] and with Jasrat's help Shahi Khan ascended the throne of Kashmir as Zainul Abidin.[8]

This success of Jasrat Khokhar had earned him a large booty captured in the Kashmir war and the friendship of its new king. A year later the death of Khizr Khan and the chaotic state of the Sultanate encouraged Jasrat to formulate schemes of conquering Delhi.[9] In return for his debt of gratitude, Zainul Abidin actively helped Jasrat in his plans with men and money.[10] Finding Jasrat Khokhar's position thus greatly strengthened, Tughan Rai who had been relieved of Jalandhar during his last revolt in Khizr Khan's time and had escaped into the Khokhar country, also joined the standard of Jasrat.[11]

Immediately after the death of Khizr Khan, Jasrat began to harry the Punjab, in Jamadi-ul-Avval 824H (May, 1421 A.D.). Starting from Sialkot he crossed the Ravi and the Beas and fell upon Rai Firoz Main, Governor of Ludhiana, at Talwandi.[12] Getting a free hand, Jasrat ravaged the country from Ludhiana to Rupar along the southern

4. *ZN.*, vol. II, p. 171 ; Ferishta, vol. I, p. 159.
5. *JASB.*, vol. XL, 1871, pt. I, p. 80.
6. Ferishta, vol. I, p. 163 ; vol. II, p. 364. Also Briggs, vol. IV, pp. 467-69.
7. *TMS*, p. 194.
8. Badaoni, Ranking, vol. I, pp. 381-83 ; Ferishtah, vol. p. 163 ; *AT.* De, p 300.
9. *TMS*, pp. 193-94. Ferishtah, vol. I, p. 163 ; *Tabqat-i-Akbari*, Bib. Ind. De p. 300.
10. Ferishta, vol. II, p. 342 ; Briggs, vol. IV, p. 469.
11. *TMS*, p. 191.
12. Talwandi is situated 20 miles S. W. of Ludhiana. It seems to be a corrupted form of village Tuluœ on the north bank of the Sutlej. Rennel's map facing p. 65 and Badaoni, Ranking, vol. I, p. 382n.

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bank of the Sutlej, and then crossing the river arrived at Jalandhar. After Tughan Rai's last rebellion Jalandhar had been placed in the charge of Zirak Khan. Invested and hard-pressed Zirak agreed to the terms advanced by Jasrat Khokhar,[13] but when he came out of the fort he was treacherously imprisoned by the Khokhar chief and carried off to Ludhiana. Jasrat left Ludhiana on the 20th Jamadi-ul-Akhir (June 22, 1421) and arrived in Sirhind,[14] which was held by Sultan Shah Lodi on behalf of the Sultanate of Delhi. Jasrat laid siege to the fort, but because of the rainy season he could not take it. This gave time to Sultan Shah to appeal to Delhi.

The request of Sultan Shah for succour lashed the newly crowned Mubarak Shah into action, and in spite of the rains he started for Sirhind in Rajjab 824H. (July, 1421 A.D.).[15] He had only reached Kohila[16] near Samanah, when Jasrat raised the siege of Sirhind on 27th Rajjab 824H. (Monday, 28th July, 1421 A.D.) and fell back on Ludhiana. There he released Zirak Khan, or the latter managed to contrive his escape.[17] Zirak joined the Sultan at Samanah who now marched towards Ludhiana. On arrival there he found that Jasrat had crossed over to the northern side of the Sutlej. Due to the swelling river an engagement was postponed, and the two adversaries marched towards Rupar on the opposite banks of the river, each keeping a watch over the movements of the other. Mubarak Shah moved to Qabulpur, and Jasrat on the other bank also kept pace with him. On 11th Shawwal (Thursday, 9th October)[18] Mubarak Shah detached an advance party headed by Malik Sikandar Tuhfa, Zirak Khan and other Amirs with six elephants and ordered it to march ahead, cross the river at a convenient place and deliver a surprise attack at the enemy. They marched during the night and early in the morning forded the river at Rupar.[19] Jasrat was taken by complete surprise, and when the sultan, who had also forded the river a little later, advanced upon him Jasrat fled pell-mell, without even making a show of resistance.[20] The Sultan pursued the enemy, killed many of his men and captured his equippage. Jasrat fled by night to Jalandhar and then crossed the Beas and later the Ravi closely pursued by the king. The Khokhar chief then crossed the Chenab and

13. *TMS*, pp. 194-195.

14. Sirhind or Fatehgarh is in 30° 88′ N and 76° 27′ E. The spelling Sirhind is modern. Sirhind means Lion-Forest, but one tradition assigns its foundation to Sahir Rao, a ruler of Lahore. *Imp. Gaz., Punjab*, vol. II, p. 309.

15. *TMS*, p. 195.

16. Kohila may be identified with modern Koi or Khoi a village 48 miles south of Ludhiana. Samana too is 17 miles S. W. of Patiala too.

17. *TMS*, p. 196 and Badaoni, Ranking, vol. I, p. 382, say that he was released. Ferishta, vol. I, p. 163 says that he escaped. *TA*, De only says that he joined the Sultan.

18. *TMS*, p. 196 ; Ferishta, vol. I, p. 164.

19. *Ibid.*, also T.A. De, p. 301.

20. *TMS*, p. 196.

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entered into Tilhar or Tikhar[21] region situated in the Kashmir hill tracts. Mubarak Shah continued the chase in which he was actively helped by Rai Bhim of Jammu, an old enemy of Jasrat.[22] The Rai himself went across the Chenab and destroyed Tilhar which was Jasrat's strongest place of refuge, but Jasrat had escaped. Laden with booty and convinced of the futility of a wild goose chase, the Sultan returned to Delhi *via* Lahore in Muharram 825 H. (Dec., 1421-Jan. 1422 A.D.).

No sooner than Mubarak Shah had moved out of the Punjab, Jasrat Khokhar bestirred himself once again. With the help of local Zamindars he collected a large force, crossed the Chenab and the Ravi, and stood before Lahore in Jamadiul Akhir (May 1422).[23] He attacked the city twice, but on both the occasions was worsted by its governor Malik Mahmud Hasan. Finding his position none the better, Jasrat retired to Kalanor, situated 17 miles west of Gurdaspur town. Rai Bhim, who was marching to the aid of Mahmud Hasan, attacked Jasrat at Kalanor, but the latter succeeded in retreating towards the Beas (in Ramzan, August-September, 1422). Meanwhile Mubarak Shah had despatched Sikandar Tuhfa to join Mahmud Hasan. Sikandar forded the Satluj at Buhi and drove Jasrat beyond Beas and Ravi back into the hills of Tilhar.[24] Malik Sikandar arrived in Lahore on 12th Shawwal 825H. (29th September, 1422 A.D.) and in company with Malik Rajjab Nadira governor of Dipalpur,[25] Malik Sultan Shah Lodi Governor of Sirhind and Rai Firoz entered the Jammu territory. Rai Bhim joined them there and they combed the area of Chenab, but Jasrat was nowhere to be found. Thinking pursuit of no avail in that difficult terrain, the royalists returned to Lahore.

Jasrat kept quiet for some time. This made the royal commanders complacent. All of a sudden the Khokhar rebel attacked Rai Bhim in Jamadi-ul-Avval 826 H (April, 1423 A.D.), ravaged his countryside and killed him in battle. He obtained large quantities of arms and treasures belonging to the Raja, enrolled ten to twelve thousand horse and foot with it, and began to ravage the districts of Dipalpur and Lahore. Sikandar Tuhfa, the new governor of Lahore, marched out to meet him, crossed the Chenab in his pursuit, but then had returned as usual.

21. *TMS*, p. 197 has Tikhar. Elliot's Mss. also had the same, *ED*, vol. IV, p. 56. Badaoni has Talhar and in a note Ranking adds (p. 383) that it is " in the Kashmir hill tracts. " Ferishtah calls it Bisal. Bisal or Bissuli is on the Ravi and therefore incorrect.

22. *TMS*, p. 197.

23. *Ibid.*, p. 197.

24. Badaoni, vol. I, has Puhi. *TMS*, p. 199 and later p. 230 also has Buhi. According to Ranking, vol. I, p. 384n, "Puhi in the text is probably identical with Poni." Ferishta, vol. I, p. 164 has Lohi. Also *ED*, vol. IV, p. 77 which has Pohi.

25. Dipalpur is in Montgomery District, 30° 40′ N 73° 32′ E.

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Once again Jasrat had been made to retire into his hilly retreat. He was much disappointed. He was finding it hard to face the Sultan's forces in an open engagement, and this hide-and-seek warfare could not go on indefinitely. At any rate it could not win him the possession of even the Punjab, not to speak of the Sultanate. So after great thought Jasrat decided to invite outside help. He started negotiations with Shaikh Ali, a descendant of Chaghtai, and governor of Kabul on behalf of Suyurghtamish Mirza, a grandson of Timur, and his successor Masaud Mirza.[26] The news of these negotiations naturally created consternation in Delhi. Mubarak Shah at once appointed the experienced Malik Mahmud Hasan as governor of Multan and Siwistan, to prepare to meet the challenge. However, Shaikh Ali did not come.

During the next five years Jasrat Khokhar just waited and watched. The Sultanate of Delhi shorn of its past strength and reduced in territory was passing through a very difficult time. Jaunpur was fighting it continually and Malwa occasionally, but the worst fact was that the revenue of the Sultanate could be collected only by sending yearly expeditions. Withal the rulers and zamindars of Katehar, Bayana, Mewat, Gwalior, Etawah and many other regions were openly defying the Sultanate's authority. Finding the Sultan ever occupied with the affairs of the east, Jasrat at last moved out again. In Zilqada 831H. (Aug.-Sept. 1428 A.D.) he besieged Kalanor and defeating its governor Rai Ghalib, proceeded to Jalandhar which he thoroughly sacked. Then he returned to the siege of Kalanor. Such was the situation when Mubarak Shah ordered Zirak Khan governor of Samanah and Islam Khan governor of Sirhind to march to the aid of Malik Tuhfa. But before their arrival in Lahore, Sikandar with Ghalib Khan had defeated Jasrat and had set out in his pursuit. They had contacted him at Kangra beyond the northern bank of the Beas and had completely routed him in a severe engagement. Jasrat had fled the field leaving behind all the spoils he had collected at Jalandhar, and had retreated towards Tilhar. Thereafter the royal generals had returned to Lahore.

It had been a crushing defeat for Jasrat. He could not take any offensive for the time being. But his determination had not failed him. He was only marking time, all the while trying to strengthen his forces. However, within a couple of years the Sultanate had to deal with two such adversaries that its resources were sorely strained and its strength crippled. In June-July 1430 Faulad Turkbachcha had unfurled the standard of revolt at Tabarhinda (Bhatinda) and had hired Shaikh Ali

26. *Baburnamah*, Jarret, p. 382. Also Brown's translation of the *Tarikh-i-Guzidah*, vol. II, p. 134.

Yahya did not know the name of Masaud Mirza and calls him only "the son of Saratamish." *TMS*, p. 201 & n. Also *ED*, vol. IV, p. 59n.

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of Kabul for a sum of 200,000 tankahs.[27] Shaikh Ali had not been able to respond to an earlier call of Jasrat Khokhar, but now he marched into the country with a large force and created such havoc in the Punjab as was perhaps second only to Timur's catastrophic invasion itself. All the armies and generals of Mubarak Shah were deployed against him, but it was not before inflicting severe wounds on the Punjab that Shaikh Ali retired after a year in July-August 1431.[28]

Jasrat Khokhar thought it the right time to once again try his strength with the Sultanate while it was still grovelling under the blows of Shaikh Ali. Many Khokhar leaders had joined Shaikh Ali on his devastating march,[29] but Jasrat struck only after his return. In Rabi-ul-Avval 835H. (Nov.-Dec. 1431 A.D.)[30] he came down from Tilhar and crossing the Chenab, the Ravi and the Beas had an encounter with Malik Sikandar Tuhfa near Jalandhar. Sikandar was defeated and his horse having got stuck up in the mire, he was taken prisoner. Carrying his captive along with him, Jasrat dashed upon Lahore and besieged it. At this time Shaikh Ali once again arrived in Multan at the instigation of Jasrat Khokhar[31] as also to avenge his last defeat. He marched along the Jhelum, sacking and pillaging. Faulad Turkbachcha also raised his head and began to harry the Punjab. The whole of the land of the Five Rivers was now at the mercy of these bandit invaders and rebels and the suffering of the people knew no limit.

Sultan Mubarak Shah was completely confounded at this trun of events, and did not know how to deal with the situation. At last in Jamadi-ul-Avval 835H. (Jan.-Feb. 1432 A.D.)[32] he marched with a large force towards Lahore en route to Multan. He sent Sarwarul Mulk the Vazir to Lahore and himself arrived at Samanah. This had the desired effect. Jasrat raised the siege of Lahore and retreated to Tilhar carrying with him the precious prisoner Sikanadar Tuhfa. Shaikh Ali also retreated towards Bartot or Marot.[33] Having somehow settled the affairs in the west, Mubarak Shah returned to Delhi.

27. Ferishta, vol. I, p. 167.
28. *TMS*, p. 221 ; Ferishta, vol. I, p. 167.
29. *TMS*, p. 230 ; *TA*, De, p. 315 ; Ferishta, vol. I, p. 167.
30. *TMS*, p. 223 ; Ferishta, vol. I, p. 167.
31. *TMS*, p. 225 ; Ferishta, vol. I, p. 167.
32. *TMS*, p. 225 ; Ferishta, vol. I, p. 167.
33. *TMS*, p. 225 has Bartot and so has Haji, vol. III, p. 917. Many Mss. of *TA* also have Bartot while its Bib. Ind. text has Martut, p. 143, De p. 316 n. 4. Prof. Hodivala suggests that the place meant perhaps may be Marot or Marwat, now a tehsil in Bannu district, N.W.F. province. It contains the town of Lakki. (Lakki-Marwat is now a railway station, 37 miles S.E. of Bannu.
IG, XVII, p. 213.
Constable, p. 24 De.
Hodivala, p. 409.

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The disturbed state of the Punjab had been taken advantage of by the chiefs of other regions, especially Samanah, Bayanah and Gwalior. But as soon as the Sultan turned to deal with them, Jasrat Khokhar came down to Bajwara, 25 miles N.E. of Jalandhar, defeated its governor Malik Allahdad, and compelled him to seek refuge in the foot-hills of Kothi.[34] Shaikh Ali also arrived from Kabul and occupied Lahore without any opposition and pillaged the land between Dipalpur and Lahore with impunity. Only when Mubarak Shah marched into the Punjab did Shaikh Ali abandon the province. At Dipalpur, Malik Sikandar Tuhfa, who had secured his release from Jasrat on payment of a heavy ransom,[35] came to pay respects to the Sultan. He was given the title of Shamsul Mulk and later on the governorship of Bayanah was also conferred on him.

What Jasrat Khokhar was planning next, we do not know. Perhaps because of old age he was keeping quiet. His year of birth is not known, but even if he was twenty when he opposed Timur in 1398 A.D. he was now fifty-five years of age. Constant warfare must have told on his health. Moreover, Faulad Turkbachcha had been killed in 1433 and there was no hope of help from Shaikh Ali. Jasrat did not take any major offensive hereafter. He did not stir even when in Rajjab 837H. (Feb. 1434 A.D.)[36] Mubarak Shah was murdered at Delhi through the machinations of Sarwarul Mulk. Delhi became a hot bed of intrigue in the reign of Mubarak's successor Muhammad Shah. Jasrat did try to create some trouble in Samanah in 840H. (1436 A.D.),[37] but he was easily defeated and his country was sacked. He now thought it best to be reconciled with the Delhi Sultanate. When Sikandar Tuhfa, who was appointed to chastise Bahlul Lodi the rising star of Sirhind, sought the co-operation of Jasrat Khokhar in dealing with the Lodi chief, Jasrat lent him a ready hand. His success against Bahlul once again filled Jasrat with confidence. He thought of fighting Bahlul, his rival for power in the Punjab, to a finish and also to fish in the troubled waters of Delhi politics. Sultan Muhammad was so completely demoralised at all this that when in 845 H. (1441 A.D.)[38] he marched to Samanah to deal with Jasrat Khokhar, who was up in arms again, he confirmed Dipalpur and Lahore on Bahlul Lodi which he had earlier seized in spite of royal remonstrances.[39] Muhammad Shah even left the task of chastising Jasrat Khokhar to Bahlul Lodi and himself returned to

34. *TMS*, 227, *TA*, De, p. 317 has foot-hills of Kothi Bajwara. Badaoni does not give the name of the foot-hill.

35. Ferishta, vol. I, p. 168.

36. *TMS*, p. 234 ; Ferishta, vol. II, p. 169.

37. Ferishta, vol. I, p. 170.

38. *TA*, De, p. 328 ; Badaoni, vol. I, p. 304 ; Ferishta, vol. I, p. 171.

39. *ED*, vol. V, p. 73 ; Dorn, *Makhzan-i-Afghani*, p. 44.

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Delhi. Jasrat knew the strength of his adversary, negotiated for peace with Bahlul, and advising him to try to wrest the throne of Delhi from its wretched occupant, faded out of history.

About the end of Jasrat Khokhar we know nothing. With the rise of Bahlul, nothing is heard of this indefatigable warrior. Jasrat's career may be summed up thus. He fought Timur when the latter invaded India. Having failed against him, he helped his brother Shaikha Khokhar in occupying Lahore under the very nose of the terrible Timur. His privations during his imprisonment at Samarqand must have steeled his character. How he contrived his escape from there is not known, but it must have been through some artifice born of cunning. Psychologically, his tribulations in a far-off land must have made him an enemy of the Sultanate of Delhi through whose incompetence he had to suffer so much. When, therefore, he returned and found the Sultanate weak, he struck against it. He fought against the Sultanate for twenty years continually and must have grown grey in the act. His body had failed him, but his animosity to the Sultanate was undiminished. And as if it were, he bequeathed his task to Bahlul Lodi when he held out to him the pleasing prospect of becoming the Sultan of Delhi. Jasrat was a brave warrior, though a reckless adventurer. Men of his ilk were abounding in the fifteenth century India.

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POLITICAL HISTORY OF GAṄḌIKŌṬA DURING THE VIJAYANAGAR PERIOD 1336 TO 1669 A.D.

SHRI YELLAPRACADA SRIRAMAMURTY

GANDIKŌTA today is a village of less than two thousand inhabitants situated on a hill on the southern bank of the river Penna, about five miles west of Jammalamaḍugu, Cuḍḍapah district, Āṅdhra Pradēsh. The name is comprised of two Telugu names Gaṅḍi a gorge and Kōṭa a fort. An attempt is made in the following pages to reconstruct the political history of the Gaṅḍikōṭa Sīma from inscriptions. Under the rule of the Vijayanagara kings the Sīma constitutes an important administrative division. A number of sīmās were grouped into a Rājya. The sīmās in their turn were sub-divided into a number of smaller administrative divisions like Nāḍu, Praṅtya, Thānē and Sthala.

Gaṅḍikōṭa Sīma as an administrative division appears in the inscriptions of Vijayanagara period only from the time of Krishṇadēvarāya. An inscription[1] of his time from Gulya, Ālūr Taluk, Bellary district dated in Śaka 1431 refers to the Lord of Yēṭūru in the Gaṅḍikōṭa Sīma. After the death of Mallikārjuna the districts in Rāyala Sīma fell into disorder. The Sāḷuva usurpation too led to political confusion.[2] The wars between Purushōthama Gajapati and Sāḷuva Narasiṁha aggravated anarchy in that area. Gaṅḍikōṭa and its adjoining territory at that time formed part of Udayagiri rājya.

Krishṇadēvarāya after coming to the throne made some changes in the military organisation. According to Nuniz "he remained after his coronation at Vijayanagara for a year and a half learning the affairs of the kingdom. He collected an army of thirty-five thousand foot

1. Ep. Coll. No. 703 of 1919.

2. The Sambeṭa chief Vīra Narasiṁharāya who defied the imperial authority was defeated by Dhūli Basivināyuḍu deputed by Sāḷuva Narasiṁha for that purpose. (Further sources : Extract No. 79). Another Sambeta chief Sivarāja who began to collect taxes not only from his Nāyaṅkara but in the neighbouring sīmās was put down by Sāḷuva Narasiṁha who demolished the fort (Further sources : Extract No. 80) Sāḷuva Mallidéva of Bommavaram too, an enemy of the Emperor was defeated by Sāḷuva Narasiṁha and his fort and palaces were demolished (Further sources : Extract No. 82).

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and eight hundred elephants."[3] From Rāyavāchakamu[4] we know that Krishṇadēvarāya sent his spies to ascertain the political condition in various parts of his Empire after coming to the throne. Among the various places to which spies were sent, mention is made of Chaṅdragiri, Caṅḍikōṭa, Kaḍapa and Naṅdyāla sthalās. Krishṇadēvarāya devoted much of his attention in strengthening his military forces because the stability of the Empire depended upon the military organisation. A major portion of the income of the state was spent in reorganising and strengthening the army. He took special care in erecting fortresses and garrisoning them with strong military forces.

Gaṅḍikōṭa was a place of great strategic importance. It would serve Krishṇadēvarāya well as a base of his operations in his future campaigns against the Oriya king who was holding the fort of Udayagiri from the time of Sāḷuva Narasiṁha. Sāḷuva Narasiṁha on his death-bed requested his successors to capture the forts of "Rāchol, and Odegary and Conadolgi" with their dependent territories which he could not subdue "because time failed him."[5] But no attempt was made by his successors to recover that fort. Krishṇadēvarāya must have realised the strategic importance of Gaṅḍikōṭa and fortified it with a view to use it in his future campaigns against the Gajapati. He formed a new Sīma with Gaṅḍikōṭa as its headquarters.

The extent of the Gaṅḍikōṭa Sima can be fixed approximately from the names of villages mentioned in it in inscriptions. These were identified with villages bearing the same names or with slight changes. Eighty-nine villages mentioned in inscriptions have been identified. These villages are now to be found in the taluks of Puliveṅdala, Proddaṭūr, Jammalamaḍugu, Cuḍḍapah, Kamalāpuram and Badvēl in the Cuḍḍapah district, and the southern portion of the two taluks of Koilkuṅṭla and Sirivēl in the Kurnool district. All this area was constituted into what was then known as Gaṅḍikōṭa Sīma. Sīma appears to have been the highest administrative division after the Rājya. In extent Gaṅḍikōṭa was the largest Sīma in the Udayagiri Rājya.

Gaṅḍikōṭa Sīma was divided into a number of sub-divisions for the sake of administrative convenience. They were (*a*) Mulikināṭi Sīma[6], (*b*) Poṭladurti Sīma[7], (*c*) Chernūri Sīma[8], (*d*) Sakali Sīma[9]. (*e*) Puliveṅdala

3. *Forgotten Empire*, p. 316.
4. *Rayavachakamu*, (1933), p. 30 published by the Āṅdhra Sāhitya Parishad as a separate book and edited by J. Ramayya Pantulu.
5. *Forgotten Empire*, pp. 308, 316.
6. Ep. Coll. No. 491 of 1906 ; V. R. 627 Cuḍḍapah.
7. Ep. Coll. No. 326 of 1905.
8. Ep. Coll. No. 326 of 1905. Note: Poṭladurti Sāma and Chernūri Sāma formed part of Mulikināḍu according to this epigraph.
9. Ep. Coll. No. 35 of 1941-42, Ep. Coll. No. 402 of 1926.

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Sīma[10] in Mulikināṭi Sīma, (*f*) Pushpagiri Praṅtya[11], (*g*) Vūṭukūru thāne[12] in Cuḍḍapah Sīma in Gaṅḍikōṭa Sīma—Vūṭukūruī Sima figures as part of Mulikināḍu also.[13] From these inscriptions it appears that sometimes a sīma incorporated within itself another sīma. Because Gaṅḍikōta Sīma was the largest in extent, it was divided into a number of small sīmās like Poṭladurti Sīma, Chernūri Sīma, Cuḍḍapah Sīma, Sakalī Sīma, etc. for administrative convenience. Praṅtya, Thānē and Sthala were smaller administrative divisions than the Sīma and formed part of a Sīma. Of all the sub-divisions in the Gaṅḍikōṭa Sīma, Mulikināḍu or Mulikināṭi Sīma was the largest in extent and in fact Poṭladurti Sīma, Chernūri Sīma, Puliveṅdala Sīma and Pushpagiri Praṅṭya figure as parts of Mulikināḍu or Mulikināṭi Sīma. Such an important place was assigned to Mulikināḍu in the territorial divisions because it enjoyed the status of a big administrative division since the days of the Telugu--Chōdās.

Rulers of Gaṅḍikóṭa:

The early kings of the Saṅgama dynasty used to appoint princes of the Royal family as commandants of the various forts. Uddagiri Virūpanna, Vīra Srī Sāvanna Odeya, Saṅgama II, Bhāskara *alias* Bhavadura, Dēvarāya and Rāmachaṅdra were princes related to the imperial family and they were sent as Governors and Rājyās and Commandants of forts so that they would gain administrative experience and military training. But the practice was later on discontinued by the kings of Vijayanagara. In his Āmuktamālyada, Krishṇadēvarāya enunciates the principles that should be followed in selecting ministers and appointing commandants of forts. He writes :

> " Entrust your fortresses to such Brahmins (Generals) as you are best acquainted with. Do not keep them weak but you give them such strong forces that they can be devoid of fear from enemies."[14]
>
> " Because a Brahmin would stand to his post even in time of danger and would continue to serve though reduced to becoming a subordinate to a Kshatriya or a Sudra, it is always advisable for a king to appoint Brahmins as his Officers."[15]
>
> " The Commander (of a fort), if he is weak, having no money, no land, elephants and horses caṇnot defeat the enemy. So (the king) should give him territory well protected by forts and troops.

10. Ep. Coll. No. 491 of 1906 V. R. 627 Cuḍḍapah.
11. Ep. Coll. No. 425 of 1938-39.
12. Ep. Coll. No. 341 of 1938-39.
13. Ep. Coll. No. 416 of 1938-39.
14. *Āmuktamālyada*, Canto IV, verse 207.
15. *Āmuktamālyada*, Canto IV, verse 217.

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If these are given to anyone but a Brahmin, he may turn against the king himself."[16]

"That king can lay his hand on his breast and sleep peacefully who appoints as masters of his fortresses such Brahmins as are attached to himself, are learned in many sciences and arts, are addicted to Dharma, are heroic and have been in his service since before his time, who makes arrangements for storing in those fortresses tigers' cheese (Tel: Pulijunnu) and other articles to last for a generation."[17]

Krishṇadēvarāya appears to have put these maxims strictly into practice. He had formulated these principles out of his own experience. He was a king of great ability and his views on politics proceed from practical experience in that sphere. He appointed Sāḷuva Gōviṅdarāja a Brahmin to rule over the fortress of Gaṅḍikōṭa (Śaka 1457).[18] Sāḷuva Gōviṅdarāja's rule over Gaṅḍikōṭa appears to have come to an end some time before Saka 1448. For in that year three inscriptions obtained from Pōrumāmiḷḷa and Katteragaṅḍla refer to Avasaram Dēmarusayya as the Governor of the fort and the Sīma of Gaṅḍikōṭa.[19] An undated Epigraph from Paṅḍiḷḷapalli during the reign of Krishṇadēvarāya mentions Ayyaparusayya who held Gaṅḍikōṭa Sima as amaram.[20] During the subsequent reign Ayhaparusayya held the Nāyasaṅkara of the Gaṅḍikōṭa Sīma.[21] But he was the governor of the Udayagiri rājya. He gave away the Pārupatya over the Gaṅḍikōṭa Sīma to Sāḷvāka Narasappayya. In Śaka 1462, in the reign of Achyutadēvarāya, a general Timmarusayya, son of Sōmarasayya of Chaṅdragiri figures as the ruler of Gaṅḍikōṭa Sīma.[22] During the same reign, a Brahmin general Bācharasu also ruled over the district of Gaṅḍikōṭa for some time. But this epigraph is not dated and hence it is not possible to say when he actually ruled over Gaṅḍikōṭa Sīma.[23] Krishṇadēvarāya's son-in-law Aḷiya Rāmappayyadēva Mahārāja also held Gaṅḍikōṭa Sīma for some time as his Nāyaṅkara.[24]

Aḷiya Rāmarāya, having lost his ground at Vijayanagara due to the machinations of Salakaṁ Timmayya repaired to the fort of Gaṅḍikōṭa which by that time became the seat of the Pemmasāni chiefs. When the Rāya demanded the surrender of the fugitive Timmānāyudu boldly refused to surrender him. Consequently a fierce battle took place

16. *Āmuktamālyada*, Canto IV, verse 255.
17. *Āmuktamālyada*, Canto IV, verse 261.
18. Ep. Coll. No. 350 of 1932-33.
19. Ep. Coll. Nos. 402 and 403 of 1926; No. 35 of 1941-42.
20. Ep. Coll. No. 256 of 1937-38.
21. Ep. Coll. No. 341 of 1938-39.
22. R. 71. Cuḍḍapah, Ins. Ced. Dists. p. 339 No. 20.
23. V. R. 20A Cuḍḍapah, Ins. Ced. Dts. p. 335 No. 11.
24. Ep. Coll. No. 376 of 1940-41.

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at Kōmali in which Salakaṁ Timmayya and his followers were defeated. Rāmarāja and Timmānāyuḍu pursued them as far as Vijayanagara and destroyed them. The fear of the enemy being rooted out in this manner, Rāmarāja became the king from that time and he rewarded Timmanāyuḍu by giving him much money.[25] The defeat and death of Salakaṁ Timmayya at the hands of Aḷiya Rāmarāya and the Pemmasāni chief occurred in saka 1465 and in the same year the coronation of Sadāsiva took place.

After the accession of Sadāsiva, the fort of Gaṅḍikōṭa was placed in the hands of the Naṅdyāla chiefs. They were related to Rāmarāya, the *de facto* sovereign who, in the words of Ferishta, " destroyed many of the ancient nobility and raised his own family to the highest rank."[26] The administration of the Sīma of Gaṅḍikōṭa passed from the hands of the Pemmasāni chiefs to the Naṅdyāla chiefs. The chiefs of the Naṅdyāla family held their sway over the region upto Śaka 1520. In that year the estates of the Naṅdyāla chief Krishṇamarāja were confiscated and given to Pemmasāni Timmānāyaka by the Vijayanagar Emperor Veṅkaṭapatirāya II.

The first Naṅdyāla chief to rule over the Gaṅḍikōṭa fort was according to an inscription from Mōpūr dated in saka 1466, in the reign of Sadāsiva, Mahāmaṅḍalēsvara, Timmayadēva Mahāraja, son of Narasiṅgayadēva Mahārāja and grandson of Aubhaladēva Mahārāja.[27] He acted as the governor of the fort from Śaka 1466 to 1470. This conclusion is arrived at from a number of inscriptions which mention him as the ruler of Gaṅḍikōṭa rājya and Sakali sīmās.[28] He was succeeded by his son China Timmayadēva Mahārāja. His governorship is attested by a number of inscriptions.[29] In his time Gaṅḍikōṭa rājya was formed. Because of the enormous extent of the Sīma and also because of the strategic importance of the fort a separate province with Gaṅḍikōṭa as its headquarters was formed by Sadāśiva.[30] China Timmayadēva appears to have ruled upto saka 1476. He acted as the Commandant of the fort for a brief period when he was succeeded by Naṅdyāla China Aubhalarāja, son of Peda Aubhalarāja.[31] He acted as the commandant of the fort for a brief period for in Śaka 1473 he

25. Kaifiyat of Tāḍipatri L. R. 11 pp. 501-2 and Kaifiyat of Naḍimidoḍḍipālem. L. R. 39, pp. 16-8.

26. Briggs, Ferishta, vol. III, p. 81.

27. Ep. Coll. No. 498 of 1906.

28. Ep. Coll. Nos. 689 of 1917 ; 486 of 1906 ; 372 of 1932-33 ; 378 of 1932-33 ; 333 of 1935-56 ; 243 of 1937-38 ; 244 of 1937-38 ; 403 of 1940-41 ; 425 of 1940-41 ; 28, 33, 34 of 1941-42 ; V. R. 165, Cuḍḍapah Ins. Ced. dts. p. 61 No. 4 ; V. R. 443 Cuḍḍapah Ins. Ced. Dts. p. 98 No. 4.

29. Ep. Coll. No. 295 of 1937-38, 373 and 374 of 1938-39.

30. Ep. Coll. No. 295 of 1937-38.

31. K. R. 487 Cuddapah Ins, Ced. Dts. p. 378 No. 34.

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figures as the governor of Udayagiri rājya.[32] Evidently he was transferred to another fort. His place as governor of Gaṅḍikōṭa was filled by Naṅdyāla Nārayyadēva Mahārāja, son of Narasiṅgayyadēva Mahārāja.[33] He appears to have ruled this area upto Śaka 1477. In that year, according to an epigraph from Pōrumāmiḷḷa, Gaṅḍikōta durgam and its adjoining territory was assigned as Nāyaṅkara by Sadāsivarāya to Naṅdēla Timmarāja.[34] He acted as the governor of the fort from Śaka 1477 to Śaka 1490. His last inscription in this area is dated in Śaka 1490.[35] Evidently he must have been the governor of the fort in between these two dates. The Naṅdyāla chiefs continued to rule over the fort after the battle of Rākshasa Taṅgḍi. But it is not possible to show the succession list of governors of this fort in a chronological order due to dearth of historical material from inscriptions, which are taken in this dissertation, as the main source of information for the reconstruction of the Political history of Gaṅḍikōṭa.

By 1580 A.D. the fort of Gaṅḍikōṭa was held by Naṅdyāla Narasiṁharāja, a distant cousin of Veṅkaṭapatirāya II. It was in or about this year Amīr-ul-mulk, a general of Sultan Quly Qutb Shah marched against the fort. Narasiṁharāja resisted for some time but ultimately he gave way and agreed to pay tribute to the Sultan. Thus Gaṅḍikōṭa ceased to be a feudal chief of the Vijayanagar king temporarily. Sultan Quly entrusted the defence of Gaṅḍikōṭa to Saṅjar Khān.[36] But it was taken back during the same reign by Velugōṭi Chennappa and Yāchamanāyaka. The Sultan of Golconda had to recognise the river Krishna as boundry between his territory and the kingdom of Vijayanagara.[37] But unfortunately for Veṅkaṭapatirāya II the troubles at Gaṅḍikōṭa did not end with the Muslim invasion : Naṅdēla Krishṇamarāja, son of Narasiṁharāja, who succeeded his father as the ruler of Gaṅḍikōṭa refused to pay tribute and raised the standard of rebellion, Veṅkaṭapatirāya II marched in person against the rebel accompanied by Maṭli Ellamarāja and Pemmasāni Timmānāyaka. At Jambulamaḍugu Krishṇamarāja sustained a severe defeat and was later on taken to Chaṅdragiri where he remained as a prisoner until his death.[38] For the valuable service rendered by Pemmasāni Timmānāyaka, the king gave him the fort of Gaṅḍikōṭa and its adjoining territory. Gaṅḍikōṭa which has been a stronghold of the Naṅdyāla chiefs became the capital of Pemmasāni Timmānāyaka and his descendants. Maṭli Ellamarāja also who took an active part in the suppression of the rebellion of the

32. Ep. Coll. No. 426 of 1940-41.
33. Ep. Coll. No. 272 of 1937-38.
34. Ep. Coll. No. 36 of 1941-42.
35. Ep. Coll. No. 377 of 1940-41.
36. Briggs, Ferishta, vol. III, app., p. 455.
37. Briggs, Ferishta, vol. III, app., p. 457.
38. Kaifiyat of Allidona, *LR*, i., p. 142.

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Naṅdyāla chief was given the districts of Chennūru, Duvvūru, Kamalāpuram, Pōrumāmiḷḷa, Badvēl and Pulugunāḍu and Siddhavaṭam sīma. Thus it can be seen that part of Gaṅḍikōṭa sīma was allotted to the chiefs of the Maṭli family by Vaṅkaṭapatirāya II. This rebellion and its suppression occurred in 1598 A.D.

Maṭli Kumāra Anaṅtarāja was engaged in a war with Pemmasāni Timmānāyuḍu, the governor of the fort of Gaṅḍikōṭa, due to encroachment of territory. However, a peace was concluded by the terms of which Chilamkuru is Duvvūru taluk was fixed as a boundary between the estates of the two chiefs. The country to the west of Chilamkuru was given to Pemmasāni Timmānāyuḍu and that to the east of it was assigned to Maṭli Kumāra Anaṅtarāja.[39] This must have occurred some time subsequent to Śaka 1520, in the reign of Veṅkaṭapatirāya II. Anaṅtarāja Dēvachōḍa Mahārāja, the adopted son of Kumāra Anaṅta lost his hold upon Pōrumāmiḷḷa, Badvēl, Duvvūru, Chennūru and Kamalāpuram due to Muslim encroachment. Ultimately, the Chōḍa chief fled away to the Kanarese country and his territory was entrusted by Mīrjumlā to Triambka Sankarajipant.[40]

After capturing the estates of the Maṭli chiefs, Mīrjumlā turned his attention to Gaṅḍikōṭa. The siege of Gaṅḍikōṭa is one of the epic episodes of South Indian History. Tavernier, the French Jeweller-traveller gives an account of the capture of the forts of Gaṅḍikōṭa by Mīrjumlā.[41] The chief of Gaṅḍikōṭa Pemmasāni Timmānāyuḍu was considered to be one of the best and bravest commanders among the idolators. Mīrjumlā did not certainly take possession of the fort by honourable means. They would not bear witness to the fact that the Golconda general took the place by treachery and breach of faith.[42] The Gaṅḍikōṭa Kaifiyat has a graphic story about the siege of the fort[43] when the guns were fired, we are told, the explosion was so terrific that pregnant women had abortions and men who were in the vicinity died of the shock. Mīr Jumla laid seige for any length of time but was not able to take the fort. Ultimately he had resort to treachery. He sent a message to Timmānāyuḍu, the governor of the fort, that if he surrendered Gaṅḍikōṭa he would give him Gutti fort in exchange. Depending upon Mīrjamla's word of honour, Timmānāyuḍu surrendered the place. But once Mīr Jumlā got possession of the fort, he sent a Qual to Timmānāyuḍu conferring upon him a place named Hanumma Gutti, in a Firman to him. After getting possession of the fort he indulged in

39. Kaifiyat of Siddhavaṭam L. R., 9, p. 281.
40. Kaifiyat of Ciṭṭivēli L. R., 22, pp. 223-26.
41. Jean Baptiste Tavernier, *Travels in India*, vol. I, pp. 284-5.
42. Thevenot, *Jean Thevenot's account* (ed. H. G. Rawilson).
43. Quoted in Pemmasani Timmanayudu, *Siege of Gaṅḍikōṭa* : by Gudavalli Ramabrahman, *Siege of Gaṅḍikota* (Telugu), pp. 22-24.

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vandalism, dictated by fanaticism and cupidity. Not only the fort was completely looted but the images of many Gods in the Pagoda on the hill also were melted. Kafikhan who consulted Shah-Jehan Nama, writes[44]: 'Mirjumla having gone to Gajikota brought under the suzereignty by means of the blow of his sword and strategy the Rajas who were unsubdued so far and amassed enormous wealth and had an army of " Foreigner " under his control and then he began to think himself independent.' Mīr Jumlā is said to have succeeded in ousting the Pemmasāni chiefs of Gaṅḍikōṭa with the consent of the Sultan of Bijapur.[45] The Kavile of Tōḷḷamaḍugu states: 'while Pemmasāni Timmānāyuḍu was ruling the Kutupu Saha of Golconda laid siege to the fort of Gaṅḍikōṭa in the year Vikirti and captured it.'[46] The Kaifiyat of Sugumaṅchipalli also corroborates this information. It states: 'While Pemmasāni China Timmānāyuḍu was ruling at Gaṅḍikōṭa the Nawab came from Golconda in Śaka 1571 Vikriti and captured it.'[47] Thus the fort of Gaṅḍikōṭa fell into the hands of Muslims. The presence of the Golconda " Mudrakarta " at Gaṅḍikōṭa in the year of 1650 A.D. (Saka 1572) is testified by an inscription of Anumpalli village, Gooty taluk, Anantapur district.[48]

The victory of the Sultan was complete and decisive for subsequently no attempt was made by Śrī Ranga III to recover the fort of Gaṅḍikōṭa. Thus Gaṅḍikōṭa which had been an important fort of the Rāyās of Vijayanagara from Śaka 1430 to Śaka 1571 fell into the hands of the Muslims and became one of their strongholds.

44. *Muntakhali-ul-lubab*, vol. iii, p. 293.
45. *Muhammadnamah*, S.T.C., 2, p. 132.
46. *Mack. Mss.* 44 15-3-49, p. 195.
47. *LR*, 35, pp. 171-2.
48. Ep. Coll. No. 375 of 1920.

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THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE SANGAMA DYNASTY

KUMARI JHANSI LAKSHMI

SEVERAL attempts have been made previously towards the determination of the order of succession and duration of reigns of the kings of this first Dynasty of Vijayanagara, the latest of these being included in the introduction to 'Further Sources'.[1]

Harihara I—figures uniformly in the Kālajñānās, in the accounts of Nuniz in Sewell's Forgotten Empire, Historical Inscriptions and Further Sources as the founder and first ruler.

The earliest dated inscription of this monarch belongs to 18th April, 1336[2] and so this may be taken as the starting point of his reign. His latest known date is not mentioned by the previous writers, but the reign is supposed to have ended in 1355 A.D. Though in the Forgotten Empire it is stated as having ended in 1343 A.D.[3]

An inscription from Raydrug (Bellary District) dated 3-8-1277, Manmtha, Margasira, Pūrnimā gives the date 20th November, 1355.[4] This must be taken as the last date of Harihara I. His reign would then have lasted between 15th April, 1336 and 20th November, 1355.

Bukka I

The reign of Bukka I is stated to have lasted for 29 years in the Vīrappaya Kālajñāna; Nuniz says that king Bucārāo ruled for 37 years. Sewell writes in one place that he ruled for 36 years between 1343-1379 A.D.[5] and in another assigns 20th May, 1354[6] for the commencement of his reign and States that the monarch died before 24th February, 1377 A.D.[7]

1. *Further Sources of Vijayanagara.*
2. Nilakanta Sastri and N. Venkataramanayya, Ch. VI, pp. 59-68.
3. *Forgotten Empire*, App—C.
4. *MER*, No. 111/1913.
5. *Forgotten Empire* App—C.
6. *Historical inscription*, p. 198.
7. *HI*, page 200.

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Though, as stated above, epigraphical evidence indicates that Harihara I died after 20th November, 1355 A.D.[8] the earliest known date of Bukka I is between January and February, 1356 A.D.[9] And there are many more dated inscriptions in the same year. It may therefore be presumed definitely, now, that the accession of Bukka I took place some time between 20th November, 1355, and January-February, 1356. Regarding the last date of the reign Sewell gave it as 1379 A.D.[10]

The last dated inscription of Bukka I belongs to 25th January, 1371, 1377. This cannot be taken as the closing year, because an inscription of Harihara II dated 24th February, 1377 A.D.[11] states clearly that a gift was made on that day in order 'that the soul of Bukka I might unite with Śiva'. This shows that Bukka I died some time between 25th January, and 24th February, 1377 A.D. Hence his reign extended between January, February, 1356 and January, February, 1377 A.D.[12]

Harihara II

He is assigned a reign of 22 years in the Vīrappaya Kālajñāna. Sewell assigns to this monarch a reign of 20 years between 1377-99 A.D.[13] in one place, but mentions[14] 12th June, 1377 A.D. as the earliest date of Harihara II in another place.

The Hebbasuru[15] inscription and[16] C. P. Grant dated 24th February, 1377 state definitely that Bukka I died on that date. It may therefore be concluded that the reign of Bukka I lasted between 4th February, 1356 to 24th February, 1377 A.D.

Since the earliest known definite date of Harihara II is 21st June, 1377,[17] it may be presumed that his coronation took place some time between February, and June, 1377 A.D.

Sewell mentions that Harihara II died on 16th August, 1404 A.D.[18] Another authority gives this date as 15th September, 1404.[19] But an inscription from Mysore State dated 15th November, 1404 mentions this

8. *MER*, 111/1913.
9. *Mysore Rep.*, 1923, p. 117.
10. *Forgotten Empire*, App—C.
11. *EC*, vol. XXII, Tm. 92.
12. *EC*, vol. IV, Yd. 46.
13. *Forgotten Empire*, App—C.
14. *HI*, p. 201.
15. *EC*, vol. IV, Yd. 46.
16. My A. R., 1914-15 C. p. 57.
17. *ND*, d. 11 ka. 10.
18. *HI*, p. 207.
19. *Further Sources*, p. 63.

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king. It is further stated by Sewell that Virūpāksha[20], son of Harihara II, ruled with full royal titles on 27th October, 1404[21], and 29th November, 1404.[22] This situation is complicated by an inscription of Harihara dated 15th November, 1404.[23]

The earliest known date for Bukka II given by Sewell is 5th October, 1404.[24] It follows from these dates that Harihara II, Virūpāksha I and Bukka II were all ruling simultaneously with independent titles between October and November, 1404.[25]

Bukka II

Bukka II figures as Vijaya Bukka in the Vīrappaya Kālajñāna and as Ajārāo in Nuniz's account with a rule of 43 years. Sewell assigns him a rule of 7 years between 1339-1406 in the beginning. But later on says that Bukka II ruled uninterruptedly between 27th July, 1404 to August, November, 1406.[26]

An analysis of the inscriptions of the reign shows that this king was ruling on 13th August, 1407[27], 1408[28], 20th January, 1410 A.D.[29] It must therefore be taken that the reign of this monarch lasted from 27th July, 1404 to 20th January, 1410.

Dēvarāya I

Dēvarāya I figures as Dēorāo and is given a reign of 25 years in the account of Nuniz and a reign of 7 years between 1406 and 1413 A.D.[30] by Sewell. The same author writes that this king was crowned on 5th November, 1406 A.D.[31] and died before 3rd August, 1422 A.D.[32] The same dates are given by Nilakanata Sastri and N. Venkataramanayya.[33] The date of accession is derived from an inscription from Mysore State.[34] With regard to the last date, we find an inscription dated 25th February, 1423[35], which mentions Dēvārāya I as the ruling sovereign. Hence, it must be taken that this king ruled between 1406, 1423 A.D.

20. *HI*, p. 208.
21. *EC*, vol. VIII, RI 196.
22. *EC*, vol. VIII, TI 196.
23. *EC*, vol. VIII, TI 129.
24. *HI*, p. 208.
25. *Forgotten Empire*, App. C.
26. *HI*, p. 208.
27. *MER*, 293/1936-37.
28. *MER*, 155/1915.
29. My A. R., 1927, No. 52.
30. *Forgotten Empire*, App. C.
31. *HI*, p. 208.
32. *HI*, p. 231.
33. *Further Sources*, p. 64.
34. *EC*, vol. V, part II, Hs. 34.
35. *MER*, 125/1917.

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Successors of Dēvarāya I

Vijaya I

Vijaya, son of Dēvarāya I, is mentioned as Visārāo by Nuniz with a reign of 6 years. Sewell takes this duration of reign as correct and ascribes it between 1413 and 1419 A.D.[36] But in Historical Inscriptions he is said to have ruled only for a short period from 17th August, 1422 to 10th February, 1423 A.D.[37]

It is stated in the *Further Sources* that this king ascended the throne in July and August, 1422 and ceased to rule in 1425 and 1428 A.D.[38] Inscriptions of the time mention a Vijaya Bukkarāya or Bukkarāya with dates 14th October, 1422[39], and 9th January, 1427.[40] They also mention a Vijayabhūpatirāya with dates 27th January, 1423[41], 19th July, 1423[42], and 14th October, 1423.[43]

Another Prince called *Rāmachandra* Mahārāya is said to have been ruling at Vijayanagara in Ś.S. 1345[44], Subhakrit, Chaitra, ba, 8, Tuesday The Śaka and Cyclic years do not tally. The Śaka year alone gives the date 4th April, 1423, but the day happens to be Sunday instead of being Tuesday. The cyclic year gives the date as 16th March, 1422, the day being Monday.

Since, as stated above, Dēvarāya I seems to have ruled till 25th February, 1423 A.D. it is quite possible that his son Rāmachandra succeeded him on 4th April, 1423 A.D.[45] An inscription from Bārakūru[46] states that Dēvarāya II began to rule even in Ś.S. 1343 and H. Krishnasastri holds, on this basis, that Dēvarāya II began to rule from March, April, 1420 A.D.[47] It follows from what has been stated above that Dēvarāya I and his Grandson Dēvarāya II were conjointly ruling between 1420 to 1423 A.D. It also follows that Vijaya *alias* Vijaya Bukkarāya, Rāmchandrarāya, and Dēvarāya II ruled conjointly, between 1420 and 1423 A.D.

36. *Forgotten Empire.*, App. C.
37. *HI*, p. 214.
38. *Further Sources* pp. 65-68.
39. *EC*, vol. X, p. 78.
40. *EC*, vol. II, Sva. 56.
41. *MER*, 53/1936-37.
42. *MER*, 110/1930-31.
43. *EC*, vol. VII-93.
44. *MER*, 312/1931-32.
45. *MER*, 317/1931-32.
46. *MER*, 160/1900.
47. *ASR*, 1906.

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The reign of Devaraya II extended beyond 1423 for nearly 26 years. There is an inscription of Vijaya Bukkarāya dated 9th January, 1427.[48] Hence, this king and Dēvarāya II must have been conjoint rulers between 1423 and 1427 A.D.

Dēvarāya II

The accession of Dēvarāya II seems to have taken place as stated above in March-April, 1420 A.D.[49] Sewell[50] ascribes a reign of 25 years between 1409 and 1445 A.D. in his Forgotten Empire. But in some other place gives the date of 10th February, 1423 A.D.[51] as the commencement of his reign, and 24th May, 1446 A.D.[52] as the closing date of his reign. It is also said that the reign of this monarch comes to an end with his death on 10th May, 1446 A.D.[53]

But inscriptions of this king are available bearing the dates—

1. 22nd December, 1446[54]
2. 2nd January, 1447[55]
3. 5th April, 1447[56]
4. 9th April, 1447[57]
5. 27th February, 1449,[58]
6. 25th June, 1447[59] and
7. 3rd February, 1449.[60]

In view of these inscriptions it is necessary to consider that Dēvarāya II's reign came to an end in 1449 A.D. and not earlier.

Vijaya II

The Vidyāranya Kālajñāna mentions a king, with initials as 'Vi' after Dēvarāya II. The Vīrappaya Kālajñāna mentions a Vīrarāya with a reign of 4 years before Mallikārjuna. Sewell mentions an anonymous ruler after Dēvarāya II and gives him a reign of 5 years between 1444 and 1499 A.D.

48. *EC*, vol. II, Sva. 52.
49. *MER*, 160/1901.
50. *Forgotten Empire.*, App. C.
51. *HI*, p. 214.
52. *HI*, p. 200.
53. *Further Sources*, p. 66.
54. *MER*, 168/1941-42.
55. *MER*, 280/1943-44.
56. *MER*, 66/1940-41.
57. *MER*, 66/1940-41.
58. *EC*, vol. XII, Tm. 52.
59. *MER*, 23/1938-39.
60. *EC*, vol. VIII, SI, 18.
61. *Forgotten Empire*, App. C.
62. *MER*, 476/1921.
63. *MER*, 23/1905.
64. *MER*, 161/1906.

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Some inscriptions refer to the administrative reforms of a king named Vijayarāya. Other inscriptions mention a Vijayarāya between 1431[65] and 1441 A.D.[66] and the same individual as Vijayarāya Mahārāya from 1446 to 1457 A.D. indicating that he was an independent sovereign between 1446[67] and 1457 A.D.[68]

Therefore two things are certain, that Dēvarāya II and this Vijaya II ruled conjointly between 1446 and 1449 and that Vijaya II ruled independently from October, 1449.

Mallikārjuna

The earliest date of Mallikārjuna after Vijaya II is 10th January 1458.[69] It is generally believed that this Monarch's reign ended on 14th July, 1465. But his inscriptions are available, continuously bearing the dates (1) 11th August, 1465[70], (2) 23rd June, 1466[71], (3) 5th July, 1466[72], (4) 29th October, 1467[73], and (5) 1471[74], (6) 1472, (7) 1473[75], (8) 1476[76], and (9) 12th August, 1485.[77] It seems therefore that this king's reign lasted till 12th August, 1485.

Rājasēkhara

This king is mentioned as 'Ra' in the Vidyāranya Kālajñāna. Sewell takes this king to have ruled for a year between 1368-69 A.D.[78] *Further sources* is silent about this king. Inscriptions of Rājasēkhara are available ranging in dates between 1468[79] and 1486 A.D.[80] Since, the last inscription of Mallikārjuna is 12th August, 1485,[81] it may be concluded that Rājasēkhara came to the throne soon after this.

Virūpāksha II

The Vidyāranya Kālajñāna mentions Virūpāksha as the last ruler of the Sangama Dynasty. Sewell mentions a Virūpāksha after Rājasēkhara who ruled between 1483-84.[82] But the same author says in his

65. *EC*, vol. X, Md. 2.
66. *MER*, 420/1915.
67. *EC*, vol. III, Sr. 10.
68. *MER*, 348/1939-40.
69. *MER*, 46/1940-41.
70. *MER*, 251/1926-376/1927-28.
71. *EC*, vol. III, p. xxiv, MI, 64.
72. *MER*, 84/1919.
73. *EC*, vol. III, Ng. 22.
74. *EC*, vol. XV, Sr. 86.
75. *EC*, vol. IX, Yd. 88.
76. *MER*, 195/1910.
77. *MER*, 422/1925.
78. *Forgotten Empire*, App. C.
79. *MER*, 4/1996.
80. *MER*, 199/1941-42.
81. *MER*, 422/1925.
82. *Forgotten Empire*, App. C.

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Historical Inscriptions that Virūpāksha II ruled from 1465[83] to 1485[84], and takes him to have been murdered by his son between 29th July, 1485 and 1st November, 1486 A.D.[85]

Inscriptions belonging to this king are available bearing the dates (1) 28th October, 1486[86], (2) 1493[87], and (3) 30th October, 1494 A.D.[88] It may therefore be taken that this king's rule lasted from 28th October, 1486[89] and 30th October, 1494 A.D.[90]

Praudhadēvarāya

Nuniz mentions a Padērāo, identified with Praudhadēvarāya as having ruled after Virūpāksha II. If this Praudhadēvarāya ruled at all, he must be identical with the king of that name mentioned in an inscription dated 3rd February, 1483.[91]

Since the inscriptions of Virūpāksha II extended beyond this date, if Praudhadēvarāya is supposed to have ruled, the story of Nuniz cannot be taken as true.

In view of what has been stated above, the revised chronology of the Sangama dynasty is as follows :—

1.	Harihara I	18th April, 1336 20th November, 1355
2.	Bukka I	January-February, 1356 25th January, 1377 24th February, 1377
3.	Harihara II	21st June, 1377 16th August, 1404 15th September, 1404 27th September, 1404 15th November, 1404 29th November, 1404
4.	Virūpāksha	——
5.	Bukka II	27th July, 1404 20th January, 1410

83. *HI*, p. 225.
84. *HI*, p. 230.
85. *HI*, p. 230.
86. *MER*, 250/1931-32.
87. *MER*, 349/1914.
88. *MER*, 278/1931-32.
89. *MER*, 250/1931-32.
90. *MER*, 278/1931-32.
91. *ND*, d. II, On. 30.

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6.	Dēvarāya I	... ...	5th November, 1406 25th February, 1423
7.	Rāmachandra	... ...	4th April, 1423
8.	Vijaya I ...	... ...	1423 to 1428.
9.	Dēvarāya II	... ...	March, April, 1420 3rd February, 1449
10.	Vijaya II ...	... ...	1449 to 1457
11.	Mallikārjuna	... ...	1st January, 1458 12th August, 1485
12.	Rājasēkhara	... ...	1486
13.	Virūpāksha II	... ...	28th October, 1486 30th October, 1494
14.	Praudhadēvarāya	...	4th February, 1483

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A BILINGUAL INSCRIPTION OF H.A. 807 and V.S. 1462, PAUSH, SHUDDHA 11TH

Prof. K. H. Kamdar

The inscription under review was found in the Jumma Masjid near the Mandavi Gate at Baroda. Like several inscriptions of the period it is bilingual. The record is inscribed on the same marble slab. It opens with the usual Quranic invocations to the Supreme Being in Arabic and then proceeds to record in simple Persian the event of the construction of the Imarat—a well by one Pir Nath in the Hijri year 807.

The Sanskrit text gives better information. According to it the well or rather the step-well was got done by one Pir Nath who was a mighty soldier and archer, feared and respected by the enemy, who was an ornament to the family and who was the scion of the family of the Takshata race. The date of construction was 11th of the bright half of Pausha, Vikrama year 1462. The metres are Anushtup and Shardul. The Sanskrit is faultless. The date and year are given in accordance with traditional classical Sanskrit equivalents.

I knew the existence of the inscription. But I was led to the site by a young and enthusiastic student friend, Mr. Mir Saheb Mehbub Ali Khan Intezam Ali Khan of the illustrious Mir family of Baroda who, till recently, held Inam and Jagir lands in Gujarat and Kathiawar. I am indebted to another illustrious friend, Nawab Fakhr-ud-din of Baroda who accompanied me to the mosque and first read the Persian and Arabic texts. The full translations were supplied by the late Mr. Abdul Kadir Pirjada, once a teacher of Persian and Arabic in the local Muslim High School and of Persian in the Sayaji High School for Girls, Baroda. Shri R. N. Mehta of the archæological department of the M. S. University of Baroda was helpful in taking the rubbings. I am particularly and deeply grateful to my esteemed friend, Shri Lalchandra B. Gandhi, once Jain Pandit, Oriental Institute, Baroda and an expert in the art of deciphering such inscriptions. He helped me in reading the Sanskrit text and in elucidating the otherwise obscure references to names for numerals.

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The mosque was built about fifty years back when the late Mr. Abbas Tyabji took a leading part. There is a Hauj just down to the left of the inscription. According to tradition a step-well did exist on the site of the Mandavi. Mr. Rehman of the Urdu department of the M. S. University of Baroda who is familiar with the site assures me of the existence of steps leading to a well just adjacent to the mosque. This site has been filled up.

The Texts

(1) Persian and Arabic

(*Vide* Exhibit 1).

Translation :

I commence in the name of Allah, the Great, the most Mercifui the kindliest. By his grace and by the blessings of the Prophet. Muhammad Ras-ul-ullah (May God have peace on Him) the honoured Pir Nath who should deserve God's favour, get prepared and completed this Imarat. It was done in Hijri 807.

(2) Sanskrit

(*Vide* Exhibit 2).

Trabslations :

//Shri.// God, the creator of the whole universe, is victorious. May He, the cause of incessant joy, the Invisible, who is beyond comprehension, grant prosperity to you.

Tell us : Where are the foes who do not experience feeling of great frightfulness in battle, once they have seen him (drunk with their eyes) holding the bow and arrow, Pir Nath, the ornament of the Mirs ?

On the eleventh day of the bright half of Pausha in the V.S. year 1462 he, Pir Nath, the delight of Takshatas, the treasure-house of virtues, the happy person, got prepared this step-well which resembles the sea, on account of the wealth of his merit.

Pir Nath, Mir Shri Takshata's scion, got done this step-well in the year V.S. 1462 at the best place of Vatapura (Baroda) by the grace of God. May this step-well prove pleasant to all as long as (the sun and the moon) endure. Blessings be to all.

Some Elucidations :

Yugala means—Couple—2.
Anga, Vedanga means—Six—6.

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Vasava Indra—14.
Reversing the figures—26 (14), the year is 1462 V.S.
Kshana—means—time.
Valaksha—means—Bright.

A Vrushakapi—means—Vishnu. According to Hemachandra's Abhidhana Chintamani, Devakanda verse 215. Hemachandra gives 75 names for Vishnu in this verse.

In my humble view the Takshata family is the Tank Rajput family who became Muslims and founded, in the regime of the later Tughluks, in the beginning of the 15th century, the independent Sultanat of Gujarat. The Takkas or Tank Rajputs are referred to in the DWYASHRAYA by Hemachandra as the brave and dauntless soldiers moving majestically and defiantly in the city of Patan, *e.g.* पुंशूराअत्र पुंस्टक्वाः परपुंस्युत्कृता सहाः। अपुंक्षूद्राः प्रकुर्वन्ति सेवां चौलुक्यभूमृताम् ॥ (1st Sarge),

The words अमन्हानन्द (हेतुः) जनक ..... verse 54 are used by the writer of the *Kalpa Sutra* in describing the significance of the dream of Mahavira's mother, Trishala, wherein she saw two garlands of flowers.

Some Comments :

These bilingual incriptions of Gujarat bear some interesting features. The writer of the Sanskrit text has adjusted himself to the change of rule. The style has changed. Ornate descriptions are avoided. Next, Sanskrit renderings of Quranic quotations are freely given, thanks to the elasticity of the divine language and the happy existence of equivalent philosophical concepts. Still the continuity is carefully maintained. Writers are not satisfied with merely colourless narratives. Rather they still cling to the classical method. They use Sanskrit metres. They employ the traditional designations in giving dates and years. Lastly they delight in coining happy Sanskrit equivalents for Persian and Arabic words.

بسم اللّٰہ الرحمن الرحیم

بتوفیق و "عنایتِ ربّانی" و بکرّمہ عمم یزدانی

و تبناسرء رحمتّ سا حبیبِ نبی محمد رسولا اللّٰہ صلیّ

علیہ و سلیم امیر مُعّظم و مکرّم تنوتا کرامی

رحمتٍ عمارت مرتب تمام گردانید ذالك فی

العدة من سنہ سع و ثمانیا

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॥ श्रीः ॥ सृष्टिकर्ता जयति ॥

अमन्दानन्दहेतुर्यो व्यक्तो व्याक्रतरः परः।
दद्याद्विश्वस्थ विश्वस्थ कर्ता दिवः स वः श्रियम् ॥
धनुधरं मीर शिरोऽवसं श्री मीरनाथंनयनैर्निपीय
प्रत्थथिनः के भण नाम भीरुभावं प्रभूतं युधि नाप्नुवन्ति।
वर्षऽस्मिन् युगलांग वासवमितै ते श्री विक्रमार्क्कक्षणात्
पौषे मासि तिथौ बृषाकपितिथौ पक्षे वलक्षे सति।
क्षीरांभोधिसमायकारयादियां पुण्य श्रियै वापिकाम्
स श्री तकहनन्दनो गुणनिधिः श्री मीरनाथः कृती ॥

संवत् १४६२ वर्षे मीरश्रीतक्षहसुतः श्रीं मीरनाथ इमां वापीं अकारपजू ॥
श्रीमद्दहपुरे श्रेष्ठे सृष्टिकर्तुः प्रभावतः। याव....तावद्वापीयं नंदनाच्चिरं ॥ शुभंभूवतु ॥

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BAHADUR SHAH'S CONQUEST OF CHITTOR— ITS CHRONOLOGY

Prof. Arya Ramchandra G. Tiwari

The conquest of Chittor was the prime ambition of Sultan Bahadur Shah of Gujarat since his childhood.[1] He was willing to pay any price, including his self-destruction, for it.[2] Still after a three-month siege of the fort of Chittor[3] in 1532-33 A.D. he had to treat with the dowager queen Hadi Karmeti.[4] He had to agree *to raise the siege*[5] for a paltry indemnity of 10 million tankas[6] (*i.e.*, 5 lakh rupees),[7] an insignificant present of 100 horses and 10 elephants[8] and the crown and belt of Gujarat.[9] He withdrew 2 miles from the fort on March 28, 1533 A.D.[10] wherefrom he sent Burhanul Mulk Muhammad Bayani and Mujahid Khan against the fort of Ranthambhor and Malik Shamsherul Mulk Nulia Khan against Ajmer to wrest them from the Rana.[11] During the siege of Ranthambhor the Sultan promised the governorship of the said fort to Rumi Khan. However, after its conquest on the advice of Amin Nas, Bahadur exonerated himself from fulfilling this pledge to Rumi Khan by promising the governorship of the fort of Chittor in future.[12] The internal dissensions in Mewar,[13] the sudden worsening of Bahadur-Humayun relations[14] and the flight of Udai Singh, a Rana's

1. *Mirat-i Sikandari* (Faridi Tr.), p. 139.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 140.
3. *Tarikh-i Farishta* (Briggs' Tr.), vol. IV, p. 124.
4. *Mirat.*, p. 179.
5. *Mirat-i Ahmadi* (Bird Tr.), p. 244.
6. *Mirat-i Sikandari*, p. 179.
7. *Mirat-i Ahmadi*, p. 245.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 245 ; *Mirat-i-Sikandari*, p. 179. Ferishta (vol. IV, p. 124) and *Tabkat-i Akbari* (De Tr.: III. 369) do not mention the exact number of horses, elephants and the cash.
9. *Tab.*, vol. III. pp. 124, 369. They were acquired by Sultan Mahmud Khilji (I) of Malwa in the Battle of Sarkhej and taken to Chittor from Sultan Mahmud Khilji (II) by Sanga after the Battle of Mandsaur in 1519 A.D.
10. *Mirat-i Sikandari*, pp. 179-80.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 180.
12. Haji Al-Dabir, *The Arabic History of Gujarat* (Ross ed.), vol. I, p. 229.
13. *Raval Rana ri Vat* (MS No. 876, Saraswati Bhandar, Udaipur), leaf 83 (*a*) ; Kavi Rao ; *Kavitta Vikramadit aur Udai Singh ra* (MS Rajasthan Viswavidyapeeth, Udaipur), verse 5.
14. *Mirat-i Sikandari*, pp. 181-85 ; *Tab.* vol. II, p. 47, vol. III, pp. 369-71 ; Ferishta, vol. II, p. 73, vol. IV, p. 124 ; Al Badaoni : *Muntakhabut Tawarikh* (Ranking Tr.), vol. I, pp. 452-3.

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hostage with the Sultan in Gujarat, to Mewar led to Bahadur Shah's second attack on Chittor.[15]

The Sultan marched upon Chittor from Champaner[16] *via* Mandu.[17] The Gujarat army consisted of 1,80,000 soldiers and 1,000 elephants.[18] After his defeat in the Battle of Jiran,[19] Rana Vikramajit closed himself in the fort of Chittor.[20] Bahadur Shah besieged him.[21] The siege lasted for 3 months.[22] According to Abul Fazl, Bahadur Shah conquered Chittor on March 8, 1535 A.D.[23] On the advice of his wazirs, Bahadur did not entrust the fort of Chittor to Rumi Khan.[24] An encounter between the advance party of Gujarat army and the Mughals possibly, took place soon after this event.[25] After a stay of 15 days Bahadur Shah moved to meet Humayun.[26]

Instead of attacking the Mughals as advised by Sadr Khan,[27] Bahadur Shah, on the advice of Rumi Khan, fortified his camp[28] in the manner of Turks.[29] Both the armies lay encamped opposite each other[30] somewhere in the district[31] of Mandsaur[32] for two months.[33] Famine forced Bahadur Shah to fly from his camp[34] on April 25, 1535[35]

15. *Muhnot Nensi ri Khyat* (Ramnarayan Duggad Tr.), vol. I, p. 54.
16. *Mirat-i Sikandari*, p. 185.
17. *Mirat-i Ahmadi*, p. 247. See also Kavi Rao, verse 6.
18. *Muhnot Nensi*, I. 55.
19. Kavi Rao, verses 9-17 ; *Raval Rana ri Vat*, leaves 84 (a)-85 (*b*). See also *Vanshavali* 872 (SBU), p. 133. Jiran stands between Nimuch and Mandsaur. So *Vanshavali* 872 calls it Battle of Nimuch. No Muslim historian except Al Badaoni (I. 453-) has referred to this battle but not by name. (For details of this battle see Tiwari, " The Battle of Jiran," *Proceedings of XX History Congress*, Vallabh Vidyanagar).
20. *Raval Rana ri Vat*, leaf 85 (*a*) ; Kavi Rao, verse 18.
21. *Raval Rana ri Vat*, leaf 85 (*a*). See also *Mirat-i Sikandari*, p. 186 ; *Tab.*, vol. II, p. 47, vol. III, p. 371 ; Ferishta, vol. II, p. 75, vol. IV, p. 126.
22. *Raval Rana ri Vat* leaf 87 (*a*).
23. *Akbar Nama* (Beveridge Tr.), vol. I, p. 301.
24. *Mirat-i Sikandari*, p. 187.
25. Ferishta, vol. IV, p. 126. See also *Tab.*, vol. III, p. 372 ; Haji Al-Dabir, vol. I, p. 240.
26. *Raval Rana ri Vat*, leaf 86 (b).
27. *Tab.*, vol. III, p. 372 ; Ferishta, vol. IV, pp. 126-27.
28. *Mirat-i Sikandari*, p. 188 ; *Ferishta*, vol. II, p. 76, vol. IV, p. 127.
29. *Mirat-i-Sikandari*, p. 188 ; Tab., vol. III, p. 373.
30. *Mirat-i Sikandari*, p. 188 ; *Al Badaoni*, vol. I, p. 454 ; Ferishta, vol. II, p. 76, vol. III, p. 127 ; *Tab.*, vol. III, p. 373.
31. *Akbar Nama*, vol. I, p. 303 ; *Al Badaoni*, vol. I, p. 454.
32. *Akbar Nama*, vol. I, p. 303 ; *Al Badaoni*, vol. I, p. 454 ; *Tab.*, vol. III, p. 373. *Tab.*, vol. II, p. 50 says that they met somewhere in the neighbourhood of Mandu.
33. *Tab.*, vol. II, 50, vol. III, p. 373 ; Ferishta, vol. II, p. 76, vol. IV, p. 127 ; *Al Badaoni*, vol. I, p. 454.
34. *Mirat-i Sikandari*, p. 188 ; *Tab.*, vol. II, p. 51, vol. III, p. 374 ; *Al Badaoni*, vol. I, p. 454 ; Ferishta, vol. II, p. 76, vol. IV, p. 127.
35. *Akbar Nama*, vol. I, p. 303 ; Haji Al-Dabir, vol. I, pp. 240, 249.

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A.D. to Mandu[36] *via* Mandsaur[37] and Rampura.[38] Humayun pursued Bahadur Shah upto Mandu and besieged him there.[39] Learning about this plight of the Gujarat army[40] the Sisodias numbering about 5-7,000[41] attacked and wrested Chittor[42] (from the Gujarati garrison under Barhanul Mulk[43]) with the Mughal aid.[44] Only one Hur Patra[45] has preserved for us the date of the reconquest of Chittor by Vikramjit. It was May 4, 1535 A.D. (Jaishtha Shukla 2, 1591,[46] *i.e.*, Chaitra beginning 1592 *vs.*). Then Bahadur Shah lay besieged in Mandu by Humayun.

According to Abul Fazl the fort of Chittor was conquered by Bahadur Shah on March 8, 1535 A.D. So the Gujarat army would have advanced to oppose Humayun about the third week of March (*i.e.*, 14 days after the fall of Chittor). And Bahadur Shah's flight from his camp after two months will have to be fixed in the third week of May, *i.e.*, one month later than the date (April 25, 1535 A.D.) given by Abul Fazl and Haji Al-Dabir for it. Even if it were accepted that the period of two months would be computed from the date of the first clash between the Mughals and the Gujarati forces just after the fall of Chittor, the date of the flight of Bahadur Shah will have to be fixed in the middle of the second week of May. This also is contradicted by the above-cited authorities.

Vanshavali 828[47] and Vanshavali 878[48] of Mewar inform us that Bahadur Shah captured Chittor on February 27, 1535 A.D. One copperplate[49] referring to Karmeti's Jauhar gives its date which also supports these Vanshavalis. The fact of the genuineness of the copper-

36. *Ferishta*, vol. II, p. 77, vol. IV, p. 128; *Tab.*, vol. II, p. 51, vol. III, p. 374; *Mirat-i Sikandari*, p. 189.

37. *Al Badaoni*, vol. I, p. 454.

38. Pathu Shah ki Bavadi Inscription dated May 5, 1609 A.D. (Vaishakha Shukla 12, 1666, *V.S.*), verse 9.

39. Ferishta, vol. II, p. 77, vol. IV, p. 128; *Mirat-i Sikandari*, p. 191; *Tab.*, vol. II, p. 52, vol. III, p. 374; Haji Al Dabir, vol. I, p. 241. *Akbar Nama*, vol. I, p. 304 and *Ferishta*, vol. IV, p. 128 say that some Mughal officers pursued Bahadur upto Mandu.

40. *Cf. Tab.*, vol. II, p. 51, vol. III, p. 374; *Ferishta*, vol. II, p. 77. vol. IV, p. 128; *Mirat-i Sikandari*, p. 189.

41. *Muhnot Nensi* (MS 701, SBU), leaf 199. The number of the Sisodia soldiers is not given in its translation by Duggad.

42. *Muhnot Nensi* (Tr.), vol. I, p. 54.

43. *Raval Rana ri Vat*, leaf 86 (b). Haji Al-Dabir (vol. I, p. 239) says that the fort was entrusted to Amin Nas while *Mirat-i Sikandari* (p. 197) gives the name of the Gujarati commander as Shamsherul Mulk.

44. *Nensi*, vol. I, p. 54. See also *Raval Rana ri Vat*, leaves 88 (*a*)-(*b*).

45. Hur Patras are unconnected collection of dates of historical events without any chronological sequence.

46. A Hur Patra in the possession of Shri Nathulalji Vyas, Udaipur.

47. *Vanshavali* 828 (SBU), leaf 64 (a)

48. *Vanshavali* 878 (SBU), leaf 68 (a).

49. Chief Commissioner's Office (Udaipur) Register entry No. 5127.

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plate might be disputed about the grant referred to in it. However, it records the tradition current at the time of its manufacture about the date of the fall of Chittor. And this fact of tradition cannot be disputed.

If we add 15 days to February 27, 1535 A.D. we get March 14, 1535 A.D. as the date of the beginning of two-month period when both the armies lay encamped opposite each other near Mandsaur. By adding 2 months to March 14, 1535 A.D. we get May 14, 1535 A.D. as the date of the flight of Bahadur Shah from his camp, which is unacceptable to both Abul Fazl and Haji Al-Dabir. However, if we add the period of 2 months to February 27, 1535 A.D. we get April 27, 1535 A.D., a very near date to April 25, 1535 A.D. when Bahadur fled to Mandu. So it follows that the period of 2 months should be counted from the date of the first encounter of the Gujarati forces with the Mughal—which, as referred to above, in all probability took place just after the fall of Chittor. If so, Bahadur Shah joined his army at some later date near Mandsaur.

Now the task of the calculation of other dates is very easy. The siege lasted for about 3 months, so (1535.2.27-0.3.0 =) about the end of November 1534 A.D. Bahadur would have begun besieging Chittor, *i.e.*, just after the end of monsoons. The advance party of the Gujarat army was defeated just after the fall of Chittor (Feb. 27, 1535 A.D.), *i.e.*, in the beginning of the first week of March 1535 A.D. Bahadur Shah joined his forces near Mandsaur about March 14. He fled from here on April 25, 1535 A.D. The Sisodias reconquered Chittor on May 4, 1535 A.D. Though almost 2 months were spent by both the *armies* in lying encamped near Mandsaur Bahadur Shah lay *personally* pitched before Humayun only for 1 month and 11 days.

Abstract of Dates:

(1) The time of the beginning of the siege of Chittor by Bahadur Shah : The last week of November 1534 A.D.

(2) The date of the fall of Chittor : Feb. 27, 1535 A.D.

(3) The date of the first encounter of Mughal-Gujarat forces : First week of March 1535 A.D.

(4) The date of Bahadur Shah's joining his forces near Mandsaur : About March 14, 1535 A.D.

(5) The date of the flight of Bahadur Shah from his camp to Mandu : April 25, 1535 A.D.

(6) The date of the reconquest of Chittor by the Sisodias ; May 4, 1535 A.D.

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AN URDU MANUSCRIPT IN KHUDABAKSH LIBRARY, PATNA

Shri Brahmadeva Prasad Ambashthya

Four Mss., one in Urdu and three in Hindi, made available to the Khudabakhsh Library at Patna by Mr. V. S. Srivastava on 29-6-50 appeared to me to be very important source materials of the 16th century Indian History, especially of its eastern provinces. The Urdu Ms. is known as "Bihar, Bengal and Orissa men Raja Todar Mal ki Karguzarian." The title, however, is a misnomer as it deals with many things not connected with Todar Mal. The introductory remarks of the Urdu Ms. show that it is part of a work compiled at the order of Raja Todar Mal by his Mir Munshi, namely, Safdar Ali, during the period of Raja's forced inactivity in the fort of Monghyr (in the 25th year[1] of Akbar's reign), where he (Todar Mal) had remained besieged by the thirty thousand rebels led by Masum Kabli[2] and Mirza Ashrafuddin[2] and where the Mughal chiefs like Humayun Kamali[3] and Diwan Tarkhan[3] were deserting the Mughal camp to join the camp of the rebels. Safdar Ali, after consulting the documents such as the royal farmans and the official records available at that time, succeeded in compiling the work after a strenuous effort of three months and presented it to the Raja on 24th Rabi I, 989H. (20th April, Friday, 1581 A.D.). The Urdu version of the portion which forms the subject of this paper was done, at the instance of Maharaja Ram Singh of Jaipur, in 1874 by Ikram Ali of Salimpur Majhauli in Gorakhpur district. The importance of the work lies in the fact that besides giving all the salient facts recorded in the standard Persian Histories of the period, connected with the course of Mughal Afghan struggle in eastern India in the second half of the 16th Century which resulted in the final incorporation of Bihar, Bengal and Orissa in the Mughal empire, it gives many new facts not to be found anywhere else. The part played by Panwar,

1. 24th Muharram 988 H. i.e. 10 or 11 March, 1580 A.D.—4th Safar 989=9 or 10 March, 1581 A.D.

2. *Tabakat-i-Akbari* Translated by De. vol. II, p. 534 (Calcutta, 1927 edition) writes them as Asi Qubuli and Mirza Sharfuddin Hussain and puts the number of besieging Afghan forces at Monghyr at thirty thousand.

3. *TA*, Tr. vol. II, p. 536 names them as Humayun Quli Farmuli and Tarkhan Diwana. Akbarnama (Tr. by H. Beveridge), vol. III, p. 454 (Calcutta, 1939 edition) adds the third name of Shah Diwana among the deserters who joined the camp of the rebels at Monghyr.

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Kachchwahas and Ujjainiya Rajputs of Shahabad District in the state of Bihar under their respective leader, namely, Kishan Singh and Ramput Ujjain (-iya) in the battle at Hajipur in 1574 A.D., the details about the strength of their number in the battle and the name of place like Raghupur Diara which was touched by them while going from Patna to Hajipur, the name of Kasim Ali as being the leader of the force that was sent to aid Khan Alam in the fight at Hajipur, the specific mention, about the appointments of Munim Khan as the Governor of Bihar, Todar Mal as its Diwan and Ram Das Kachchwaha as its Naib Diwan, the refusal of Kunwar Rampat Ujjainiya to return to Jalesar and his march from Burdwan to Bhojpur—these are some of the many new informations that this Urdu Ms. contains and which are not to be found elsewhere. There are of course certain discrepancies, especially in matter of dates which have been considered in foot-notes. It is therefore, worthwhile to give below the faithful rendering of the Urdu Ms. into English.

1. "In spite of several months of siege, when Munim Khan failed to conquer the fort of Patna, emperor Akbar started in a boat (from his capital) on 28 Rabi-ul-Awwal[4] and reached Patna on 16th Rabi-ul-Akhir.[5] On the very day of his arrival in Patna, he, after inspecting the battle field and ordering for the strengthening of the siege (of the Patna fort), sent Khan Alam with 3,000 force[6] to Hajipur to defeat Fatahulla Khan[7] there."

4. 28 Rabi-ul-Awwal (982 H.) = 18 July, Sunday, 1574, A.D. does not tally with that given in *AN*. This date seems to be wrong, for it was not possible for emperor Akbar to leave Agra on 18th July, 1574 A.D. and then to reach Patna on 16th Rabi-ul-Akhir = 5 Aug., 1574 A.D. along with his whole imperial retinue after journeying for 19 days only as recorded in Urdu Ms. (Khuda Bax Library). According to *AN*, Tr. vol. III p. 122, Akbar started in boat from Agra for Patna on 29th Safar, 982 H. = 15th June, 1574 A.D. According to Indian Ephemeries V by L. D.S. Pillai (Madras, 1922 edition) 29 Safar, 982 H. falls on 20th June 1574. *TA*, (Persian Text, Calcutta, 1931 edition) vol. II, p. 284 says that emperor left Agra for Patna on Sunday, the last day of Safar, 982 H.= 20 June, 1574 A.D. *TA*, Tr. vol. II, p. 434, wrongly puts the year 981 H. for سنین و سمانین و فسعمایدم which, when properly calculated gives 982 H. *Traikh-i-Badauni* (Tr. by Lowe), vol. II, p. 176 (Calcutta 1924 edition) says that emperor left Agra for Patna in the latter part of the month of Safar, 982 H. *AN*, therefore, correctly gives 29 Safar, 982 H = 20th June, 1574, A.D. as the day when emperor left Agra for Patna, and in this case it took one and half months for the emperor to come from Agra to Patna along with his retinue which seems to be just a reasonable length of time. Hence the Urdu Ms. has wrongly put 28th Rabi-ul-Awwal for 28 or 29 Safar 982 H. (19 or 20 July, 1574).

5. 16 Rabi-ul-Akhir (982 H.)=5Aug., 1574 A.D. *AN*, Tr. vol. III, pp. 135-136 says that emperor came near Patna on 15 Rabi-ul-Akhir (982 H=4th Aug, 1574); on 16th Rabi-ul-Akhir (5th Aug., 1574) he surveyed the fort of Patna and on the 17th Rabi-ul-Akhir (6th Aug, 1574) Khan Alam was sent to Hajipur to conquer the fort there. *TA*, Tr. vol. II, p. 443 says that emperor came to Patna on 16th Rabi-ul-Akhir and sent Khan Alam to Hajipur on 18th Rabi-ul-Akhir (7th Aug, 1574) with 8000 horsemen. Badauni, Tr. vol. II, p. 182 says that emperor came to Patna on 16th Rabi-ul-Akhir 982 H. on the very day sent Khan Alam with 300 forces to capture the fort at Hajipur. Badauni here supports the Urdu Ms.

6. *Badauni*, Tr. vol. II, p. 182 and *TA*., Tr. vol. II, p. 443 here support Urdu MS.

7. *AN*, Tr. vol. III, p. 138 calls him Fath Khan only. Badauni, Tr. vol. II, p. 188 and *TA*, Tr. vol. II, p. 445 name him as Fath Khan Barha.

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2. "On 28th Rabi-ul-Akhir,[8] on the receipt of the news that Khan Alam had lost a good number of soldiers, the emperor sent Kasim Ali with a force of 2,500 Moghul soldiers, 500 Panwar Kachchwahas and 500 Ujjainiya Rajputs to aid him. Because of the strong currents of the Ganges and the Gandak, most of the boats carrying the reinforcements failed to reach Hajipur, excepting the three boats which could reach Diara Raghupur[9] that lay at the distance of 1½ to 2 koses from Hajipur and which carried 200 to 250 Mughal soldiers of Kasim Ali, 250 to 300 Ujjainiya Rajputs of Kunwar Rampat and 150 to 200 Kachchwaha Panwars of Kishan Singh. Kasim Ali, Kunwar Rampat and Kishan Singh left their boats at Raghupur Diara and proceeded with their men to Hajipur where they succeeded in defeating Pathans, killed their leader Fatahulla Khan and also huge number of Pathan soldiers."

3. "Khan Alam occupied Hajipur, sent the head of Fatahullah Khan and those of his Pathan followers to emperor on 19th Rabi-ul-Akhir.[10] The emperor sent those heads to Darya Khan Karrarani (as presents) and congratulated[11] Kasim Ali, Kunwar Rampat Ujjain and Kishan Singh on their success."

4. "Seeing the severed heads of the Pathans, Daud lost heart and fled from the fort of Patna in the night of 20 Rabi-ul-Akhir[12] towards Bengal. The Pathans began to fly away from the fort on 21 Rabi-ul-Akhir[13] and thousands of them were killed while flying. Patna came under possession of Akbar."

8. 28 Rabi-ul-Akhir = 17 Aug., 1574; *AN*, Tr. vol. III, pp. 137-38 says that emperor sent some troops to aid Khan Alam in the fight at Hajipur on Arad 25 Amardad (18th Rabi-us-Sani, 982 H. = 7 Aug., 1574 A.D.). *TA*, Tr. vol. II, pp. 444-45 says that emperor sent some troops on 18th Rabi-us-Sani to the aid of Khan Alam at Hajipur. Badauni, Tr. vol. II, pp. 182 and 183 says that emperor sent troops on 16th Rabi-ul-Akhir (5th Aug, 1574 A.D.) to aid Khan Alam at Hajipur. The date 18 Rabi-ul-Akhir 982 H. as given by *AN*, and duly supported by *TA*, seems to be the correct date when emperor sent forces to aid Khan Alam at Hajipur. The Urdu Ms. has, therefore, wrongly written 28th Rabi-ul-Akhir for 18 Rabi-ul-Akhir, and this becomes all the more confirmed when the Urdu Ms. in its subsequent narration under clause 3 records that on 19th Rabi-ul-Akhir (8th Aug., 1574 A.D.) Khan Alam sent the heads of thousands of Pathans along with that of Fathulla Khan in boats to Patna, showing thereby that Hajipur had come under the Mughal possession by that date. The details about the persons and their numbers who were sent to aid Khan Alam at Hajipur as recorded under clause 2 of Urdu Ms. are new information which is not to be found anywhere else.

9. This Diara is still known by Raghupur and is at a distance of 2 kos from Hajipur. Half of the Diara is now under the water of the Ganges; and the Diara is now the Wakf property of Imam Bandi Begum of Gulzarbagh.

10. 8 Aug., 1574.

11. This is new information not to be found anywhere else.

12. 9 Aug., 1574.

13. 10 Aug., 1574, *TA*, Tr. vol. II, pp. 445 and 446 and Badauni, Tr. vol. II, p. 184 say that when Daud fled from Patna in the night of 21 Rabi-us-Sani, 10 Aug. 1574, many Pathans in their efforts to fly away perished. *AN*, Tr. vol. III, p. 141 says that when Daud fled from Patna in the night of 18 Rabi-us-Sani=7 Aug., 1574 A.D. many Pathans perished while attempting to fly away.

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5. "On 21 Rabi-ul-Akhir[14] emperor proceeded in boat to Daryapur,[15] from where he decided to go back to Agra, and therefore appointed[16] Munim Khan as the Governor of Bihar, Todar Mal as its Diwan, Ram Das Kachchwaha as its Naib Diwan after duly rewarding them with Khilats and robes of honour. He also entrusted to them the task of conquering the subhas of Bengal and Orissa by annihilating Daud Khan. Emperor proceeded to Agra on 28th Rabi-ul-Akhir.[17]

6. "Munim Khan left Daryapur on 2 Jamadi-ul-Awwal,[18] and reached Teliagarhi on 15 Jamadi-ul-Awwal[19] which had beenal ready deserted by the Pathans. The fort of Teliagarhi was now occupied by Munim Khan."

7. "From Teliagarhi Munim Khan proceeded towards Tanda on 22 Jamadi-ul-Awwal,[20] along with Tadar Mal, Ram Das Kachchwaha, and Kunwar Rampat Ujjainiya. When he was at some distance from Tanda, he came to know that Daud, having left Tanda, was flying to Orissa. Munim Khan therefore, sent Muhammad Quli Khan to pursue Daud and himself entered into Tanda on 4th Jamadi-ul-Akhir.[21]"

8. "When Muhammad Quli Khan,[22] while pursuing Daud, advanced farther from Satgaon,[23] he had to retreat after an encounter with Mirwandi Khan.[24] Munim Khan, thereupon sent Diwan Todar

14. 10 Aug. 1574, *TA*, Tr. vol. II, pp. 445-447 says that the emperor Akbar proceeded from Patna to the East in pursuit of the Afghans on 22nd Rabi-ul-Akhir (11 Aug., 1574). *AN*, Tr. vol. III, pp. 141-42 says that Akbar proceeded in pursuit of the Afghans to the Farther east on 19 Rabi-ul-Akhir (8th Aug., 1574 A.D.).

15. 1½ kos east of Mokemah *vide* John Marshall in India (1668-1672) edited by Shafaat Ahmad Khan, pp. 76-77.

16. Badauni, Tr. vol. II, p. 185, *TA*, Tr. vol. II, p. 448, and *AN*, Tr. vol. III, p. 144 say that Akbar, before starting from Daryapur to the west, entrusted the Kingdom of Bengala to Munim Khan. The Urdu Ms. therefore, gives new information about these appointments made with specific reference to Bihar, and this is not to be found anywhere else.

17. 17th Aug., 1574 A.D. *TA*, *Tr.* vol. II, p. 448 and Badauni, Tr. vol. II, p. 185 say that emperor, after staying at Daryapur for six days, proceeded back towards the West, en route to Agra. From the Urdu Ms. we know that Akbar went to Daryapur on 21 Rabi-ul-Akhir= 10 Aug. 1574 A.D and then he started for Agra on 28 Rabi-ul-Akhir (17th Aug. 1574). Since he halted at Daryapur for six days *i.e.* up to 27th Rabi-ul-Akhir, he left Daryapur for Agra on 28 Rabi-ul-Akhir.

18. 20 Aug., 1574; this is a new information so far as date is concerned and is not to be found elsewhere.

19. 2nd September, 1574; this is also a new information so far as date is concerned not to be found elsewhere.

20. 9 September, 1574; this is also a new information so far as date is concerned.

21. 21 September, 1574; this is a new information so far as date is concerned.

22. *AN*, Tr. vol. III, p. 169 names him as Muhammad Quli Khan Barlas.

23. A ruined town in Hugli district, situated at Lat. 22° 38′ 20″ N. Long. 88° 25′ 10″ E. (*vide Imperial Gazetteer*, p. 286, vol. XII).

24. The fight between Muhammad Quli Khan (Barlas) and Mirwandi Khan which took place in between 22nd Jamadi-ul-Awwal and 25th Jamadi-ul-Akhir is a new information given by the Urdu Ms. which is not to be found anywhere else.

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Mal, Naib Diwan Ram Das Kachchwaha and Kunwar Rampat Ujjainiya in pursuit of Daud on 25 Jamadi-ul-Akhir,[35] deputed Murad Khan[36] towards Fathabad[27] and Bogra[28] and himself attended to the affairs of Tanda."

9. "Todar Mal, Ram Das, Kishan Singh Panwar and Kunwar Rampat-Ujjain (-iya), while marching from Tanda to Orissa,[29] came to Madran[30] on 15th Rajab[31] where they knew that Daud with his 50 to 60 thousand forces had taken up his position at Rankesri[32] with a view

25. 12 October, 1574 A.D. *TA*, Tr. vol. II, p. 460 and Badauni, Tr. vol. II, p. 194 say that Todar Mal was sent in pursuit of Daud. The Urdu Ms. here gives some new information about the date and the names of the persons who accompanied Todar Mal while pursuing Daud; these were not mentioned by other known histories of the period.

26. *AN*, Tr. vol. III, p. 169 also names him as Murad Khan.

27. *AN*, Tr. vol. III, p. 169 names it as Fathabad. See *Ain-i-Akbari* (Tr. by Jarrett and annotated by Sarkar), vol. II, p. 144 (Calcutta, 1949 edition) where it is mentioned as Sarkar Fathabad.

28. *AN*, Tr. vol. III, p. 169 names it as Bagla. In the foot-note there it has been identified with Bakla which is a part of the modern district of Bakergunge. Pargana Chandradwip belongs to it. *AA*, Tr. vol. II, p. 147 gives the name of Sarkar Bakla. Urdu Ms. records it as Bogra (now in East Pakistan) which formed the Central portion of Rajshahi Division and is between Mymensingh and Dinajpur (*Imperial Gazetteer*, vol. III, pp. 24-25). I think that it is Bogra which is nearer to Tanda and where Munim Khan could have sent Murad in order to make the position of Tanda secure. Bakla which is a part of Bakergunj subdivision in Dacca Division is far-distant from Tanda and where the Mughals had not penetrated in 982 H. (1574-1575 A.D.).

29. Badauni, Tr. vol. II, p. 194 corroborates Urdu Ms. when he says that Todar Mal was sent to Orissa in pursuit of Daud.

30. In *TA*, Tr. vol. II, p. 460 f.n. 1 De, quoting *ED*, vol. V, p. 385, and Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann, I, p. 375 says that Madaran is in Hugli district between Burdwan and Midnapoor; that it is now known as Garh Madaran and is mentioned in Bankim Chandra Chatterjee's novel named Mirnalini. I feel that Blochman has made a forced identification of Madaran with Garh Madaran. Madaran is really in Chittua or Chitwa Pargana, sub-division Ghattal, Dist. Midnapoor (W. Bengal, *vide Beng. Dist. Gaz.*, Midnapoor, pp. 174-75, Calcutta, 1911 edition).

31. 31st October, 1574 A.D.

32. The Urdu Ms. has Ran Kesri رن کیسری In Badauni, Tr. vol. II, p. 195 under f.n. 3 it is recorded that Darin Kasarai دریں کساری is probably Dar Rin Kasarai meaning "in Ran Kasarai" and Rin Kasarai is probably corruption of Rin Kesari. *ED*, vol. V, p. 385 has Din Kasari. The confusion between ر R, د D, and و V is frequent in Persian Mss. In *TA*, Tr. vol. II, p. 460, f.n. 2 De gives the variants of it as Din Kashari دین کساری, Rin Kasari رین کساری, Dihi Kasari دهی کساری.

The name does not appear in Akbarnama. In my opinion it is Ran Kesri, the word Ran meaning fight and Kesri meaning lion; whereas Rin means nothing. So far as its geographical location is concerned, Urdu Ms. says that Todar Mal reached Guliyar on 16 Shaban (1 Dec. 1574) and on 17th Shaban (2nd Dec. 1574) he proceeded from Guliyar to Ran Kesri though he knew at Guliyar that Daud had already proceeded to Cuttack. This indicates that Guliyar was near to Ran Kesri and that when Moghul forces were about to reach Guliyar, Daud left Ran Kesri in haste and proceeded to Cuttack. Since Guliyar is in Midnapoor district as the foot-note on Guliyar in the article would show, Ran Kesri, would be also most probably in Midnapoor district. *TA*, Tr. vol. II, p. 460 and Badauni, Tr. vol. II, p. 195 say that Ran Kesri was at a distance of 10 koss from Guliyar and since Guliyar is in Midnapoor district, and most probably in the northern part of it, *i.e.*, either in Ghattal Subdivision or in centre of Midnapoor district, Ran Kesri which was only at the distance of 10 koss from Guliyar would necessarily be in Midnapoor district and probably in the southern part of it.

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to giving a fight to his enemies.[33] Todar Mal, finding his forces inadequate, halted at Madaran[34] and wrote to Munim Khan for further reinforcement."[34]

10. "On receiving the message of Raja Todar Mal on 30th Rajab[35] Munim Khan sent Muhammad Quli Khan[36] with a force to aid the Raja; Muhammad Quli Khan joined Todar Mal at Madaran on 10th Shabaan."[37]

11. "Todar Mal and Ram Das, now accompanied by Muhammad Quli Khan (Barlas), marched from Madaran to Ran Kesri on 16th Shabaan.[38] On reaching Guliyar[39] they new that Junaid was marching to join Daud Khan.[40] Todar Mal sent Abul Kasim against Junaid;[40] but Abul Kasim was defeated by Junaid and was forced to fly.[40] There-

33. *TA*, Tr. vol. II, p. 460 supports literally the Urdu Ms. in the narration of events.

34. *TA*, Tr. vol. II, p. 460 supports Urdu Ms.

35. 15 November, 1574 A.D.

36. Muhammad Quli Khan, the leader of the reinforcement troops, was Muhammad Quli Khan Barlas, a person distinct from Muhammad Quli Khan Tokbai who was also included in this reinforcement troops meant for the aid of Todar Mal at Madaran, as is evident from *TA*, Tr. vol. II, p. 460. The reasons for assigning leadership of the reinforcements to Muhammad Quli Khan Barlas are two-fold: (1) Firstly *AN*, Tr. vol. III, p. 169 records that since a force which included Muhammad Quli Khan Tokbai was sent previously to Satgaon under the leadership of Muhammad Quli Khan Barlas against Daud, it would follow that the force sent subsequently to aid Todar Mal at Madaran and which included both Muhammad Quli Khan Tokbai and Muhammad Quli Khan Barlas, as *TA* says, must have been despatched under the leadership of Muhammad Quli Khan Barlas who had already led the troops on previous occasion. (2) Secondly the Urdu Ms. says under clause 12 that Muhammad Quli Khan died at Jalesar and then under clause 15 it says that Muhammad Quli Khan commanded the right wing of the Moghul forces at the battle of Tukaroi fought later on. How to reconcile these statements? The fact is that Muhammad Quli Khan who died prior to fighting the battle of Tukaroi was Muhammad Quli Khan Barlas as would be evident from *TA*, Tr. vol. II, p. 461 and Badauni, Tr. vol. II, p. 196. Hence the leader of the force that was sent to aid Todar Mal at Madaran prior to the battle of Tukaroi was Muhammad Quli Khan Barlas. And Muhammad Quli Khan who commanded the right wing of the Moghul force at the battle of Tukaroi subsequently as recorded under clause 15 of Urdu Ms. was Muhammad Quli Khan Tokbai as Muhammad Quli Khan Barlas had already died earlier.

37. 25 Nov., 1574.

38. 1st December, 1574.

39. Urdu Ms. calls it Guliyar گلیار *TA*, Tr. vol. II, p. 460 and Badauni, Tr. vol. II, p. 195 call it trespectively as Gwaliar and Gwalyar and in the foot-notes of *TA* and Badauni their respective translators, namely, De and Lowe, suggest that Gwaliar or Gwalyar is probably a mistake for Goalpara. *ED*, vol. V, p. 385 has Gowalpara. As for its geographical location, Urdu Ms. under clause 11 says that Todar Mal marched from Madaran towards Ran Kesri on 16th Shaban (1 Dec. 1574) and under clause 12 it records that on 17th Shaban (2nd Dec. 1574) he proceeded from Gulyar towards Ran Kesri. This shows that journey from Madaran to Gulyar was of only one day. Since Madaran is in Ghatal sub-division of District Midnapoor, Gulyar would necessarily be in Midnapoor district as Ghatal sub-division forms the northern most part of Midnapoor district (W. Bengal). The fact that Gulyar would be necessarily in Midnapoor district becomes all the more reassured when one finds under clause 12 of the Urdu Ms. that it took 6 days (17 th Shaban—22nd Shaban) for Todar Mal to journey from Gulyar to Jalesar which is in the north part of Balasore district, now the northernmost frontier district of Orissa. Moreover Badauni, Tr. vol. II, p. 195 says that Gulyar was a dependency of Bengal.

40. *TA*, Tr. vol. II, pp. 460-61 agrees literally with the narration of Urdu Ms.

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upon, Todar Mal sent Kishan Singh Panwar[41] and Kunwar Rampat-Ujjain (-iya)[41] with their Kachchwaha Panwar, and Ujjainiya followers. Junaid now hid himself in the mountain and his forces finally joined Daud Khan by moving in groups of two to four in order to escape notice."

12. "Todar Mal, Ram Das Kachchwaha and Muhammad Quli Khan (Barlas) marched from Gulyar on 17th Shabaan[42] towards Ran Kesri; and in spite of the fact that Todar Mal knew at Gulyar about the flight of Daud to Cuttack, he marched and reached Jalesar[43] on 22nd Shaban.[44] Todar Mal halted at Jalesar to arrange for clothings of his soldiers. Muhammad Quli Khan (Barlas) met with his death (there)."

13. "After the death of Muhammad Quli Khan (Barlas) the dissension broke forth in the Mughal forces.[45] To avoid this, Todar Mal, accompanied by Ram Das Kachchwaha[46] Kishan Singh Panwar[46] and Kunwar Rampat Ujjain,[46] marched to Burdwan[47] where he reached on 22nd Shawwal[48] and waited there for the reply of Munim Khan."

14. "On the 5th Ramzan[49] a man of Todar Mal[50] came to Todar Mal and persuaded him to go back to Jalesar. Todar Mal, Ram Das

41. These names are new information given by Urdu Ms. and are not to be found elsewhere. The Urdu Ms. says that Todar Mal, on knowing the flight of Abul Kasim, sent Kishan Singh Panwar and Kunwar Rampat Ujjainiya with a force of Kachchwahas, Panwars, and Ujjainiyas against Junaid. *TA*, Tr. vol. II. p. 461 and Badauni, Tr. vol. II, pp. 195-96 and *AN*, Tr. vol. III, p. 170, however, record that on knowing the flight of Abul Kasim, Todar Mal himself marched in person against Junaid.

42. 2nd December, 1574 A.D.

43. A village in the north-west of the headquarters sub-division of Balasore district i.e. Balasore Sub-division. It is situated at 21° 49′ N and 87° 13′E on the left bank of the Swarnrekha, 12 miles from its mouth (*Bengal Dist. Gaz.*, Balasore, Calcutta, 1907 edition).

44. 7 December, 1574 A.D.

45. *TA*, Tr. vol. II, p. 461 support the narration of Urdu Ms. Badauni, Tr. vol. II, p. 196 hints at it casually.

46. These names and matters relating thereto are new information not to be found elsewhere.

47. The Headquarter town of Burdwan district (W. Bengal) and is situated at Lat. 23° 14 10″ N, Long. 87° 53′ 55″ E (*vide* I.G. II, pp. 125 and 136, London edition 1885).

48. 22nd Shawwal = 4 Feb. 1575 A.D. being the date when Raja Todar reached Burdwan is wrong, as under article 14 of Urdu Ms. we find Raja Todar Mal marching back from Burdwan to Jalesar on 7th Ramzan = 21 Dec. 1574 on the persuasion of the man who was sent by Munim Khan to the Raja at Burdwan for the purpose. Since Ramzan proceeds Shawwal and since Todar Mal marched back from Burdwan to Jalesar on 7 Ramzan as noted before, the 22nd Shawwal as the date for Todar Mal to reach Burdwan is basically wrong. In my opinion the date when Todar Mal reached Burdwan was 2nd Ramzan=16 Dec. 1574 and the scribe in Urdu Ms. has wrongly written 22nd Shawwal for 2nd Ramzan, adding the numeral 2 before 2nd Ramzan and making it 22nd Shawwal by putting Shawwal for Ramzan.

49. 19 December, 1574 A.D.

50. The Urdu Ms. has wrongly written Todar Mal for Munim Khan as the preceding narration just above therein quite distinctly and unambiguously shows.

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Kachchwaha and Kishan Singh Panwar returned towards Jalesar on 7th Ramzan,[51] but Kunwar Rampat-Ujjain (-iya)[52] refused to return and went to Bhojpur along with his followers. Todar Mal reached Chitwa[53] on 2nd Ziqada,[54] after proceeding via Madaran and Midnapore.[55] Munim Khan came from Tanda and joined Todar Mal on 5 Ziqad.[56] On 7th Ziqad[57] the Mughal forces, marching from Chitwa, reached Bakhturi,[58] where he knew about the further march of Daud. On 20th Ziqada[59] the Moghul forces reached Tukaroi[60] only to find their path barred by Daud Khan."

15. "Munim Khan put cannons in front of his forces, and himself commanded the centre ;[61] put Todar Mal and Ram Das Kachchwaha

51. 21 December, 1574.

52. The generological table of the Ujjainiya Rajputs and their descendents who have settled in Shahabad district (Bihar) is available in Khudabakhsh Liberary ; but it does not give the name of Rampat Ujjainiya. It however gives one Ram Singh, the son of Gajpati. One Hindi Ms. in Khudabaksh Library, known as Ram Das Kachchwaha Kivarta, shows Rampat Ujjainiya to be the son of Maharaja Gajpati Ujjain(iya) of Bhojpur in Shahabad district (Bihar) and who accompanied Kishan Singh to Patna in the fight against Daud. Hence Kunwar Rampat Ujjain-(iya) is no other than Ram Singh, the son of Maharaja Gajpati as found in the Geneological table.

53. *TA*. Tr. vol. II, p. 462 calls it Jitura. But De in *TA*. Tr. vol. II, p. 462 under f.n. 2 says that *AN* has Citua or Chitua which is in Sarkar Madaran and is, Cutwa of Jarrett, vol. II, p. 141. Citua is in Midnapoar dist. near Ghattal *vide* Beames *JRAS*, 1896, p. 106. *AN*. Tr. vol. III, p. 173 has Citua, Blochmann has indentified Citua with Bhatigarh in Hugli district *vide JASB*, vol. 42, p. 223 n. Badauni, Tr. vol. II, p. 196 calls it Bajhorah, but Lowe under f.n. 3 there refers to *ED*, vol. V, p. 386 which names it Jitura. I think it is Citua of Abul Fazl, *i.e.* Chittua or Chitwa pargana in Ghattal sub-division, Dist. Midnapoor (Bengal Dist. Gaz., Midnapoor, pp. 174-175, Cal. 1911 edition).

54. 13 February, 1575.

55. Situated at 22° 25′N and 87° 19′ E and is at a distance of 80 miles from Calcutta (Ben. Dist. Gaz., Midnapoor. P.I. and p. 208, Cal. 1911 edition) .

56. 16 February, 1575.

57. 18 February, 1575 A.D.

58. Badauni, Tr. vol. II, p. 196 names it Borchin. As for geographical position of Bakhturi, I have to say that since Chitwa from where the Mughal forces started is in Ghattal sub-division (Midnapoor district) and since Tukaroi, the field of battle, also lay in Midnapoor sub-division of Dist. Midnapoor (*vide* Indian Atlas Sheet, Scale 1 inch to 4 miles, No. 73 N. Midnapoor), the place Bakhturi which was touched by the Moghul forces while marching from Chitwa to Tukaroi would necessarily be in Midnapoor district, somewhere in between Chitwa and Tukaroi.

59. 3rd March, 1575 A.D. Badauni, Tr. vol. II, p. 196 gives the date as 20th Ziqada 982 H. = 3rd March, 1575. *TA*, Tr. vol. II, p. 463 gives it as 20 Zil Hijja = 2nd April, 1575. *AN*, Tr. vol. III, p. 175 gives the date as 20 Ziqada. *AN* is to be relied and hence 20 Ziqada 982 H. = 3rd March 1575 is the date for the battle of Tukaroi.

60. Blochmann has correctly identified Tukaroi with Moghulmari on the road from Midnapoor to Jalesar. R. D. Banerjee in *History of Orissa*, vol. II, p. 2 (Cal. 1931 ed.) says that Tukaroi lies two miles from Moghulmari on the southern bank of the Suvaranrekha (*Ain.*, Tr. vol. I, pp. 375-76) Moghulmari lies in the district headquarters of Midnapoor *i.e.* in Midnapoor sub-division (*vide* Ind. Atlas sheet scale 1 inch to 4 miles, No. 73N, Midnapoor). Moghulmari is a village in the Midnapoor Sub-division situated about two miles north of Dantan (Beng. Dist. Gaz., Midnapoor p. 212. Cal. 1911 ed.).

61. *AN*, Tr. vol. III, p. 175 and *TA*, Tr. vol. II, p. 463 confirm the Urdu Ms.

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in the left wing,[62] Muhammad Quli Khan (Tokbai) in the right wing,[63] Khan Alam in the vanguard[64] and appointed Abdullah Khan to aid him (Khan Alam). The Pathans had their elephants in the front row ; behind the elephants there lay the cavalry and then infantry. The Pathans started marching from the direction of the mountains, and the Mughal cannons began to emit fire on them. Thousands of soldiers, elephants and horses were killed. Gujar Khan Pathan[65] then advanced, fell upon the Moghul forces and killed Khan Alam, the leader of Moghul vanguard. Gujar Khan then wounded with a spear the chest of Munim Khan which caused the latter to fall from the back of the horse ; and Munim Khan was about to be slain by Gujar Khan, when Kishan Singh Panwar[66] came to the scene and killed Gujar Khan with his sword. The Pathans now took to their heels and huge booty fell into the hands of the Moghuls including horses and elephants."

16. "Munim Khan sent Todar Mal[67] and Ram Das Kachchwaha in pursuit of Daud. But Daud succeeded in flying to Cuttack.[67] When Todar Mal and Ram Das reached Bhadrak[68] on 28th Ziqad,[69] they knew there that Daud had reached Cuttack where he had come to be joined by many Pathans who had succeeded in flying from the battle of Tukaroi."

17. "Todar Mal and Ram Das, to give rest to soldiers, halted at Bhadrak where they waited for the reply of Munim Khan also."

18. "When Munim Khan received the messenger of Todar Mal on 15 Zil-Hija[70] and came to know that Daud Khan had reached Cuttack

62. *AN*, Tr. vol. III, p. 175 and *TA*, Tr. vol. II, p. 463 confirm the Urdu Ms.

63. Muhammad Quli Knan manning the right wing was Muhammad Quli Khan Tokbai *vide AN*, Tr. vol. III, p. 175. See also f.n. 36 of the article.

64. *AN*, Tr. vol. III, p. 175, and *TA*, Tr. vol. II, p. 463 confirm the Urdu Ms.

65. Gujar Khan was the trusted general of Daud Khan and he had fought against the Moghuls at Patna in 982 H. *vide TA*, Tr. vol. II, p. 446.

66. Urdu Ms. says that Gujar Khan was killed by Kishan Singh Panwar. *AN*, *TA*, Badauni only say that Gujar Khan was killed by an arrow of destiny and they are thus not clear on the point as Urdu Ms. is.

67. *TA*, Tr. vol. II, p. 466 and Badauni, Tr. vol. II, pp. 198-99 confirm the narration of Urdu Ms. with this difference that whereas Urdu-Ms. says that Daud went to Cuttack, *TA* and Badauni say that Daud escaped to Katak-Benares. De in *TA*, Tr. vol. II, under f.n. 2 p. 466 says that Atak (Attock) and Katak (Cuttack) being the extremities of the empire had the word Benares affixed to them. Lowe in Badauni, Tr. vol. II, p. 198 under f.n. 5 says that Katak-Benares is in the centre of Orissa and is commonly known as Cuttack.

68. *AN*, Tr. vol. III, p. 183 calls the name of the place as Bhadrak where Todar Mal had come and where he knew that Daud fled to Cuttack. *TA*, Tr. vol. II, p. 466 and Badauni, Tr. vol. II, p. 199 name the place as Kalkal Ghati where Todar Mal came and where he knew about the flight of Daud to Cuttack. Bhadrak is the headquarter town of the sub-division of the same name, situated at 21° 3′ N. and 86° 31′ E. on the bank of Salandi at 43rd mile of Trunk Road below Balasore (Beng. Dist. Gaz., Balasore, pp. 194-195, Cal. 1907 ed.).

69. 11 March, 1575 A.D.

70. 28 March, 1575 A.D.

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where he had been joined by other Pathans and that Todar Mal and Ram Das had halted at Bhadrak, he (Munim Khan) at once, in spite of his wound, went in Palki[71] to Bhadrak which he reached within 15 days and from there he proceeded to Cuttuck along with Todar Mal and ultimately encamped on the bank of the Mahanadi near Cuttack on the 5th Muharram 983 H."[72]

19. "Daud, finding himself in a helpless situation, sent a message for peace to Munim Khan on 6th Muharram."[73]

20. "Munim Khan, after consulting Todar Mal and Ram Das, asked Daud to turn up in person to conclude peace. Daud came to Munim Khan on 17th Muharram[74] and after being duly received the peace was concluded; Daud was given Orissa[75] for his sustenance while Bihar and Bengal came to form the part of the Mughal empire. The Khutba was read in emperor's name."

21. "On the 18th Muharram[76] Munim Khan marched from Cuttack and reached Tanda on 2 Safar 983 H."[77]

22. "Munim Khan now made Tanda his capital. Cholera broke out there which cost many lives and Munim Khan himself died on 17th Rajab[78] 983 H."

71. *TA*, Tr. vol. II, p. 467 and f.n.1., *AN*, Tr. vol. III, p. 184 mention about the going of Munim Khan in Palki to Bhadrak.

72. 16 April, 1575, this is a new information given by Urdu Ms. in point of date and is not to be found elsewhere.

73. 17th April, 1575, this is a new information not to be found elsewhere.

74. 28 April, 1575, *AN*, Tr. vol. III, p. 185 gives 1st Muharram 983 H. as the date for concluding peace with Daud. I, however, take 17th Muharram 983 H. as the correct date for concluding peace with Daud as the Urdu Ms. here is more detailed about different dates through which the negotiation for peace underwent and they fit in with the ultimate date of 17 Muharram when peace was finally concluded between Munim Khan and Daud.

75. *TA*, Tr. vol. II, p. 469 supports Urdu Ms. about ceding of Orissa to Daud. *AN*, Tr. vol. III, p. 185 says that some estates in Orissa were given in fief to Daud. H. Beveridge under f.n. 1., p. 185 says that according to *TA*, *ED*, vol. V, p. 390 and Stewart, p. 161 the whole of Orissa was given to Daud. Perhaps the phrase "b'azi mahal" used in text has the technical sense of miscellaneous revenues.

76. 29 April, 1575 A.D.

77. 18th May, 1575 A.D. *TA*, Tr. vol. II, p. 469 and Badauni, Tr. vol. II, p. 200 say that Munim Khan came from Cuttack and entered into Tanda on 10 Safar, 983 H = 21 May, 1575.

78. 22 Oct. 1575, *TA*, Tr. vol. II, pp. 478-79 and Badauni, Tr. vol. II, p. 220 say that Munim Khan left Tanda and made the deserted town of Gaur his capital. The cholera broke out in Gaur and it cost many lives there and Munim Khan himself died on 11 Rajab, 983 H = 16 Oct. 1575. *AN*, Tr. vol. III, p. 226 says that Munim Khan died on Khur 15 Aban, Divine month, 28 Oct. 1575 and under f.n. 1 there H. Beveridge says that "the date given in Bayazied Biyat's Memoirs is the night of Monday, 18 Rajab, 983 = 28 Oct. 1575. 15 Aban should be 25 or 26 October.

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23. "After the death of Munim Khan, Husain Quli Khan [79] was appointed as Governor, whereas Todar Mal[80] and Ram Das[80] continued to hold their previous offices. Husain Quli Khan came to Patna on 27th Ziqad[81] 983 H. when he reached Bhagalpur,[82] he met with many Umerahs and Amirs who were forced to leave Bengal and they now entered into his service."

24. "Husain Quli Khan proceeded further, drove out Pathans from Garhi[83] and Tanda,[84] but had to meet with difficult situation at Akmahal (Rajmahal) where after losing thousands of his followers, he retreat ultimately."

25. "When Muzaffar Khan Turbati, Todar Mal and Ram Das Kachchwaha joined Husain Quli Khan, the latter marched to Akmahal[85] (Rajmahal). The battle of Akmahal was fought on 15th Rabi-ul-Awwal,[86] 984 H. in which Junaid Karrani, the uncle of Daud was wounded, and Kalapahar, the Commander of Daud Khan, after working

79. *TA*, Tr. vol. II, p. 480 and Badauni, Tr. vol. II, p. 222 support Urdu Ms. in appointment of Hussain Quli Khan entitled Khan Jhan as Governor after the death of Munim Khan. Husain Quli Khan's title was Khan Jahan *vide* Index p. 452 of Badauni Tr.

80. The fact that Todar Mal and Ram Das continued as Diwan and Naib Diwan of Bihar respectively under the Governorship of Khan Jahan is a new information not to be found elsewhere.

81. 27 February, 1576 A.D. This is a new information not to be found elsewhere.

82. Bhagalpur is the head-quarter town of the Division of that name in the state of Behar.

83. Garhi means Teliagarhi, a narrow pass in Bhagalpur Division, to the farther east of Sahibganj.

84. Tanda stood a few miles to the south-west of Gaur in the region now known as the Malda district (*vide* Vincent Smith, *Akbar*, p. 129 f.n. 1, Oxford, 1919 ed.).

85. In *AN*, Tr. vol. III, p. 230 under f.n. 2 H. Beveridge says that perhaps Ak is the Turkish word and the name Ak Mahal means white House. Blochmann reads it Ag Mahal. When Man Singh closed it for his residence, it was named Rajmahal. The Turkish word for white is اق Badauni, Tr. Text, vol. II, p. 229 (Cal. 1865 ed.) calls it اک محل, Ak Mahal; but Badauni, Tr. II, p. 235 wrote it Ag Mahal. *ED*, vol. V, p. 397 has the village of Ak, but a note says "Ak Mahal or Aga Mahal. Afterwards called Raj Mahal by Raja Man Singh. The ancient name was Raja Griha." I do not know whether there is any authority for the statement that the ancient name was Raja Griha. Raja Griha is grammatically incorrect. The well-known Raja Griha was the ancient Capital of Magadha and is in Bihar Sub-Division of Patna district, now known as Rajgir.

86. 12 June, 1576 A.D. *TA*, and Badauni are silent on the date of the battle of Raj Mahal. *AN*, Tr. vol. III, p. 253 gives the date of the battle of Raj Mahal as 15 Rabi-us-Sani (984 H) = 12 July, 1576 A.D. The date of 15 Rabi-us-Sani as given by *AN*, for the battle of Raj Mahal is a correct one, as this receives corroboration by the narration in *AN*, Tr. vol. III, pp. 248 and 249 where it is recorded that emperor started for Bengal on 25 Rabi-us-Sani = 22 July, 1576 and had reached Bhiar, a dependency of Agra, in one days march only, when Saiyid Abdullah Khan came from Bengal in only 11 days and met the emperor on that very day i.e. 22nd July, 1576, communicating the news of victory over Daud. Saiyid Abdullah Khan covered the long distance from Bengal to Agra in 11 days when computed from the day of victory at Raj Mahal. This would put the battle of Raj Mahal on 15 Rabi-us-Sani = 12 July, 1576 A.D. Hence the Urdu Ms. has wrongly recorded 15 Rabi-ul-Awwal for 15 Rabi-us-Sani.

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havoc upon the Moghul forces, was wounded[87] ultimately by Kishan Singh (Panwar) and was forced to fly away. The Pathans in general now took to flight. Daud Khan was caught; his head was cut-off and was sent to emperor Akbar."

26. "After the battle of Rajmahal, Husain Quli Khan sent Todar Mal and Ram Das to the emperor. Todar Mal and Ram Das served the provinces of Bihar, Bengal and Orissa for 24 months *i.e.* from Rabi-ul-Awwal[88] 972 H. to Rabi-ul-Awwal[88] 984 H. and started for Agra on 2 Rabi-ul-Akhir."[89]

87. The fact that Kishan Singh Panwar wounded so effectively Kalapahar in the battle at Raj Mahal that the latter had to fly away and with his flight there came the general flight of the Pathans is a new information not to be found anywhere else.

88. The period of 24 months with effect from Rabi-ul-Awwal 982 H. to Rabi-ul-Awwal 984 H. as recorded by Urdu Ms. is wrong. Under f.n. 4 of the article I have shown that emperor Akbar got into boat at Agra on 28 or 29 Safar, 982 H. and sailed out for Patna that very day and not on 28 Rabi-ul-Awwal as recorded by Urdu Ms. Under f.n. 86 of the article the battle of Raj Mahal was fought on 15 Rabi-us-Sani 984 H. = 12 July, 1576 A.D. and not on 15 Rabi-ul-Awwal 984 H. = 12 June 1576 A.D. as recorded in Urdu Ms. Hence the total length of the period of service, rendered by Todar Mal and Ram Das extended from 28 or 29 Safar, 982 H. (19 or 20 June, 1574) to 15 Rabi-us-Sani 984. (12 July, 1576 A.D.) i.e. nearly 26 months and not 24 months as recorded by Urdu Ms.

89. Since the battle of Raj Mahal was fought on 15 Rabi-ul-Akhir, 984 H. = 12 July, 1576 A.D. as shown under foot-note 86 of the article, Todar Mal and Ram Das would not have set out to Agra on 2 Rabi-ul-Akhir = 29 June, 1576 A.D. as recorded by Urdu Ms. This would be 22 Rabi -ul-Akhir = 19 July, 1576 A.D. or 2 Jamadi-ul-Awwal, 984 H. = 28 July, 1576 A.D.

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A LETTER OF THE MUGHUL EMPEROR HUMAYUN TO HIS BROTHER KAMRAN

Dr. Sukumar Ray

This letter of Humayun was written to his brother Mirza Kamran, ruler of Kabul, immediately after his accession. In it he sends his brother the sad news of Babur's death and the report of his accession. He expresses his brotherly feeling towards Mirza Kamran and emphasizes the need of unity and concord, particularly in the difficult circumstances which the Mughul State had to face after Babur's death. He expects and counts on his brother's support. It is significant, as we learn from the letter, that the news of Babur's death was not to be divulged to the messenger lest it should be widely known and might encourage rebellion. The letter occurs in the Tarikh-i-Ilchi-i-Nizam Shah which is a work on general Islamic history, compiled in 971 A.H./ 1563-64 A.D. Its author Khur Shah ibn Qubad-ul-Husaini was the envoy of Burhan Nizam Shah I of Ahmadnagar (1508-53 A.D.) to the Shah of Persia and remained at the Safavi court for at least nineteen years. There are two MSS. of the work at the British Museum: Add. 23,513 and Or. 153. Both have been used. The letter does not appear in any of the standard histories and collections of letters of the Mughul period. The letter is given below:

'The auspicious spring of the garden of the Caliphate and government of the world and the sweet rose-garden of kingship and conquest of kingdoms, the fortunate plant of the gardens of pomp and sovereignty, the Khusrau of the sun of the light of kingdom, (which is) magnificent and cherisher of the Faith, the incomparable jewel of the treasury of kingship, the unique pearl of the treasury of monarchy, *viz.*, the dearest brother, most upright, worthy, successful, the object of the grace of the Creator, strength of the Holy Law and strengthener of the community, the arm of the prosperous kingdom, the seat of dominion and majesty, Muhammad Kamran Bahadur, the conspicuous and elevated among mankind, having made the standard of the love-inspiring breezes of affection and kindness and of the fragrance of the love and affection-sifting *attar* perfume the sense of smelling and stimulate (the scent of) the garden of unity and conciliation, (should) know it announced on

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(his) knowledge-receiving mind, that on account of the exigency of destiny and the effect of divine decree, misfortune has befallen on and calamity has occurred to me and (my) brother as dear as my soul, which is impossible to describe and absurd to conceal. The execution of that (*i.e.* description of the calamity) is not in the region of possibility and its disclosure is not in the power of the tongue of auspicious speech. I intended that I myself (should) write a few words in elegant style to indicate the matter. The rush of grief having seized the bridle of power, it became necessary to order secretaries eloquent in exposition to relate this improvident occurrence. The detailed particulars of the circumstances of his (the late emperor's) affair will remain concealed to the bearer of the closed letter, but I do not know in what manner my brother will listen to the bewildering news and how he will hear of this soul-inflaming incident. It came to (my) mind that patience (should) be taken in this matter and (a note of) counsel be written on this affair, (but) the fire of impatience blazed and the noble words—You say something which you do not do—forbade (the writing of the) counsel. May God give me and you sufficient patience and better reward. Before loosening this rope of unity and raising this dust of the sorrow for the king of high position, I have made over the authority over the people to the charge of my Government and given the order not to neglect the necessaries in this matter, and to open the gates of justice and clemency to the faces of the people. Now although I am beset with immense trouble and am extremely grieved and broken-hearted, yet, having removed the burden of cares and anxieties from the hearts and minds of men, I am engaged in heart and soul in efforts at the assistance of mankind and the defence of the country. It is proper that my dear brother will make effort at rendering assistance and support as he considers and can, and considering all my heart inclined towards the gain and progress of the dominion of himself, (he will) lift the veil of concealment from the face of his desires. Peace be on you.'

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THE ZAMINDARS IN THE AIN

Dr. Irfan M. Habib

Blochmann rendered signal service to the study of Mediæval Indian history by his edition of Abu-l Fazl's monumental work, the *Ain-i Akbari* in the Bibliotheca Indica series of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (Calcutta, 1867-77). Blochmann's text was based on a careful collation of several MSS. and was superior in every respect to the two earlier editions, *viz.* Syed Ahmad Khan's Delhi edition of 1855 (vols. I and III) and Nawal Kishor's ed. of 1869. (Nawal Kishor's edition of 1882 is merely a reprint (without acknowledgment of Blochmann's edition). Blochmann was unfortunate in that he had only one really good MS. which he indicates by the letter *dal* (د). All the others were apparently late and inaccurate transcriptions. Moreland, for instance, has raised serious doubts about his text in some places, especially in the chapter, *Ain-i Dah-sala*.

The present writer has examined a number of MSS. preserved in the British Museum, India Office and the Royal Asiatic Society Library, London, the Bodleian Library, Oxford, and the Lindesiana Section of the John Rylands Library of Manchester. It was discovered that several of these MSS. were not very accurately described in the catalogues and the best, from the point of view of age and accuracy, seemed to be Add. 7652 and Add. 6552 in the British Museum and I.O.6. in the India Office Library. But I.O.6. itself is obviously a copy of Add. 7652. All the three almost certainly belong to the 17th century and Add. 7652 and I.O.6. bear endorsements made in the reign of Muhammad Shah.

An examination of these and other MSS. disclosed serious errors in Blochmann's edition, especially in the celebrated statistical section of the *Ain* ('The Account of the Twelve Provinces', *Ain*, Blochmann's text, (vol. I, pp. 386ff.). Whether for convenience of printing or for some other reason, Blochmann did not reproduce the statistics in their original tabular form, which has been preserved with remarkable exactitude in the best MSS. of the work. In the original the table contains eight columns with the following headings: *Parganat* (parganas), *Qila'* (Forts), *Arazi* (Area), *Naqdi* (Revenue in terms of cash), *Sayurghal* (Revenue-free grants), *Zamindar* (or in a very few cases, *bumi*), *Sawar*

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(Cavalry), *Piyada* (Infantry). These headings are put at the beginning of every new page in the manuscripts. Blochmann, however, dispensed with the columns altogether and presented the statistics for each pargana line by line. But in doing so he omitted without explanation, all the column headings, apart from the *sayurghal*, *sawar* and *piyada*, which he inserted after the appropriate figures against each *pargana*. Jarrett in his translation (vol. II, ed. Sarkar, pp. 129ff.) did reproduce the statistics in a tabular form but in a very eccentric fashion and without any reference to the arrangement in the MSS. He put the last two columns (*Sawar* and *Piyada*) in the fourth and fifth places and put the sixth column in the original in the last place. He put in his own headings over these columns, " Bighas, Biswas " for " *arazi* " and " Castes " for " *Zamindar*."

For his last substitution he was obviously deceived by Blochmann's text, which simply omits all mention of the word *zamindar* in these tables. But he was not alone in being thus deceived, although doubtless his own translation has misled still many others. It is in fact this editorial error which has led many modern authorities to the view that the *Ain* precludes the existence of *zamindars* in the territories lying directly under imperial administration. Moreland believed that the term *zamindar* in the Mughal period signified an autonomous tributary chief, though he admitted that the word could have had a wider connotation in Bengal, while he found it hard to interpret the local traditions relating to Mughal times about clans and their chiefs in a province like Awadh, which lay so close to the centre of the Empire. (*Agrarian System of Moslem India*, pp. 122, 123, 191-4, 279 etc.). Dr. Saran does not seem to have felt even such doubts and summarily defines *zamindar* as ' vassal chief', dismissing as an " absurdity " any implication that the *zamindars* could have existed in all portions of the Empire. (*Provincial Government of the Mughals*, pp. 111 and *n.*, 261-2).

These assertions become untenable once the original headings of the *Ain* are restored. The entries under the column headed *zamindars* give the castes of zamindars, not castes of the inhabitants in general as an innocent reader of Jarrett's translation might assume. (Had this been the case it would have to be supposed that almost the majority of the people of Mughal India were Rajputs !) In the case of the outlying provinces like Bengal, Orissa, Bihar, Berar and Khandesh the entries are left blank against the individual *parganas*, note being made only in most, but not all, cases against the respective *sarkars* under which the *parganas* were grouped. But the fullest details, *pargana*-wise, are given under the provinces closes to the heart of the Empire, like Agra, Dehli, Awadh, Ilahabad, Lahore, Ajmir and Gujarat. Rare

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indeed is the *pargana* in these directly administered territories, where the caste of the *zamindars* is not given. There can hardly be any doubt, then, that the *zamindars* were no strangers to the Mughal system, that their existence was universal throughout the Empire and that they occupied a place so important that their castes had to be enumerated in the Official statistics.

Nothing in what has been said above should be taken to imply that there is any objection to the view that the vassal chiefs were also described in our period by the term *zamindar* or the synonymous *bumi*. We have clearest instances of the employment of these terms in this sense in Abu-l Fazl's own works, *e.g.* in the *Ain*, Blochmann's ed. I, pp. 477-82, 486, and in the *Akbarnama*, Bib. Ind., III, p. 533 (for the *raja* of Kumaun). What is here being contested is the notion that this was the exclusive way in which they were used. It was a common practice in the Mughal chancery to depress the titles of the contemporary kinglets and rulers in India. Abu-l Fazl consistently uses the word *marzban* for them, not *shah* or *padshah*. Aurangzeb calls both the Adil Shah and Qutb Shah *dunyadars*, a term almost certainly suggested by the word *zamindar* (*dunya* meaning the world and *zamin* meaning earth or land). (*Adab-i 'Alamgiri*, Br. M. Or. 177, f. 38 a-b). It would, therefore, not be surprising if the word *zamindar* itself was applied to the autonomous chiefs, known to their subjects as *rajas*, *raos*, *ranas*, *rawats*, etc., partly at least in order to lower their status by giving them a name borne also by much lesser men.

It is at the same time true that beyond establishing the fact that these lesser men, the ordinary *zamindars* existed in every nook and corner of the imperial dominions and not only on the periphery, the *Ain* has only a limited amount of information to impart to us regarding their position and status. The emphasis on their castes is interesting and connects them with the ancestors of the present land-holding castes. These clans tend to settle in blocks, as it were, and the fact that many *parganas* in the *Ain* have only one clan entered respectively against them, may suggest that the limits of the *parganas* themselves had been defined while keeping the castes of the zamindars in view. In this connection Charles Elliot's remarks in his *Chronicles of Oonao*, Allahabad, 1862, p. 149 *n.* are of some interest. " The limits of a Pergunnah," he says, "hardly ever coincide with physical or geographical boundaries and the only other cause for their irregular tracing seems to be proprietory (he means *zamindari*) right." He goes on, following a line of argument of no concern to us at the moment, to say that the *pargana* may be " defined as a tract of land in the possession of one undivided clan."

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A second point of some significance seems to be the association of *zamindari* right with the possession of armed force. It is noteworthy that the columns of cavalry and infantry (sometimes also containing figures for elephants) follow the column of the zamindars in the *Ain*'s statistics. This is obscured in Jarrett's translation, but this is due to his tampering with the original arrangement without any warrant whatsoever. From their position itself it is most probable that the figures under these two columns are those of the troops of the *zamindars* of the respective *parganas* and *sarkars*. What is still more suggestive is the fact that the provincial statistics contain totals of the *pargana* or *sarkar* figures of these troops and style them *bumi*, which term, as we have noted, was synonymous with *zamindar*. The total of these provincial figures amount to the following : 3,84,558 cavalry ; 42,77,057 infantry ; 1,863 elephants ; 4,260 guns ; and 4,500 boats. The cavalry and infantry thus come to a little over 46 lakhs. This figure is to be kept in mind while reading a statement elsewhere in the *Ain*. "The troops of the *zamindars*," it declares, while speaking of the imperial army, "exceed forty-four *laks*." This number indicates that the reference is not exclusively to the troops of the autonomous chiefs, but to the troops entered against each pargana throughout the Empire and this in its own turn shows that the latter were really the retainers of local *zamindars*.

The net result of this enquiry then is that the *zamindars* were a universal feature of the agrarian life of Mughal India and that they were settled on a clan or caste basis and were commonly characterised by command of armed force. How they actually fitted into the system of regular administration, described in such detail by the *Ain*, is unfortunately left obscure by Abu-l Fazl. Here we must call in the aid of other material but this lies beyond the scope of the present paper.

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THE THEORY OF THE NUR JAHAN 'JUNTA'— A CRITICAL EXAMINATION

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Dr. Beni Prasad, in his learned work *A History of Jahangir*, has put forward the theory that a 'junta' consisting of Nur Jahan Begum, I'timad-ud-Daula, Asaf Khan and Prince Khurram became dominant at the Mughal court shortly after the marriage of Nur Jahan with Jahangir and remained so till 1620.[1] It broke up when Nur Jahan realised that Shah Jahan, with his domineering nature, would relegate her to the background if he were to succeed to the throne. She therefore decided to supersede him by a more pliable instrument, Shahriyar, whose marriage was arranged with her daughter, Ladli Begum. The 'junta' consolidated its power by filling most of the vacancies in the imperial service with its own creatures to an extent that its 'favour was the sole passport to honour and rank'. This naturally aroused the jealousy and hostility of the other nobles.[2] Consequently, the Court was split into two factions during this period: the adherents of the Nur Jahan 'junta', and the rival party whose candidate for the throne was Khusrau.[3]

Dr. Beni Prasad attributes to the working of the 'junta' the following:

Rapid rise in the *mansabs* of I'timad-ud-Daula, and his family;[4] interruption in the promotion of Mahabat Khan between 1612 and 1622 (and presumably in the career of others like him);[5] imprisonment

1. Though Dr. Beni Prasad starts by saying that the junta broke up in 1622 with Itimad-ud-Daula's death and Shah Jahan's rebellion, he later suggests that it broke up with Shahriyar's marriage.

2. 'All those who were, or fancied that they were deprived of their due neep of power and left in outer darkness'. 'Abd-ur-Rahim Khan-i-Khanan temporised with the dominant junta, but prouder spirits like Mahabat Khan refused to pay them homage'.

3. Beni Prasad, *A History of Jahangir*, 1940, pp. 159-172.

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 160-163.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 168.

6. "His disgrace was only one more in the game for unquestioned supremacy which the Nur Jahan junta was now playing with heart and soul." *Ibid.*, p. 204.

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of Khan-i-A'zam ;[6] extraordinary rise of Khurram,[7] eclipse of Parvez ;[8] and the varying fortunes of Khusrau.[9]

The above theory requires a careful examination, because, if accepted, it would imply that from quite early in the reign of Jahangir, the ' junta ' started intriguing in its selfish interests (thus ignoring the interests of Jahangir), and that the party groupings at the court centered round the ' junta ' and its opponents. A close examination of the sources and the sequence of events, however, suggests that this theory cannot be substantiated.[10] Consequently, the nature of the groupings at the court, the internal stresses within the nobility and the rôle of the emperor have to be analysed further for a proper understanding of the principal political events during the period.

This theory is based principally on the European sources, notably on the statements of Sir Thomas Roe. Roe definitely refers to the existence of a ' junta ' consisting of Nur Jahan, I'timad-ud-Daula, Asaf Khan and Shah Jahan, in the context of Shah Jahan's attempt to secure the custody of Khusrau in 1616,[11] and where he asserts that the main strength of Khurram lay in the support which he received from Nur Jahan.[12] It is quite obvious that the information of Roe and the other foreigners is based upon rumours that were circulating about Khusrau, Khurram and Nur Jahan and hence his observations cannot be relied upon entirely. However it is significant that from the end of 1616, rumours became current of an estrangement between Nur Jahan and Shah Jahan, and of an alliance between the former and Khusrau. Such rumours became quite common in 1617 and again in 1619, as will appear from the following statements :—

1616—Rumour of an alliance between Asaf Khan and Khusrau.[13]

12-12-1616—" Sultan Khusrau shall marry "Nur Mahal's daughter and have liberty and that all faction will adhere to him."[14]

7. *Ibid.*, pp. 164-165, 230, 242-43.

On his return from the Deccan, where he had achieved nothing significant, he was given the unusual title of Shah Jahan and an unprecedented rise in *mansab*. " But the junta celebrated this performance with high pomp and magnificence which were calculated to enhance their own glory and prestige." *Ibid.*, p. 243.

8. *Ibid.*, pp. 166, 230.

9. *Ibid.*, pp. 169-172, 283-291.

10. Dr. R. P. Tripathi has rejected the ' junta ' theory, but has not put forward his arguments in details for doing so. Cf. *Rise and Fall of the Mughal Empire.*

11. *Purchass and his Pilgrims*, vol. IV, pp. 361-62, 365-66, 377-78.

12. *Letters received by the East India Company from its Servants in the East* (1896-1902), v/362.

13. Purchass, vol. IV, p. 385.

14. Roe, p. 363.

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21-8-1617.—" Nur Mahal and Asaf Khan, by their father's advice came out to make peace with Khusrau and alliance and with infinite joy his liberty is expected."[15]

25-8-1617—Report of a feast of Khusrau with Nur Jahan and the likelihood of an alliance which would bring about Khusrau's liberty and Khurram's downfall.[16]

17-9-1619—Rumour that the Emperor had displaced prince Khurram.[17]

30-9-1619—Rumours of Khurram's disgrace and Khusrau's liberty. 'Raising of him (Khusrau) will be the fall of the other whose high expectations would by no means be induced to conformity'.[18]

Taken as a whole, the above statements suggest that from the end of 1616 the relations between Nur Jahan and Shah Jahan were not particularly cordial. The other European sources refer to Nur Jahan's immense influence, or to the popularity of Khusrau and Shah Jahan's hostility towards him, but provide no evidence of factional alliance between Nur Jahan and Shah Jahan.[19]

Among the Persian sources, Mu'tamad Khan strongly complains of the excessive influence of Nur Jahan and of the fact that all her relations and friends got posts and appointments in the state, and the choicest *jagirs* of Hindustan were in the hands of those who were related to or associated with her.[20] There is, of course, no question of Mu'tamad Khan suggesting any factional alliance between Nur Jahan and Shah Jahan. On the other hand, he is keen to prove that Nur Jahan was hostile and unjust to Shah Jahan for selfish reasons. Since it appears that both his works (*viz.* the third volume of the *Iqbal Nama-i-Jahangiri* and the *Ahwal-i-Shahzadagi-i-Shah Jahan Padshah*) were written during the reign of Shah Jahan, his prejudice against Nur Jahan is quite under-

15. Purchass, vol. IV, p. 404.

16. Roe, p. 407. Cf. Della Valle that Nur Jahan repeatedly offered her daughter in marriage to Khusrau, but he rejected the offer. In despair she gave her daughter to Shahriyar. pp. 50-57.

17. *English Factories in India*, vol. I, p. 122.

18. *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 123.

19. Terry, pp. 406, 411-412 ; James Bickford to Sir T. Smith, *Letters Received*, vol. V, p. 134.

20. *Iqbal Name-i-Jahangira* (Bib. Ind.), vol. III, pp. 74, 80.

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standable.[21] Kamgar Husain, who wrote his *Ma'asir-i-Jahangiri* in 1630, also adopts the same line of argument.

The little known *Tawarikh-i-Jahangir Shahi* of Wali Sirhindi, written in the fourteenth year of Jahangir's reign, was composed for the purpose of winning imperial favour.[22] It contains eulogies to Jahangir, I'timad-ud-Daula, Asaf Khan, the prince and some of the nobles. But significantly enough, it makes no mention of Nur Jahan, thus casting a doubt on the view that she exercised undue influence even before 1620.

Kami Shirazi's *Fath Nama-i-Nur Jahan Begum*[23] written at Kabul in 1625-26, deals with the rebellion of Mahabat Khan, and as such contains no reference to or suggestion of any factional alliance between Nur Jahan and Shah Jahan during the earlier period.

Intikhab-i-Jahangir Shahi, identified by Elliot as the fragment of a contemporary work, appears on a close internal examination to be a source of doubtful authenticity, compiled at a much later date.[24] But the anecdote mentioned even in this source cannot be considered as supporting the 'junta' theory. The anecdote is summarised as follows:[25]

21. Although the third volume of *Iqbal Nama* gives the impression that it was written during the region of Jahangir, it is very unlikely that it could have been written when Jahangir was alive and Nur Jahan was at the height of her power. In the preface to the earliest known copy of *Iqbal Nama* dated 1635 (Bankipur MS. 560) it is definitely stated that the work was written in two volumes concluding with the death of Akbar. The third volume, dealing with the reign of Jahangir, was therefore written, presumably after 1635 when Mu'tamad Khan was holding the post of the Imperial Bakhshi to Shah Jahan. *Ahwal-i-Shahzadagi-i-Shah Jahan Padshah* (being the first section of Bankipur MS. 565) was definitely written during Shah Jahan's reign (for his criticism of Nur Jahan's hostility to Shah Jahan, see ff. 16-17b *et seq.*)

The historians of Shah Jahan's reign were faced with a political dilemma: If they justified Shah Jahan's rebellion, they would be supporting a dangerous political theory (Cf. Aurangazeb's taunt to Shah Jahan in 1658, *Adab-i-Alamgiri*); if however they were to condemn the rebellion, it would be a slur on imperial dignity. Shah Jahan's rebellion was therefore represented not as a revolt against Jahangir, but as an act of loyalty to him to free him from the undesirable and selfish influence of Nur Jahan.

22. Bodleian, Seldon MS. 23 (Cat. No. 231) ff. 389b-421a. The author, Wali Sirhindi, had prepared a dictionary of medical terms, *Farhang-i-Badi'-ul-Lughat-i-Jahangiri*. This sketchy history was included as a sort of a preparatory note to the dictionary.

23. Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris (Blochet iii/1874). A metrical history giving an account of the victory of Nur Jahan over Mahabat Khan during the latter's rebellion. Also entitled *Waqai-uz-Zaman*.

24. *ED*, vol. VI, pp. 446-47. British Museum, Or., 1648 ff. 181b-201b. It appears that a much later writer collected from the *Tuzuk*, the *Iqbal Nama* and other works (contemporary or later) a number of disjointed anecdotes and legends regarding Jahangir's reign (many in the direct form of speech). All of these cannot be entirely relied upon.

25. B. M. Or. 1648, ff. 195a *et seq.* ED, vol. VI, p. 451.

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In the presence of Khan-i-Alam and Khan-i-Jahan, Mahabat Khan complained to Jahangir against the excessive influence exercised by Nur Jahan. He also pleaded for the release of Khusrau from perpetual confinement[26] and for entrusting him to one of the confidants of the emperor. The safety of the emperor and the peace of the empire depended on the life of Khusrau. Khan-i-Alam and Khan-i-Jahan corroborated the statement and the next day Jahangir entrusted Khusrau to Khan-i-Jahan with permission to pay his respects at the court. Khusrau was also given a horse to ride.[27] For a few days after Mahabat Khan left Jahangir at Pakli, the latter was careful, but on reaching Kashmir he again fell under the control of Nur Jahan.[28]

Apart from the fact of the doubtful authenticity of the work, and the extreme unlikelihood of a noble complaining to Jahangir about Nur Jahan in 1620, the incident presents certain other difficulties in regard to the 'junta' theory. Firstly, Mahabat Khan was with Jahangir for about three weeks in February, 1620,[29] but before this time, restrictions on Khusrau had already been relaxed. Secondly, this piece of evidence can be used in support of the 'junta' theory only if it is proved that in 1620, Nur Jahan was using her influence to keep Khusrau in confinement, presumably in the interest of Shah Jahan. However, as has been shown later, Shah Jahan's demand for taking Khusrau with himself to the Deccan, and the betrothal of Shahriyar to Ladli Begum at about the same time, indicate mutual suspicion between Shah Jahan and the court circles. It seems that Shah Jahan's taking custody of Khusrau was sought to be counteracted by the betrothal of Shahriyar to Ladli Begum.

It will thus be seen that the direct evidence of a factional alliance between Shah Jahan and Nur Jahan is of an extremely dubious nature.

26. While Jahangir was at Brindaban in 1619, Khusrau was released from confinement and permitted to come and pay his respects at the Court. *Tuzuk*, p. 280, According to *IN*, 'Aziz Koka had asked Jad Rup Gosain to pray for Khusrau's relase (vol. III, pp. 129-30). Wali Sirhindi, writing in 1619, praises the sons of the emperor, starting with Khusrau. His account certainly goes against the possibility of Khusrau being in confinement at the time. (ff. 406a and b).

27. From a statement in *IN*, that Khusrau, Khan-i-Jahan and Khan-i-Alam rode one stage behind the emperor during the march to Kashmir in 1620 (vol. III, p.128) it appears possible that Khan-i-Jahan might have been entrusted with the responsibility of keeping an eye on Khusrau. But Mu'tamad Khan contradicts himself when he says in *IN*, that when Khusrau was handed over to Shah Jahan he had been in prison for a long time. (vol. III, p. 176). In *Ahwal*, he says that at that time Khusrau was in prison in the custody of Khwaja Abul Hasan, (f. 15b).

28. Immediately after leaving Pakli and before reaching Kashmir, Jahangir ordered that in view of the narrowness of the road, no officer should ride with him except Asaf Khan and Mu'tamad Khan. *Tuzuk*, pp. 292-93 ; *IN*, vol, III, p. 188.

In view of the points raised in this and the preceding notes, it appears that the anecdote mentioned in Or. 1648 may have been based on later legends which grew out of the incidents given in the *Tuzuk* and *IN*.

29. *Tuzuk*, pp. 287-89.

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We may now examine the facts and events which Dr. Beni Prasad has sought to explain in terms of the ' junta ' theory.

The rapid rise in the *mansabs* of I'timad-ud-Daula and his family cannot be denied. But the rise in their *mansabs* becomes particularly marked from 1616. Till early in 1616, the *mansabs* held by the family were—I'timad-ud-Daula, 6000/3000; Asaf Khan, 4000/2000; Itiqad Khan, 1500/500; Ibrahim Khan, 2500/2000. However, the rise of this family should be seen in the light of the historical circumstances of the times. It was customary from the time of Akbar that high *mansabs* were given to many members of the families of the leading nobles.[30] Jahangir continued the tradition, and I'timad-ud-Daula's was not the only family many of whose members received high *mansabs*.

Soon after his release, Khan-i-Azam was given the *mansab* of 5000 in 1615, which was raised to 7000 in 1616, in the same year as the *mansab* of I'timad-ud-Daula was raised to 7000/5000. Khan-i-Azam's son, Jahangir Quli Khan, was raised to the *mansab* of 2500/2000 in 1615 and appointed Governor of Allahabad in that year. In 1617, he was appointed Governor of Bihar, a post he held till 1619. Khan-i-A'zam's younger son, Khurram (Kamal Khan), held the *mansab* of 2500, while his brother, Abd-ullah was raised to 1000/300 in 1618. Similarly, Khan-i-Khanan reached the *mansab* of 7000/7000 in 1618, one year before I'timad-ud-Daula reached that *mansab*. He continued as the *de facto* commander of the Deccan throughout this period.[31] His son, Shah Nawaz Khan, was raised to 5000/2000 2-3h in 1618, the year in which Asaf Khan was raised to 5000/4000 2-3h. Khan-i-Khanan's other sons were also given high *mansabs*. The combined *mansab* of 'Abdullah Khan Firuz Jung and his family had reached 12000 *sawars du aspa sih aspa* in 1613, which compared not unfavourably with the combined *mansab* of I'timad-ud-Daula and his family in 1616.[32]

Though Mahabat Khan's personal *mansab* was not raised beyond 4000/3500 after 1612, in 1614 he was given additional *jagir* worth 3

30. *E.g.*, the family of ' Aziz Koka :

Khan-i-Kalan, 5000; Qutub-ud-Din Muhammad Khan, 5000; Naurang Khan, 4000; Sharif Muhammad Khan, 3000; Shah Muhammad Khan, 2000; Shams-ud-Din Husain (later Jahangir Quli Khan), 2000; Shadman, 1500; 'Aziz Koka himself reached the *mansab* of 7000 during Akbar's reign.

The family of Man Singh :

Bhagwan Das, 5000; Man Singh 7000; Jagannath, 5000; Raj Singh, 4000/3000; Askaran, 8000; Madho Singh, 3000/2000; Khangar, 2000, etc.

31. There is no evidence that Khan-i-Khanan temporised with the dominant ' junta ', as Beni Prasad suggests. According to Roe ' Shah Jahan was more favourably inclined towards ' Abdullah Khan Firuz Jung than towards Khan-i-Khanan. Purchass, vol. IV, p. 359.

32. The account of the *mansabs* and the appointments is based on the *Tuzuk*.

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kror dams.[33] He was given *du aspa sih aspa* rank in 1615 which had to be curtailed later when he did not bring to muster the required contingent.[34] It should also be remembered that though he had been entrusted with the command of Mewar, he had not achieved much. However, during this period, Mahabat Khan was by no means relegated to the background. He was sent to bring back Khan-i-Azam from the Mewar campaign.[35] He was also entrusted with important missions to the Deccan. In 1617, he was appoined to the very important command of Kabul, to bring under control the continuing tribal unrest.[36] His son, Aman-ullah, was raised to the *mansab* of 1000/600 in 1615, to 1500/400 in 1619 and 2000/1500 in 1620. Again it was on his recommendation that the *mansab* of Mubariz Khan was raised to 2000/1500 and Sardar Afghan was appointed to 1000/400.[37] After the custody of Khusrau was taken from Ani Rai Singh Dalan, the latter was raised in 1618 to the *mansab* of 2000/1600. Early in 1620, at the request of Mahabat Khan, he was posted to serve in the Bangash campaign.[38] If the *Intikhab-i-Jahangir Shahi* is to be believed, Mahabat Khan was by no means out of favour with Jahanagir.

During the period under review, a very large number of nobles received promotion. A few of the nobles, apart from those mentioned earlier, who were promoted were :—

Khwaja Jahan 3000/1000 (1614), 3500/2200 (1615), 5000/2500 (1619), 5000/3000 (1620), held the governorship of Agra.–Khan-i-'Alam, on return from embassy to Persia, *mansab* raised–5000/3000 (1620). Khwaja Ab'ul Hasan–4000/2000 (1618), 5000/2000–(1620), held the post of Mir Bakhshi. Qilij Khan 6000/5000 (1611) appointed Governor of Kabul ; his son Chin Qilij, appointed Governor of Gujarat. Murtaza Khan 6000/5000 (1613), governorship of Punjab, continued to remain in favour and held a position of influence. Khan-i-Jahan Lodi was obviously very much in favour and held the governorships of Agra and Multan during the period. Mirza Rustam Safavi's *mansab* was raised to 5000/1500 in 1618. Bahadur Khan raised to 5000/4000 in 1620. Similarly great favour was shown to Dilawar Khan, Bir Singh Deo Bundela, Suraj Singh, Khan-i-Dauran, Muqarrab Khan, Sadiq Khan, Saif Khan, Amanat Khan, Rizavi Khan, Keshav Das Maru, Ram Dad Kachhwaha etc.[39]

33. *Ahwal*, f. 8b.
34. *Tuzuk*, p. 190.
35. *Ibid.*, pp. 126-27.
36. *Ibid.*, p. 196.
37. *Ibid.*, p. 320.
38. *Ibid.*, p. 305.
39. The above information is based on the *Tuzuk*.

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The career of the above nobles reveals that promotions were fairly well spread and it would not be correct to assume that the sole passport to promotion was the favour of the 'junta'. Many of the persons mentioned above were either hostile to the so-called 'junta' or not connected with it,[40] while the affiliations of many others are not known. Thus, it would not be correct to assume that during this period, the court was divided into two factions, for and against the 'juna'. In a very interesting letter which the Khan-i-A'zam wrote to Jahangir in 1613. he makes his dislike for Qilij Khan, 'Abd-ullah Khan Firuz Jung, Mahabat Khan, Khan-i-Jahan and Murtaza Khan obvious. Qilij Khan and Murtaza Khan apparently intrigued against Khan-i-Dauran.[41] Shah Jahan's relations with Murtaza Khan were by no means cordial,[42] though the latter was certainly no partisan of Khusrau. Mahabat Khan may or may not have been hostile to Nur Jahan, but he was certainly hostile to both Asaf Khan and to Shah Jahan.[43] Therefore, there seems to have been an antipathy between Khan-i-Khanan and 'Abdullah Khan.[44] It will thus be seen that there were many factions among the nobles, that they intrigued against each other; but no single group succeeded in ousting the others from positions of power or importance.

If the position of the princes is carefully analysed, it would appear that the 'junta' theory does not offer a satisfactory explanation of the actual situation.

Khusrau had not only been put forward as a claimant to the throne against Jahangir himself, but had actually revolted in 1606. In 1608, it was alleged that he had entered into a conspiracy for an attack upon the emperor's life. In 1610, there was an outbreak in Bihar in his name. Under these circumstances, Jahangir's attitude towards Khusrau had become hardened even before his marriage to Nur Jahan. He had tried to build up the position of Parvez, but Parvez failed first in the Mewar campaign, and then in the Deccan. Moreover, he could earn a reputation neither as a commander nor as an administrator. Consequently, it was but natural that Khurram was given a chance to lead the Mewar campaign in 1613.[45]

40. Eg. Khan-i-Alam, Khan-i-Jahan, Murtaza Khan, Ani Rai Singh, Dalan, Khan-i-Azam, Khwaja Abul Hasan, etc.

41. This letter is included in *Jalal Hisari's Maktubat-i-Khan-i-Jahan Muzaffar Khan wa Gwaliyar Nama waghaira* (British Museum, Add. 16, 859, ff. 17a-19b), apparently by mistake. I am grateful to my colleague, Dr. Irfan Habib, for drawing my attention to this letter.

42. *Tuzuk.*, p. 254.

43. *Ahwal*, ff. 18b-19b.

44. Purchass, vol. IV, p. 859.

45. Jahangir suggests that Khurram was appointed at the request of Khan-i-A'zam *Tuzuk*, p. 126. But this is not supported by the account given earlier on p. 125.

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Khurram, it seems, had been nursing ambitions from his early youth. It was he who had discovered the alleged conspiracy of Khusrau in 1608. We cannot judge whether Khusrau was actually guilty of the conspiracy or not, but the discovery of the plot earned for Khurram his father's gratitude.[46] When he was appointed to the Mewar campaign, he accused Khan-i-A'zam of intriguing in the interest of Khusrau. With the suspicion which Jahangir already had regarding both Khusrau and Khan-i-A'zam, he readily believed Khurram and imprisoned Khan-i-A'zam.[47] At the same time restrictions on Khusrau were reimposed.[48] It is thus easy to see that these actions were taken at the instance of Khurram.

The victory of Khurram in the Mewar campaign not only raised the prestige of the empire, but seems to have convinced Jahangir that Khurram was the ablest among his sons. It was therefore natural that when in 1915-16, the situation in the Deccan continued to remain out of control, he decided to transfer Parvez, who had proved to be a failure, to Allahabad, and send Khurram in over-all command of the Deccan. To give Khurram added prestige, his *mansab* was raised and the title of Shah conferred upon him. It was about this time that the custody of Khusrau was transferred from Ani Rai Singh Dalan to Asaf Khan, presumably to reassure Khurram.[49]

The problem of the Deccan had defied solution since the beginning of Jahangir's reign and had not been solved by many of the renowned generals. The constant bickerings among the commanders and the rumours of bribery and corruption were deemed to be the principal causes of this failure. When Parvez, as the representative of the emperor, was unable to handle the situation, and the Khan-i-Khanan sent urgent appeals for reinforcements, Khurram was the obvious choice. There is no doubt that Khurram's appointment materially contributed to the successful conclusion of the Deccan campaign.[50] The Mughals regained what they had lost; perhaps they did not want anything more. It was hoped that a peace concluded on such a basis would prove to be durable and bring to an end the prolonged warfare which had almost ruined the economy of the Deccan and had caused such a drain on the treasury. The magnificent reception accorded to Khurram must have also impressed the Deccan States. In any case, Khurram became the emperor's favourite, received the unprecedented title of Shah Jahan,

46. *Tuzuk*, p. 58.

47. *Tuzuk*, p. 58.

48. *Tuzuk*, p. 128. Restrictions on Khusrau had been relaxed in autumn 1613. *Ibid.*, p. 123.

49. *Ibid.*, p. 164.

50. Cf. Wali Sirhindi, f. 412b ; *Ahwal*, ff. 12a and b.

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an extraordinary rise in his *mansab*, and marked out as the heir-designate.[51]

It seems that by 1619, it was being realised that Shah Jahan was becoming too powerful and it would not be prudent to allow a situation to develop in which he might consider himself no longer dependent upon the emperor's favour. Consequently, Khusrau was released in 1619, and the *mansab* of Parvez was raised to 20,000/10,000 in the same year.[52] The release of Khusrau could not have been to the liking of Shah Jahan,[53] and when he was asked to proceed to the Daccan for a second time, he insisted on taking Khusrau with him. This insistence suggests that he was perhaps afraid that the court circles might put Khusrau on the throne should anything happen to Jahangir. However, Shah Jahan was in such a strong position at that time that his demand for taking Khusrau could not be turned down. But it is very likely that this demand was resented and it was decided at that very time that Shahriyar should be betrothed to Ladli Begum,[54] possibly as a check upon the ambitions of Shah Jahan.[55] While the positions of Parvez and Shahriyar were built-up to some extent as a safeguard against the possibility of Shah Jahan assuming greater airs, nothing was done against him directly. Not only was Khusrau handed over to him, but when he left for the Deccan, a magnificent army and a large number of *mansabdars* and *ahdis* were sent with him.[56]

While a stage did come when the interests of Shah Jahan differed from those of the emperor, the interests of Nur Jahan were intimately bound-up with those of the emperor. She certainly had the wisdom to realise that her own position depended entirely on the life of her husband. Thus it is not possible to find a dichotomy between her interests and those of Jahangir, and this presumably was the reason for whatever influence she exercised. However, till 1620 the decisions, even though influenced by Nur Jahan to some extent, were definitely the decisions of Jahagnir himself. There seems to be no special motive for Nur Jahan to enter into an alliance with Shah Jahan in her own selfish interests, as distinct from the interests of Jahangir. Thus, the position of Shah Jahan was built-up not because of the existence of a 'junta', but as a part of imperial policy; measures against Khusrau

51. *Tuzuk*, p. 239.

52. *Ibid.*, p. 267.

53. The rumours of Khurram's downfall and of the rehabilitation of Khusrau which became current in September 1619 (quoted above) strengthen this assumption.

54. Shahriyar's betrothal, Nov.-Dec. 1620, *Tuzuk*, p. 320; Shah Jahan's departure, Dec. 1620. *Ibid.*, p. 322.

55. Mu'tamad Khan clearly says that the betrothal of Ladli Begum to Shahriyar was an act of hostility to Shah Jahan. *Ahwal*, f. 17a.

56. *Tuzuk*, p. 328.

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were taken at the instance of Shah Jahan; and finally, the position of the other princes was sought to be strengthened as a safeguard against the ambitions of Shah Jahan.[57]

The reign of Jahangir saw a deepening crisis in the Mughal nobility. The desire of the nobles to have increasingly higher *mansabs* for themselves and their associates, and the laxity with which Jahangir granted these *mansabs*, seems to have created a difficult situation. It was not possible to find enough *jagirs* to keep pace with the increase in the *mansabs* and the number of *mansabdars*. In such situation it was only natural that there should be intrigues and factional struggles among the nobles.[58] Jahangir's own temperament was such that he could not handle such a situation with firmness or foresight. He was susceptible to backbiting and was often fickle-minded.[59] At the same time he showed leniency to a remarkable degree and continued to keep in high places many officers in whose integrity and loyalty he had little confidence.[60] This must have contributed even further to factionalism. Naturally, nobles tried to attach themselves either to the princes or to the other influential nobles. But although a close study of these groupings has yet to be undertaken, two observations may be tentatively made: (*a*) that the groupings and alliances were shifting in character; and, (*b*) that no single group could be considered to have become so powerful as to oust all the other groups from positions of importance. This crisis in the nobility is to be seen from the beginning of Jahangir's reign, and was not a new feature which developed after his marriage to Nur Jahan.

While the Amir-ul-Umara lived, he certainly enjoyed a dominant position at the court. After his death, I'timad-ud-Daula gradually rose in the emperor's favour and occupied the position which the Amir-ul-Umara had enjoyed. Jahangir had implicit faith in his wisdom, ability and loyalty.[61] Perhaps, his affection for Nur Jahan contributed to the influence of I'timad-ud-Daula, much in the same way as the matrimonial alliance must have contributed to the remarkable rise of the family of Raja Barah Mall during the reign of Akbar. But there is overwhelming evidence to show that during the period under review, the

57. Among the reasons for the break-up of the 'junta', Dr. Beni Prasad mentions the religious factor—Shah Jahan was gradually estranged from his Shi'ite associates and the Persian interest saw itself threatened by the rising Sunni party of Shah Jahan. *Op. cit.*, pp. 271, 276. Although there is no evidence to show that Nur Jahan was a Shi'ite, whatever might have been her religion, it is likely that her brother, Asaf Khan, also belonged to the same religion. There is certainly no reason to assume that Shah Jahan was estranged from Asaf Khan.

58. Cf. Khan-i-Azam's letter, *BM*, Add. 16, 859.

59. *Ibid.*

60. E.g. Khan-i-Khanan, Khan-i-A'zam, Man Singh, Asaf Khan, Jafar Beg etc.

61. Cf. his obituary notice written by Jahangir, *Tuzuk*, p. 339, *Cf.* also p. 136.

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main decisions were those of Jahangir himself and that the rise of I'timad-ud-Daula did not mean that the nobles who were not attached to him had lost their influence.

But the position of Asaf Khan, even though he became the *wakil*, was certainly much less important than that of his father.[62] The marriage of his daughter with Shah Jahan must have led to the belief that he was partial to the interests of that prince. But as soon as occasion arose to provide safeguards against Shah Jahan, I'timad-ud-Daula cast his weight against the prince, and hence by implication, against Asaf Khan.[63]

Conclusions:

The above review suggests the inadequacy of the 'junta' theory, for it provides an over-simplified picture of an otherwise complex situation. The assumption that between 1611 and 1620, Nur Jahan, I'timad-ud-Daula, Asaf Khan and Shah Jahan formed a single faction, does not conform to facts. During this period, there is little evidence to suggest that Nur Jahan was playing an active political rôle. Her independent political rôle starts with the decline in the health of Jahangir and the death of I'timad-ud-Daula. However, during this period, it does not seem that she exercised her influence, for factional ends. While I'timad-ud-Daula's position must have been strengthened because of Nur Jahan, there is no reason to doubt his implicit loyalty to Jahangir, and evidence of his factionalism is lacking. Asaf Khan's loyalty to Shah Jahan however does not suggest that there was also a factional alliance between the prince and I'timad-ud-Daula or Nur Jahan. In fact in his desire to build-up his own position, Shah Jahan could rely far more upon other nobles than either upon Nur Jahan or I'timad-ud-Daula. Finally, there seem to be innumerable groupings among the nobles who were intriguing against each other, but it would not be correct to assume that the groupings revolved principally in favour of or against the 'junta', or that any single group succeeded in ousting the other groups from positions of importance. Thus many of the political events of Jahangir's reign as well as the crisis in the nobility would become clear when the rôle of the different nobles is studied and the working of these groupings and their stresses and strains further analysed.

62. For examples of Asaf Khan being admonished, *Cf.* Purchass, vol. IV, pp. 882-83.

63. It appears from the *Tuzuk* that the betrothal of Shahriyar with Ladli Begum was arranged between Jahangir and I'timad-ud-Daula. *Tuzuk*, p. 320. In 1622, Mahabat Khan distinguished between the positions of Nur Jahan and Asaf Khan. He responded to the call of the former, but insisted that the latter be removed from the capital. *Ahwal* ff. 18b-19b.

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SOME GLIMPSES OF SOCIETY AND POLITY AS DEPICTED IN USMAN'S CHITRAVALI

Shri B. K. Singh

Usman's Chitravali, a book of 236 pages of 8 vol. size in print, was written in 1613 A.D. during Jahangir's reign. The poet was a resident of Ghazipur district in Uttar Pradesh, and was a Sufi by faith and conviction. Naturally therefore, he stood for communal harmony and concord, and has attempted to spread the message of Hindu-Muslim unity through his long poem. Chitravali is a fictitious female character in the poem and the story as interwoven around her is an allegory of insignificant literary merit, but the importance of the work lies in the few glimpses that it provides of the contemporary society and polity of the early 17th century and thus supplements our knowledge of the time which is mainly derived from the court chronicles and royal autobiographies which are silent about the social condition of the people.

The Chitravali was published by the Kashi Nagari Pracharini Sabha of Varanasi in 1912 and since then no subsequent edition has been issued. The manuscript was first discovered by Babu Ameer Singh in 1904 in the private library of the Maharaja of Banaras, which was not the original work, but a copy of the original and transcribed in the Kaithi script in 1759. The metre of the work is simple, after seven ardhalis (half of a Chaupai) there is a doha (Couplet). After the usual euology of the Creator and the prophet Muhammad and his disciples the poet has showered encomiums upon the ruling monarch who was Nuruddin (Jahangir).[1] His sense of justice has been highly praised by Usman who says that the monarch had got hung many golden bells fastened to silken strings and these were rung by those who sought immediate redress of their grievances.

The festival of Nauroz was celebrated with great eclat every year. A canopy in which the figures of the sun and moon and of the twelve signs of the zodiac were embroidered, was erected. A temporary throne was provided for the occasion on which were displayed precious stones like diamonds, pearls and jewels. Jahangir's munificence has been highly eulogized by Usman.[2] The Majesty received enormous

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presents from his people and from visitors who came from far-off places. Traders and scholars from countries like Arabia and Iraq visited his court. From Egypt came Rasa (metallic salt) and musk from Khotan.[3]

The names of Raja Vikrama and Bhoja were very well-known.[4] A kshatriya was duty bound to protect the honour of women and cows. In the Hindu courts bards were employed who composed poems in praise of their patrons and recited the compositions on appropriate occasions.[5] Musicians and dancers were maintained to entertain courtiers and nobles. Inside harems only eunuchs were employed for they were healthy and could be relied upon.

There is not much in the Chitravali which may help us in forming an idea of the political condition of the country. Ambassadors (Baseeta) were sent to the enemy before the commencement of hostilities for negotiation, but if a surprise attack was intended, no ambassador was sent; sometimes emissaries were sent when they had reached the vicinity of the country that was to be besieged.[6] Because Usman was a Sufi, he, therefore, did not know much about war and peace. A few weapons and arms, *viz.* Khang (sword), Kamaich (cannon), Tupak (matchlock), Sel and Katar (dagger)[7] that he mentions in his book are too well-known. Elephants were procured from Ceylon.[7A] The two varieties of dogs that were employed in hunting are Gurji and Siraji, the latter perhaps came from Shiraz.

The poet does not say much about crime and punishment also. Those who acted treacherously were punished by having their heads clean shaved and their faces painted black. The criminal was then made to ride a donkey and in this condition he was paraded through the streets and thereafter exiled from the country.[8] Captive's legs were tied to Payaja (leg chains). Traitors were burnt alive.[9] This punishment was also awarded for grave crimes.

About the state of education of the princely order there are several references, but about the education of the people there are practically none. Usman says that the princes were taught Amarkosh, Vedic Grammar, Yoga, Prosody and Rhetoric, Music, Geeta, Dramaturgy, Astronomy (including magic), and Geography. At another place Usman says the princes were taught the fourteen branches of knowledge, but he does not seem to know as to what those fourteen branches of knowledge were.[10] These subjects were considered to be an essential part of the education of a prince. Physical education was also provided and it consisted of regular exercises such as gadka and fari.[10A]

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The name of Chitravali is significant, because during Jahangir's reign painting got a fillip, unprecedented in the history of Mediaeval India, due to state patronage. Chitravali, the heroine, is depicted as possessing an art studio in her palace apartments which was decorated with the paintings drawn by Chitravali herself.[11] The art of music was also practised with great avidity and good singers were patronized by kings and nobles alike. In the Chitravali we find mentioned several musical instruments such as Pakhawaj, Mahuar (now used only by snake charmers), Chang, Vanshi (flute), Kamaich (?), Been, Piank, Huduk, Jaljant (Jalataranga), Daf, Jhanjh, Manjira and Tura. Amongst these Chang, Pinak and Huduk are now rarely usedi.[12] Usman seems to have been acquainted with classical music also. He gives the names of several popular ragas which were sung in those days. They were Bhairava, Kaushika, Meghmallar, Hindol, Deepak and Shri. Among these he says Shri raga is the principal raga and the particular school to which this raga belongs is very popular, by which he probably meant Shivamat and which according to him is Parvatimat. The other ragas which belong to this school according to Usman are Shri, Bhairava, Basant, Pancham, Meghmallar, and Natanarayan. In the Shri-raga group there are several raginis (he does not say five which is the actual number) *viz.*, Gauri, Madhumadhavi, Kedari, Malavi, Tarivan and Bihari. The Bhairava group of raginis are Bhairavi, Rava (?), Bengali, Gujari, Desi, Devagiri, Ghairati, Todi, Hindol and Lalit. In the Pancham group has been included Vibhas, Bhupali, Vadhisi, Karnati and Mali. The Meghmallar group consists of Gandhari, Sorath, Mallari (Malhar), Saderi, Harsingari and Kausiki. The sixth raga Nata has Natika, Kamodi, Kalyani, Nata, Hamiri, Ahiri and Sarangi (Sarang). Usman then proceeds to describe the components of a raga *viz.*, Audava, Khadava and Sampurna. And then the usual seven svaras of music have been enumerated.[13] In the same context there are a few references about the art of dancing, because in those days dance was considered to be a part of music. Usman does not seem to have been aware of the other schools of music, *i.e.*, Krishnamat and Bharatamat, may be these two might not have been in use in those days. Some of the ragas that Usman has mentioned are no more sung.

The writing of the Chitravali is itself a concrete example of communal harmony and good relations that existed between the two main communities of India, at least in the villages. Muslim saints were revered by the Hindus and Hindu saints by the Muslims. Usman's Teacher, certain Haji Peer, was respected both by the Hindus and Muslims.[14] Tantrik practices of recluses who belonged to the Shaiva sect appealed to the lower class people more, because besides astonishing them, they sometimes proved efficacious. Tantrik preachers pretended to possess supernatural powers. Their personal belongings consisted of Chakra (wheel), Khappar (begging bowl, sometimes a skull), Trisul (trident),

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rosaty[15] etc. The worship of Lord Shiva was more popular amongst the Hindus from olden times that Shiva can be easily moved and satisfied with only small offerings.[16] Amongst the Muslims saints and religious divines were worshipped. Usman mentions three such Muslim saints who were worshipped in those days. They were Shah Nizam Peer of Narnaul, Hazi Peer, a Sufi and the teacher of Usman,[17] and Shah Kutub of Garhidwar.

Social customs as a rule do not change easily and in a short time. They have come down to us in their present form from time immemorial and if there have been changes, they have come slowly. So the age in which Usman lived did not differ materially from the present as regards social customs and practices. People in those days had implicit faith in superstitions and dogmas, more so the illiterate, and their number was then great. They believed in the existence of etheral bodies like Danava and Churail.[18] Devotees and the laity who desired to please the gods made offerings and sometimes even promised to sacrifice animals like pigs of twelve years of age.[19] Because Usman was a Sufi, he was against idol worship, At several places he has tried to discourage idol worship,[20] but in a persuasive manner. People also believed in the efficacy of miracles and magic. It was the belief of many that by applying certain ointment (Lukanjan) to the eyes one can become invisible.[21]

The material supplied by the Chitravali about medical practice is very deficient. Vaidyas and Hakeems diagnosed ailments of the human body by feeling the pulse[22] and pills were prescribed for different diseases. Herbs were also tied to the arms of ailing persons.[23]

Obsequies and the last rites of the dead were performed by the son as is done now, and, therefore, a man who had no son, felt perturbed.[24] In old age people used to retire from the world and entrust the duty of looking after the family to their sons. The distribution of charities among the poor was considered a pious act, so one who had no male issue to succeed him was advised by the family priest to perform yajna and please the gods by penance and the distribution of charities.[25] The faqirs and sannyasis were greeted and welcomed when they visited the court or homes of persons and their feet were washed with water and massaged.[26]

The birth of a son was celebrated with enthusiasm by kings and commoners alike. Women used to pass the night singing and dancing to the accompaniment of drums and other musical instruments. In the morning the family priest or an astrologer was called who prepared a horoscope of the new born. On the sixth day was observed the

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Shasthi ceremony of the babe with great rejoicings and night long celebrations were held. If a king was blessed with a male offspring, he gave alms and awarded his peoples suitably.[27]

A few references to the marriage ceremony of the Hindus are very interesting. As the Hindus have always held the Kusha grass as sacred from time immemorial, it was used both at the time of marriage and also alms-giving. On the occasion of marriage the father of the girl held some Kusha grass and water in his hands and then gave his daughter in marriage. The garments of the couple were tied together and then the priests chanted mantras and the couple circumambulated the altar on which burnt fire seven times and then the marriage ceremony was considered as completed. The ceremony over, the bride was taken to a room called Kohabar whither later on the bride-groom was also taken and in that room the couple passed the night together and thus got acquainted with each other. This custom is prevalent in eastern Uttar Pradesh even now.[28] On the subsequent morning bridegroom's father distributed alms amongst the poor.[29] After the marriage ceremony the bridegroom's party was given a grand feast and at the time of their taking food obscene songs were sung and the party was humoured with filthy language that was directed against the men of the bridegroom's party. It is done even now in Uttar Pradesh. Other festivities of a boisterous nature were the explosion of crackers and colour throwing. The house of the bride was especially decorated and illuminated.[30] Various methods were adopted to introduce the couple to each other. One such method was the game of Chausar, in which the couple participated. When it was over they garlanded each other.[31] At the time of the parting, the daughter was given handsome presents by her father as well as by other relations. The bridegroom also got his due.

A few festivals that were observed with gusto in those days have also been mentioned by Usman. They were Divali, Holi, Shripanchami and Shivaratri.[32] They were observed as they are done now. Annual congregations used to attract people from far-off places and of all ages and communities, because besides providing amusements they also gave opportunities to the people to buy and sell their goods. One such festival was that of Girinar.[33]

Usman has not given a detailed account of the dress of the people or of kings and nobles. A few references tell us that the rich wore a Jhanga[34] (a flowing upper garment) and dagal (a long loose garment). Women used to wear Choli (a tight short sleeved shirt). Ornaments of women were of various types, but heavy in comparison to modern ornaments. They wore Tanda, rings, Kumbhia (ear-rings), necklace, Kinkini, Chuda, Payal and Bichhiya (worn on the leg and fingers

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of the feet respectively). Foot-wear was called Panwari. The ear of the Hindu children were bored and in them were worn Kundal[35] by even grown-ups. The ascetics put on tattered garments and covered themselves with a blanket or a sheet of cloth. They looked like modern recluses.

Textiles from Gujarat seem to have been very popular, because Usman writes about them appreciatively.[36] Women had great taste for jewellery. Some other widely worn ornaments were the Sheesh-ful, Besari worn in the lower holes of the nostrils, Khutila, Tarivan, Manimukta and bangles.[36aA]

Articles of food have been mentioned in some detail. The cook was called the Negi.[37] Usman says that the Bengalis have great weakness for seven coveted niceties of food, *viz.*, bananas, Kanji (fermented rice water), betel leaves, leafy vegetables, Rasa (juice of Khajur or date-palm), fish and rice. In feasts food was served on Pattals (flat plates made from big tree leaves joined together). Wheat was first washed with milk and then a special type of Paratha was prepared which was called Luchai. Rice was scented. The preparations made from gram and moong (a variety of pulse) were many and varied. Duhuka, Chhimi and Khandabara, Amrit bari, Fulaura and Bara were the other preparations that were at feasts. Duhendi, Lapsi were the other delicacies and pickles used to be of various varieties. Salty preparations like Samosa were also known. Some unique preparations consisted of fruits which had two flavours, for example some mangoes gave the taste of jackfruits, lemon that of the pomegranates and dates those of almonds.

Usman was well acquainted with the geographical features of an important city of India. The East India Company was founded in 1600 A.D. and the Englishmen first arrived in India in 1608. The Chitravali was composed in 1613, still Usman was aware of the presence of the Englishmen, but where he actually saw them and in what connection is not clear, because the identity of Balandip where he says he saw them is obscure.[39] Was it Bombay? Usman says it is difficult to reach there. The Englishmen are always after money, they drink wine and eat pigs. Wherever they go they establish harbours and take ships. Of the places mentioned by Usman most of them are still well-known. In Narnaul lived the Shah Nizam Peer and in Ghazipur Usman himself. The account of Ghazipur is detailed. Usman says " Ghazipur is a beautiful place and has been a place of pilgrimage from ancient times. Waters of the Jamuna and Ganga flow through this region and it is here that the Gomati loses its identity. Here reside both the Hindus and Muslims—Mughals Pathans, Rajputs, Bhats, Brahmans, artists, scholars and the Hindus of all the four varnas.

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The city is bustling with men professing different faiths and communities who live happily together.[40] Nepal, Saurashtra,[41] Kashmir, Tibet, Kumayun and Jambudeep are undefined indefinite regions. Some places like Nehnagar, Roopnagar[42] and Bhoganagar[43] are imaginary.[44] The names of mountains and rivers have also been given. They are Dhaulagiri, Nagamati, Bagamati. Among the places of pilgrimage are Hardwar, Badrinath, Kedarnath,[45] Rameshwar,[46] Mathura, Kashi, Brindaban, Prayag, Jaganath. Gorakhpur was also a place of pilgrimage, but of a particular sect among the Hindus, *i.e.*, Gokrahpanthis. There lived many recluses who mostly belonged to the Gorakhpanth and live in caves and practise austerities.[47]

Some foreign places and regions have also been mentioned. They are Khorasan, Rome, Siam, Mecca, Medina, Baghad, Istambul, Egypt, Laddakh, Ceylon, Pegu, Manipur, China. Amongst the Indian cities and territories mentioned are Multan, Sindh, Tbatta, Baluchistan, Gakkhar, Peshawar, Kabul, Gujarat, Jamnagar, Sailana (were according to Usman Adam was born), Karnatak, Nauranga, Kukhar (?), Orissa, Tailanga (Tilanganga), Tamilnad where lived the Firangis, Hughali, Belibandar, Berar, Devagiri, Chittor, Dehli, Agra, Rohitas, Maggah (Magahar), Tirhut, Garhiduar which was infested with dacoits and cheats, Bhathi, Porbandar, Sonargaon, Malua, Chatgaon, Sonedip, Kooch Kachar (?), where there were numerous hillocks of clay,[48] Makharhang (Mayurbhanj) and Assam. Some places have been graphically described. Usman says, "Bengal is a unique country. The land is covered with green foliage all the year round and jack fruits, coconut, mangoes, Sopari (Betel-nuts) grow in abundance. The land is under water for five months in a year. The Bengalis are rich people and are compassionate by nature. The people of Gujarat and Jamanagar are handsome to look at."[49]

Reference : Chitravali by Usman Kavi, Edited by Jaganmohan Varma, Kashi Nagari Pracharini Sabha, Varanasi, 1913. Pages, Introduction 19 pp. and work 236 pages. Price Rs. 2/-.

Ref.	P.	Ref.	P.	Ref.	P.	Ref.	P.
1.	6	14.	10	27.	22	39.	160
2.	8	15.	102	28.	154	40.	9
3.	6	16.	152	29.	156	41.	184
4.	111	17.	10	30.	198	42.	82
5.	151	18.	80	31.	202	43.	80
6.	188	19.	42	32.	102-178	44.	82
7.	158	20.	68	33.	157	45.	57
7A.	140						
8.	54	21.	86	34.	86	46.	160
9.	207	22.	88	35.	85	47.	81
10.	12	23.	128	36.	105	48.	161
11.	86	24.	15	36A.	98	49.	161
12.	29	25.	16	37	64		
13.	80	26.	17	38	199		

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THE DESHMUKH FAMILY OF PĀRWĀ IN VIDARBHA

(A HISTORIC VAISHYA LINGAYAT FAMILY DURING THE MUGHAL PERIOD)

SHRI D. B. MAHAJAN

Introductory :

IT was through the kindess of Shri T. D. *alias* Abasaheb Deshmukh, M.L.A. of Pārwā, that I had the great pleasure of examining various old and important documents tied up in about twenty bundles which constituted the valuable " Daftarkhana " of the Deshmukhs of Kelapur Paragana in old Berar. In the neglected bundles of papers were found about ten original documents written in Persian,[2] and the rest in Urdu and Modi scripts. These records contain valuable original Firmāns, issued by the Ālmirgir-Aurangzeb-old letters from the various Chiefs of States, Mahajars, Account-sheets, Political-correspondence from Poonā, Hyderabad, Chandā and Nāgpur, and many other miscellaneous documents of historical value.

These unpublished documents throw fresh light not only on the various events concerning this great family, but also on the important happenings in the history of the Marathas during the 16th and 17th centuries and that of the English during the 18th century. The following is the result of scrutiny of some of the valuable manuscripts made by the present writer. This information is coming before the readers for the first time.

Nagoji Basawantrai (1666-1699 A.D.) :

The real founder of this great family is still unknown. The oldest document available mentions the name of Nagoji Basawantrai, who is therefore known to be the maker of this family. "Basawantrai" is not the name of the father of Nagoji, but appears to be the family title[1] *e.g.*, Yeshwantrao Basawantrai, Nagorao Basawantrai and Anandrao Basawantrai etc. are the names found in the documents.

1. Udĕrām of Mahur and Jadhao of Sindhakhed, in Vidarbha are similar instances in point.
2. The writer has also made use of notes made by Dr. Y. K. Deshpande of Yeotmal on Persian documents, which are kept in " Sharadashram " Historical reserach institute, Yeotmal.

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Five of the documents issued by Aurangzeb during the period of Nagoji, supply us the following important information :—

(*a*) This Firamān is issued to Nagoji, in the Fasli year 1077, (1666 A.D.) by Khanjaman Vazir on the recommendations of one Harech Khan, for the services of the Deshmukhi and Deshpandyas of Paragana, Kelapur. It confers various rights including those of receiving Rusum and Lawājamā. It clearly mentions that it renews the old Watan continued from "Kadim." It makes a grant of 12 villages[3] as Inams to Nagoji, for his valuable help in putting down the revolts of the Gonds, and for rehabilitating the tract. The fact that members of this family held Sanads for Deshmukhi even prior to Nagoji, is supported by the writer of the Gazetteer[4] which states that "The Gond king Dhundia Ram Shah of Chanda (1597-1622 A.D.) had issued Sanads to Lingāyat Wānis (Banias)." There cannot be any other Lingayat family other than that of the present Deshmukhs of Pārwā. Besides, they are actually enjoying the Deshmukhi of the four Paraganas.

(*b*) This Sanad was issued in the Julus year 27 (1685 A.D.) four copies for four Paraganas of 1. Yot-Lohara, 2. Bori, 3. Kelapur and 4. Kalam, are available. Amanatkha issued one, on Cha. 5th Jillhej and 2nd on Cha. 22 Sewāl. Both the Sanads mention 14 villages as Inams.

(*c*) This Sanad was issued by Alamgir himself in his Julus year 36, (about 1694 A.D.) in the name of Nagoji, in which in addition to the Watans of Deshmukhi and Deshpandyapan, one Chawar of land at Kalam, is bestowed on Nagoji along with various rights and privileges.

All the above documents mention that Nagoji had rendered very valuable help in putting down the several revolts of Gonds, which shows that Nagoji had maintained some army under him.

(*d*) Yet another important letter[5] bearing the seal of the "Alamgir, Bādashāhā Gāzi" throws light on the military activities of the members of this family. It was issued through the Gond King Kibā *alias* Kiranshā of Chānda and states. "Although you were requested to come with your army, neither you nor your son Dongar Rai (Parwat Rai ?) arrived. You should depute Dongar Rai with selected army for

3. (1) Pandharkewada, (2) Jarud, (3) Māndwā, (4) Shioni, (5) Chincholi, (6) Jāmb, (7) Jarang, (8) Marēgaon, (9) Pārwā, (10) Pahāpal, (11) Khed sarad, (12) Akhalad.

4. "On Babbaji's death his son Dhundia Ram Shaha was enthroned Paraganas of Kelapur, (2) Bhori, (3) Yeotmal and (4) Kalam Haveli were bestowed on a Lingayat Bania (Chanda Gaz. p. 47)" (B) *Chandrapurchā Itihāsa* by A. J. Rajurkar, p. 85.

5. Letter is issued by "Shri Maha Rajadhiraj Shri, Bhupati Rai Shrikrishna Syahaji Raje to Gosawi Nagorao Deshmukh of Pārwā." (*b*) The seal reads as "Alamgir Badashaha Gazi, Kiransha."

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the campaign. Please arrange for money from some money-lenders. Money received from Aurangabad is already spent." The letter is torn at places and neither the date nor the name of the campaign is available. It addds "We have full confidence in you." The letter is genuine beyond all doubt. The seal stamp of Alamgir and the name of Kiransha therein clearly show that the Gond king was under the Moghal emperor and the Deshmukhs were working under the Gond king. That the Deshmukhs had army under them is again supported by the fact that there were armed soldiers in the Gadhis (small forts) at the villages 1. Kalamb 2. Pārwā, 3. Seoni and 4. Talegaon. There was considerable stock of arms[6] and ammunitions at these forts.

(*e*) Another Firmān issued in the Julus year 36, (F. 1104) bears the endorsement of Jamalulmuk Asad Khan. It repeats the names of Inam Villages etc.

(*f*) Another document of F. 1109 (1699 A.D.) bears the signatures of Mokaddams in the Paraganā, accepting Nagoji, as their Deshmukh.

There are various other valuable documents giving the accounts of the Paraganas during the period of Aurangzeb and throw light on the Revenue and judicial administration of Berar. The account sheets are signed by the members of the famous family and bear their family seals with dates. We can therefore fix the dates of various members in their chronological order.

From the fragmentary family tree available in the records, it is supposed that Dhumanji was the son of Dongar Rai; but this does not appear to be correct. We have seen that Dongar Rai was Nagoji's son. Thus Dhumanji and Dongar Rai appear to be brothers. This is supported by the account sheet (emolument) D/24-3-1862 (Anandrao's signature) which describes Nagorao as the original grantee in 7th generation. But the family tree shows that it counts as 8th generation as follows:—Nagoji → DongarRai → Dhumaji → Shankarrao → Yeshwantrao → Dattaji → Nagorao (2nd) → Anandrao. The family tree therefore, appears rather doubtful. It is unfortunate that no other document mentioning Dongar Rai's name is available in the record.

II. *Dhumanji Nagoji*:

Of the five important manuscripts three[7] which are in Fārshi, throw fresh light on the character of Kanhoji Bhonsla[8] and two give

6. See collection of MSS in Deshmukh's "*daftarkhānā.*"

7. 1st paper 20 lines torn and incomplete. 2nd is dated 22 Saban 1143 F. and bears the seal of the Kazi. 3rd, is dated 15, Rabilawal 1148 F. (1738).

8. Parasoji Bhosla's son Kanhoji became Senasaheb Subha and came to Berar and captured Darwha in Berar. He then made Bhamb as his headquarters. He was described as cruel (see Bhosla's Bakhar p. 38, by Kale).

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us the accounts of the six Subhās with details of income in each Paraganā, in the Deccan. There are stamp seals of Dhumanji on each paper at its joint and the manuscripts are genuine. Atrocities committed by Kanhoji Bhonsla on Dhumanji and others find place in these documents as below :—

"Starting from Shahu at Satara, Kanhoji came to Berar with his large army. He demanded Rs. 1,102/- per year from Dhumanji who could not pay the ransom and was therefore compelled to sign an agreement to pay. Dhumanji did comply ; but Kanhoji captured him, put chains in his hands and feet and moved him in the Basti causing him great insult. Kanhoji captured all his Gadhis at Pārwā, Kārli, Shiwani and Pandharkawada along with arms and guns etc. All family and children were captured and the headquarters at Rajurwadi, Donwada and Deodari were completely looted. The family and children were handed over to one Janaji of Hirakpur Sarkonda, Pra. Guranj and Dhumanji was imprisoned and confined in the Gadhi at Kolambi for about 5 months. After serious harrassment he was removed to Morchandi, in Māhur Sarakar, and again confined there. Dhumanji at last paid Rs. 20,000/- as ransom, but he was not released, though Kanhoji had promised to do so. Bandegan Ali's army happened to march towards that side at that time while Raghuji Bhonsala's Naib Naru Appa marched down from Satara to warn Kanhoji. Ultimately the famous battle at Mandar (near Wani) (1730 A.D.) decided the fate of Kanhoji who was captured by Raghuji Bhonsala and taken prisoner to Satara, and Dhumanji was released. Bandegan Ali, Khairulla Khan and Bahadur Killedar Fausdar of Mahur also joined to help Dhumanji and they together defeated the remaining army of Kanhoji which was stationed in the Gadhis at Malakapur and Pātan-Bori. Two three years later, Kanhoji returned and with the help of Bandegan Ali stayed at Kolambi." This information is new and opens altogether a new chapter in the history of the Marāthās.

Shankarao Rao :

He is said to have put down some revolts of the Gonds and Banjaras, but there are no papers to support this view.

Yeshwantrao (1230 F—1239 F.) :

There are two documents of Yeshwantrao's period. The first dated 1230F, signed by Yeshwantrao and the other of Ch.16 Jullhej 1239F. His son Dattaji died during his life time (1828 A.D.). It was during the time of Yeshwantrao that Bajirao the second was defeated at the battle at Sioni on 2-4-1818. Thereafter Bajirao took to flight through many villages in Berar. At that time Yeshwantrao was probably the Deshmukh at Pandharkewada near the battle place. While Bajirao was on his flight he had stopped at Deulgaon

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Raja. On one of the valuable garlands of the deity Shrie Bālāji, the name of Bajirao Peshawe is inscribed. There is also one Pāṇḍān left by him at Umarakhed which is in charge of Shri, Balawantrao and Nagorao Ekabote of Umarkhed. There are papers to show that he had run short of his food supply and he had to receive foodstuff from the Mahant of Shikhar at Mahur.

Nagorao II (1843-1860 A.D.)

Nagorao was minor when his father Dattaji died in 1828. He appears to have seen very bad days and his financial[14] position appears to be at its worst during the first few years of his career. Kelapur Paragana was under the Nizam as his sarf-i-khas. Nagorao had to pay Rs. 10,501/- for the year 1843, Rs. 10,751/- for 1844 and Rs. 11,101/- for 1845. He had no money to pay the heavy debt of Aban Saheb the mukhatiar of the Nizam and Taluqdar and the result was, he was put in Civil jail while at Hyderabad, for about 4 to 6 months.

The correspondence between Nagorao and his Vakil at Hyderabad, clearly shows that Nagorao's position was extremely critical and pitiable. To add fuel to fire, Madhorao, his uncle, had started dispute regarding the Watan since 1854 A.D. Madhorao was a great aggressor and he committed various acts of looting and arsony.

Appa's revolt (1848-49)

In 1848, an imposter[9] who pretended to be Appa Saheb Ex-Raja of Nagpur, arose in the Kelapur side. He collected large army of about 4,000 men and wanted to attack Amraoti city. The rebels plundered and ravished wherever they went. The British forces pursued him and in May 1849, attacked his party near Kalamb, and the rebels were driven off. But the Brigadier Onslow died on the field from a fall from his horse. Later on, Brigadier Hampton came up and after a spirited action, captured the imposter, who was sent to Nagpur to Raghuji III, where he was properly punished. Nagorao had rendered very valuable help to the British during this revolt. Brigadier Hampton's letter D/- 28th November 1849, addressed to Nagorap in Modi, has been carefully kept in the records. Nagorao was called to Hingoli to receive his reward for his assistance ; but he could not go. The reward, in the form of a beautiful palanquin, was granted to Nagorao through his peon Syed Hussain at the camp Arvi-Ashti on 21-5-1855.

9. The name of this imposter appears to be "*Ragho Bharati*" from the manuscripts.

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This trophy has been maintained by the family and is publicly exhibited on the Dashera day every year.

Rohillas' revolt (1851) :

There was another rebellion led by one Parwatrao who had collected about 2000 armed Rohillas under him. It took about five to six years to completely put down this revolt. There are many letters concerning this revolt. It is a sad and painful story of looting, and ravaging the country everywhere. Murders[10] and arsony were common. Birtish army from Hingoli had to come with some guns under Captain Yenag, who had the credit of putting down this rebel gang.

Dacoits in the Province (1820 to 1865 A.D.) :

History of this tract of Berar consists of rebellions and revolts and dacoities for about thirty to forty years. The dacoits burnt the villages, looted money and committed murders with impunity. They looted even the cattle. This happened on large scale towards Mahur, Adilabad Kelāpur side. The serious dacoity which took place at Risod on 23-2-1859 is notorious. There are scores of letters[11] describing the pitiable state of the common people in these days. The Deshmukhs took great pains to put down the rebels, and helped the British, as Berar was transferred to them in 1853. It is most interesting and instructive to study the social and political conditions in Berar, during this period. There is invaluable mine of material[12] available in the records.

Nagorao had seen bad days, but he was not a man to give up. He had seen the administration of the Nizam as well as that of the British. His incessant efforts to improve the condition of his family triumped in the end. His financial position gradually improved. With the break of War of American Independence, the prices of cotton and other commodities went up, and the agriculturists were naturally placed in better position. Nagorao was a man of very noble and religious mind. He gave out sums of money in charity. There are many letters which show that he gave out thousands of rupees in charity. Gifts to 1. Kashinath Bhat Dixit, 2. Gurumurti Sundar[13] Bharati of Shikhar at

10. See collection of MSS (1) Nagorao's Kayafiyat D/- 1851 A. D., (2) Shioram Patel of Kurali was murdered. (3) Two Vakils of Abansaheb the, Naib Peshkar, were arrested and imprisoned. (4) Villages of Kayar, (2) Bodhan, Bori, Vela, Rajur were looted and cattle stolen away.

11. Letter D/-1852. There was a mass migration of people into the tract under the "English rule."

12. Lala Shaligram's letter D/- 3-5-1858, regarding the dacoity of Mahodari by Gonds. (Tahsildar, Wani) Gonds, Banjaris, Labhanis, Kolis and Rohillas were the prominent persons in the Gang of looters.

13. Letter D/-Kartik Vadya 10, San F. 1260, (1850). The seal on the letter reads "Shri, Dattatraya Charan Saroj Niwasi Shri, Guru Murti Sundar Bharati Mahant S. Shikhar.

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Mahur and 3. Ṣantosh Bharati are some of the instances. The festival of God Ganesh at Pārwā is widely known in Berar. It was started in the year 1831, by Dhumanji and it was carried to its highest pitch by Nagorao; and even the present Trimbak Rao *alias* Aba Saheb Deshmukh celebrate this festival on a very large and attractive scale, when dinner is served to the beggars and Dakshanā and gifts distributed to the learned Brahmins and the Jangams.

The Tax known as "Raj Beti":

There are '*Yādis*' in the record showing that the said Tax was levied in some cases of re-marriages. If the husband of one's daughter dies, the girl became the daughter of the "King." One who offers to remarry her is required to pay tax for the girl. If there are more than one offers for the girl, she would actually be auctioned and the highest bidder would get her possession on payment of this Tax "Raj-Beti." Such marriages were held in particular castes *e.g.* Dhiwar, Kalar, Koshti and Mahar (in Zadi). There is a paper dated 1240F (1830 A.D.) in which a Dhangar girl was married by "Pāt" and he paid Rs. 22/- out of which Rs. 6/- were paid to the Deshmukh and Deshpande and the rest were credited to the Government treasury.

Private Mints:

It seems that there were private mints where gold and silver bullion were supplied to the Goldsmith who used to manufacture coins. There is a written complaint in records against one "Sonar" regarding his dishonesty in such minting.

Anand Rao:

After Nagorao's death Anandrao and Ganpatrao his sons came in office. There is a document of 1860, which gives the details of various sanads and Inams received from Aurangzeb and also the names of recipients and all servants who worked under the Deshmukhs. Anandrao was of active habits. All the Inam sanads were renewed in his name in the year 1864 A.D. He was helped by one Sambhashio of Guranj in his affairs. There are also documents to show that the relations between the Mahant of Mahur and Anandrao were very cordial. Letters from Banaras, from Sidha Linga-Swami, throw light on the noble character and religious mindedness of Anandrao.

Balwantrao and Saraswati Bai:

Anandrao had no son and Balwantrao died a minor. But the entire affairs were ably managed by the lady Saraswati Bai, who rose to the occasion. Balwantrao died issueless. Another famous and able member of the family, was Krishna Rao. He consolidated his position

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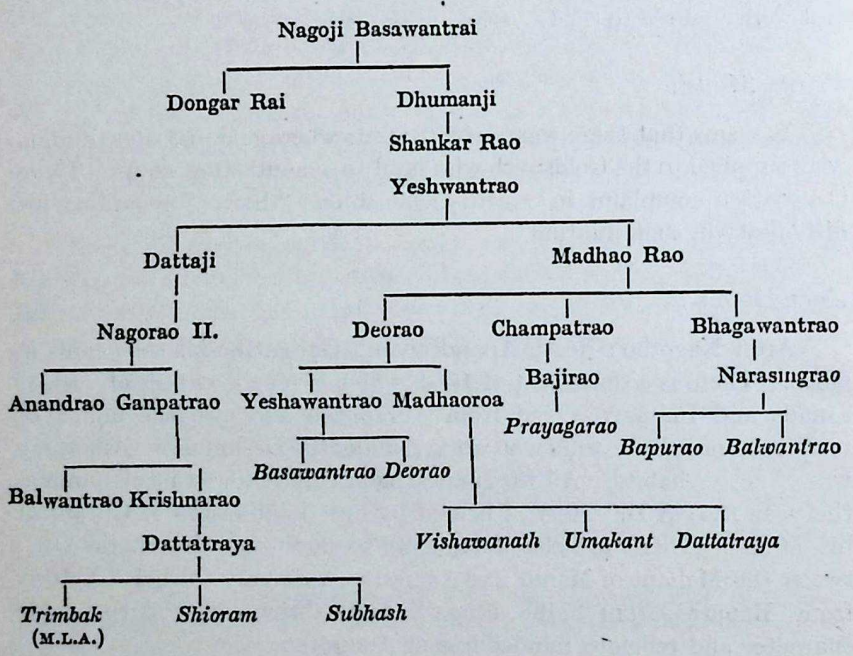
and earned name for his great family. With the help from his assistants and guidance of Saraswati Bai, he established himself not only as a great and noble man but also as one of the wealthiest landlords in Vidarbha. He took up the affairs in his hand in the year 1892. After him, Rao Bahadur Dattatraya managed the affairs. Krishnarao had to face many disputes regarding partition of his estates between the various branches of the Deshmukh family, particularly Madhaorao's sons Deorao Champatrao and Bhagwantrao bitterly fought for the shares in this tremendously large estate. Dattatraya carried on ably and was the most popular of the members. His son Shri Trimbakrao *alias* Abasaheb is now in charge of the said estate. He is a great lover of education and takes active part in the politics of the Province. He is an M.L.A. and is a successful statesman. Being a graduate, it is hoped that he would take up the most useful work of publishing the old manuscripts in his possession for the use of the public. It is most unfortunate that such a historic family should remain in the dark for such a long time.

Geneaology:



They are the working members of different branches of Deshmush family.

14. Dispute between Ganpat Pandurang Deshpande (the grandfather of the famous Marathi poet and critic Wamanrao Deshpande) and Nagorao for Deshmukhi and Deshpandyepan was amicably settled, in 1258f. (1848). Two shares were given to Deshmukhs and one to the Deshpande. (See MSS).

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THE FUNCTIONING OF SOME OF THE PROVINCIAL AND LOCAL OFFICIALS OF THE MUGHAL GOVERNMENT —BASED ON A DASTUR-UL-AMAL OF THE 18TH CENTURY

Shri Qeyam Uddin Ahmad

The comparative abundance of Persian chronicles relating to the political history of the Mughal period is in marked contrast to the peculiar dearth of any first-hand information on the administrative set-up of that Empire. From Babar to Aurangzebe we have separate and specific works on their respective reigns, besides the valuable autobiographies of some of them. Each one of them had an official historian of his own who has described the events of the reign of his patron in considerable detail. Most of these works are, however, conspicuously lacking in mentioning matters of administration. Perhaps that was considered a separate topic deserving a separate treatment. Whatever may be the reason, the position is that works on administration which have come down to us are few and far between. It is therefore all the more important that the few which have come down to us should be thoroughly studied and utilised for the reconstruction of the administrative set-up.

By their very nature the works on administration are bound to be of a descriptive type. They describe the standard rules and regulations of the various departments and the duties of the respective officers in charge. The functioning of these government officials is expected to be up to this standard. It is true that some of the officials did not act according to the standard laid down, but some did, and it is hardly a fair criticism of a work on administration to say that it described an ideal which was not enforced in practice. The appraisal of the extent of the enforcement of these administrative rules, at some given time or place, does not come within the purview of such works. It is possible that some instances of dereliction of duties by officers may be quoted but for all we know there may be many more instances to the contrary— of conscientious officers acting up to the fixed standard. It is also to be noted that the attention of the contemporary or later historians is usually drawn to abnormal cases, where the unexpected happens, or where some censurable act takes place. When an official acts as he is

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expected to, that is assumed as the normal thing for him to do. But if he acts to the contrary it is commented on and hence there are more references to cases of dereliction of duties by officials than to the contrary. This general consideration should be borne in mind before judging the merits of a work on administration.

The MS.[1] under review is entitled Dastur-ul-Amal-i-Salatin-Hind. The name of the author is not given. It has preface and begins with a list of contents. It is written in ordinary Taliq. At the end of the MS. there is a seal dated 1238 A.H., of Mirza Raziuddin, son of Mirza Muhammad Muazzam Ali, son of Mirza Jahandar Shah heir apparent of Muhammad Bahadur Shah. The catalogue wrongly ascribes the copy to the 19th century. However on (F.45b.) while describing the establishment of Fasli era in Akbar's time and computing the difference between the Hijri and Fasli eras the author mentions the current Hijri year as 1180 = 1766 A.D. In another connection the author mentions the current period as the 10th Julus (of Shah Alam II) or 1769 A.D. The author again refers (F.54) to the current year as 1188 A.H. This shows that the compilation was spread over a long period. But, in any case, it belonged to the 18th and not 19th century.

Professor Sri Ram Sharma included this MS. in his survey[2] of works on administration. But owing probably to the limitation of pages and the large number of works he had to review, he confined himself to a page-wise enumeration of the contents of the work, without going into its details.

The work which seems to have been compiled from official manuals and records contains instructions regarding the duties of officials, the forms of appointment of some of them, direction for proper management of taxes and land revenues, forms of keeping public accounts, returns of income and expenditure, grants of different kind and various other statistical details.

In the present paper only the first part of the MS. (ff. 15-28) has been examined. This portion describes the functioning of some of the Provincial and local officials. I have given below a free translation of some selected portions relating to the appointment and functioning of the Faujdar, Karori, Waqai Nigar, Huzur Navis, Mustaufi and the officials of the Karkhanas. Much is already known to us about the workings of some of these officials from other works on administration. There are, however, certain distinguishing features of the MS. under review. Along with the duties of some of these officials it mentions a list of paper maintained in their offices and of those which

1. Ff. 168. Lines 18-27, Size 14¼″ × 8¼″; 12¼″ × 6″.
2. *IHRC*, Proceedings, vol. XV, 1938, pp. 146-158.

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they were expected to forward to their higher officers. The list of these papers gives us an exact idea of the actual working of the department and the officer concerned as distinct from the general enumeration of his duties. It also gives draft specimens of appointment orders and reports, that an officer had to submit, along with instances from current day affairs by way of illustration.

Sanad of Appointment of Faujdar :

Whereas in obedience to the Exalted Order the services of Faujdari of Pargana.....[3] Province.....is conferred on.....in place of.....he should exert himself to the utmost in the performance of the duties appertaining to this office, with honesty and efficiency; he should devote himself to the protection of the law-abiding rent payers, the chastisement of trouble makers and destruction of their forts. He should forbid the blacksmiths from constructing matchlocks, but to devote themselves to other works (of manufacture), instruct the various thanadars appointed by him, within his Faujdari, for maintaining law and order, not to interfere in revenue affairs and not to levy any of the forbidden cesses. He should extend adequate precaution to see that no one indulges in any of the forbidden acts, instruct all the jagirdars, in writing, not to chastise any of the villager on their own. He should take in his own charge such village which are turbulent and try, first, to conciliate and pacify the leading men of that village so that they may feel ashamed of their actions and bring themselves to the prompt payment of revenues; in case they reform themselves he should take a deed of agreement (Razinama) to that effect from the Gumashtas of the Jagirdars, but if on account of their inherent cupidity and lawlessness they should again resort to turbulence, to chastise them and whatever booty may be collected from them it should be deposited with the Gumashta of the Jagirdars and a receipt obtained for it. He should so maintain peace and order that travellers may move about peacefully and there should be no trace of theft or arson anywhere; if God forbidding some one's property is stolen, he should find out the stolen article, restore it to the owner and punish the performer of this evil act, and in case of his not being able to trace out the stolen property to be held responsible for it.

The Aumils, Chaudhris, Qanungoes, Zamindars and ryots of the said Mahal (area) considering the above named person as the permanent Faujdar accept the perquisites and appartunancies of the said office as belonging to him, and accept his strong hand (?) in the performance of these duties. They should not go beyond his approval and advice which are conducive of good administration.

3. The Sanad of appointment is a model sepcimen and so these particulars are left blank.

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Parwana of the Service of Karor-Bandi:

The service of Karor-bandi[4] of Pargana.....as per endorsement, is conferred with effect from Fasil.....year.....on Ramdas, the emblem of honour, in place of.....They (the Mutasaddees etc.) should consider the above named person as the permanent Karori of that Mahal and should not act contrary to his advice and approval which are conjoined to the benefit and advantage of Government and well-being of the ryots. They should accept his sway in the execution of matters relating to this office.

The above named person should perform the duties, appertaining to his office, with honesty and diligence, keep the ryots happy and contented with his treatment and devote himself to the increase of cultivation and habitation; collect the juma, assessed by Amin, year by year and deposit it in full, in time without any alteration in the fixed instalments. If there be an arrear of a single Dam, with any one, he should consider himself answerable for it; he should deposit the money received, from day to day, in the treasury house[5] to be sealed by Amin and guarded by him along with Amin, Daroga and Fotahdar. He should not spend a single Dam without a proper order authorising expenditure; he should not collect any of the forbidden cesses which are producive of the ruination of ryots. He should submit the daily statements and consolidated accounts of income and expenditure as required by the office of Diwani, duly corrected and according to the established procedure. The matter should be treated as urgent and important.

Deed of Agreement[6] *with the Karori's Seal*:

I.....am the son of.....Whereas the service of Karorbandi of Pargana.....with effect from.....has been conferred on me I hereby agree to collect, to the last Dam, the jumma assessed by the Amin and send it to the Treasury. I shall not leave a Dam in arrear. The amount collected shall be deposited, daily, in the Treasury of the Fotahdar and I shall guard its lock and seal along with the Amin, Daroga and Fotahdar. I shall not collect a Dam, by force, over the stipulated amount, shall keep the ryots happy and contented with my treatment and shall strive for the increase of cultivation and habitation. I shall

4. The Karori was a revenue official, for collecting land-revenue and other Govt. taxes. He was so-called because originally, in Akbar's time, he was appointed to hold charge of an area expected to yield roughly one Krore of Dams. The designation continued even in later times independent of the total amount of collection under his charge.

5. Besides the Imperial and Provincial treasuries there were a large number of local ones. This probably refers to one of the latter.

6. The post of Karori, it appears, was a covenanted one. His order of appointment laid down certain terms and he, in his turn, executed a document agreeing to those terms.

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not perform any of the forbidden acts and I shall differentiate (keep separate accounts of the proceeds of) Nankar and Inam[7] land from those of Aiyma lands till the receipt of the Sanad (to that effect) from the Diwani. I shall charge Sirisad @ 1% as collection charge.....and submit, accordingly to the established rules the statements and accounts of income and expenditure, required by the office of Diwani. I shall forward, whenever the amount, (in the local treasury) increases to Rs. 1000/-.

These few sentences are given in writing by way of agreement, so that they may be of some use when required.

On reachng the Pargana the Karori demands the following papers from the Qanungoes:

1. List of the villages and the Decennial Comparative estimate (of crop yields?). 2. Regulations of the Fotah-Khana and Talbana. 3. Copy of previous rent rolls, Register of Mahal-bandi, copy of collection and arrear of revenue and cesses, papers relating to Aiyma land. 4. List of persons coming to the village. 5. Papers of securities for personal appearance and money securities. 6. Abstracts of Dehbandi, signed by Chaudhries and Qanungoes. 7. Papers relating to cesses and account of income and expenditure of Fotahdar, signed by him. 8. Copy of statement of collection and arrear sent to Huzur.[8]

The clerks of the Karori's office check the following papers and send them, according to the established procedure to the office of Diwani:

1. Account books of the income of Fotahdar. Also correct the diaries signed and submitted by Chaudhries and Qanungoes. 2. Account of the standing balance in the Treasury, Abstracts of income and expenditure of Fotahdar. 3. Papers relating to Nankar grants. 4. Statement of cultivation and villages. 5. Consolidated account of income and expenditure. 6. Statement of *Aiyma* and *Madad Maash* lands,[9] list of Framans, Parwanas, etc. 7. Check the security bonds with papers relating to securities for personal appearance and money. 8. Copies of Qabuliat (Agreement) deeds, rent roll and

7. Nankar, Inaam and Aiyma were different denominations of grants of rent-free tenures. Nankar was an assignment as subsistence money to fiscal and village officers. Inaam was a grant of rent-free land in charity or reward for some service. Aiyma was also a grant of rent free-land (or with a small nominal rent) to learned and religious persons of Muslim faith or for charitable purposes. The terms are often loosely used to signify any grant of rent-free land.

8. Huzur is a general term of respect signifying usually the Imperial presence, but also an intermediate higher authority, in some cases.

9. Grants of land for subsistence or assignment of revenue for religious or charitable purposes.

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previous assessment of Amin. 9. Prices of grains signed by the Censor of Public Morals. 10. Paper relating to summons and fees. Letters to and from officers.

Waqai Nigar[10]:

The Waqai Nigar should be a man of understanding and honesty. He should be present, day and night, in the Durbar and Kutcheri (court) of the Subedar, Faujdar and Amanat Shaar (Amin ?), keep himself conversant with the as sessment and collection of the Mahals, standing balance in the government treasury, judgment of the Qazis ; and prepare a Report, without any alternation or omission, and submit it weekly to the Exalted Presence (Huzur). Important events and emergencies should be reported forthwith.

Draft Specimen of Waqai-Nigar's Report:

Waqai of Pargana.....Day.....The Amanat Panah arrived at the Kutcheri after the day entered the 4th Ghari[11] ; the office staff, also presenting themselves, started work.

So and so of village.....presented himself and in conformity with ....., the Qanungoe, settled the fixation of the yearly Jumma (from Kharif to Rabi) of the said village.

Other items deserving the attention of Huzur should be entered item by item. Credits to the Treasury should be written in detail and reported fortnightly.

Huzur Navis[12] *of Mahals* :

Huzur Navis should be constantly present with the Nazim and Faujdar, report on the general department of office-staff, complaint-petitions in courts, acquittals and imprisonments, deposits and withdrawals in government treasury, collection of revenue from Mahals, cesses like Peshkash, Tahniat Nazar, Mehmani Jarimana, Shakrana, census of cattle, dates of commencement of tours and places of camping,

10. Waqai Nigar (or Waqai Navis) and Sawanih Nigar were two different officials whose nature of work was also different. The former was a regular and public reporter of general affairs and was posted in large town and with field armies. The latter was a secret reporter posted at special places and times only. This is also evident from the fact that copies of the report of the former were kept in office of Mustaufi, *vide* p. 9.

11. Ghari and Pahar were units of the measurement of time ; 1 Ghari = 24 minutes and 1 pahar = 3 hours, approximately. 4th Ghari of the day will be about one and half hour after sunrise.

12. *Huzur Navis* appears to be a sort of general reporter attached to some local official. It is difficult to distinguish exactly between the Waqai Nigar and Huzur Navis as their duties appear to be more or less the same. There was yet another officer, in the category of News reporters, called Baramad Navis, whose Sanad of appointment, enumerating his duties is given on F. 28.

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the yield of that village (where camped), its fort and its conquest, suppression of evil doers and destruction of their strongholds, employment of zamindars, promotion and demotion of functionaries, enquiries into and judgment on matters relating to civil and revenue affairs judgment of Qazis, realisation of demands, correspondence with other officers, dismissal and retrenchments, employment of retainers, branding of horses of old as well as newly appointed horsemen, death and escape of servants, casualties among horsemen and Piyadas (Infantry) in battle, award to servants etc.; he should enter such occurrences to be sent to Huzur, and sign it.

Specimen Report:

On the day entering the 4th ghari the march from village Muhabatabad was commenced and after travelling a distance covering six gharies (about 2½ hours) encamped, at about noon, in the garden of Fathabad near the tank. At the commencement of the journey and during the way the following presented themselves and offered Nazars.

At the Commencement of Journey:

Mukrund Singh zamindar of Mauza.....presented a Nazar of 2 Asharfis and 50 rupees. 2. The Vakil of Shahdad Khan Qasuri presented his client's petition and a Nazar of 100 rupees.

In the Way:

Udho Singh brother of Bhaya Singh of Mauza.....presented himself and offered a (tanghan ?) horse and Rs. 100/-. 2. Fath Khan Jamadar, resident of Shahabad presented himself and offered a set of bow and arrows. He was asked as to why he did not present his men for review, on the way.

On entering the Camp:

1. Guman Singh, Qanungo of Fathabad presented himself and offered a Nazar of 2 Asharfis, two Bahngis of yellow oil (Ghee) and five... 2. .....Mirdah of Dak, brought the Dak from the city and presented the post-bag along with a rupee.

Orders:

1. Ahmed Beg brother of Zaman Beg, Faujdar and Aamil (?) of Pargana Fathabad was in attendance during the march. He was told that it did not speak good of administration if recently desolated villages, appeared by the road side, and that he should gather together the dispersed tenants and resettle them. 2. Justice was dispensed to residents of village.....who had complained against the oppression of the Aamil

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of that place. Wazarat Panah (?) Saheb Singh was arrested, and it was ordered that another Aamil be appointed. Sazawals (bailiffs) were appointed to bring the oppressor before Huzur.

(Next day). On the day of entering the 4th ghari, court was held by the side of the tank and the officers and staff presented themselves.

1. Kant Singh Vakilzada submitted his client's petition and offered four guns. 2. Wazarat Panah Daya Ram Diwan of Huzur read the letters of Nawab Shujauddaula (of Oudh) and Salar Jung. 3. Ahmed Beg Bakshi of army presented the men of Fath Khan Jamadar's tribe for review. Thirty-two additional horsemen were appointed.

Mustaufi[13]:

The Mustaufi has been said to be the conciliator of conflicting claims (auditor ?). He should keep in order the audit papers of all important matters, avoid dishonesty and pettiness which may in any way be detrimental to the interest of the government. He should not, out of vanity and cupidity, do anything which may cause unnecessary hardship to the Aamils.

He should receive the required papers sealed by Aamil and signed by Chaudhries, Qanungoes and Fotahdar of that place, and (the papers) of Karkhanas.[14] If there be any overwriting or cuttings (in the papers) to check it and compare it, compare the paper with the list, peruse it and forward them.....Repayment of outstanding amounts, with anyone, should be preferably demanded in cash, otherwise he should receive bond or money security from him and demand repayment accordingly.

Office Papers (of Mustaufi):

1. Diary and Account book of income accruing from land revenue and cesses, sealed by Amin and signed by the Fotahdar, Chaudhries and Qanungoes. 2. Abstracts of land rent and cesses sealed by Amin and signed by Chaudhries and Qanungoes. 3. Consolidated account of income and expenditure of the Treasury signed by Fotahdar. 4. Price list, sealed by Censor of Public Morals. 5. Statement of Assessment of Jumma, sealed and signed by Chaudhries and Qanungoes. 6. Qabuliyats (deed of Agreement) of ryots signed by Chaudhries and Qanungoes and sealed by Qazis. 7. Sheets of land revenue and cesses signed by

13. An examiner or auditor of accounts, the principal officer of the department in which, under the Mughal Govt. the accounts of collectors or farmers of revenue examined. He had some additional duties also as is evidenced from a list of the papers maintained in his office.

14. Karkhanas had their own separate set of Daroghas, Mushrifs and Amins, as distinct from officers of the same designation in the general administrative units. This is also evident from the description of the working of the Karkhanas, *vide* p. 10.

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Chaudhries and Qanungoes. 8. Papers relating to Kankut and Bhaoli tenures. 9. Statements of Waqai Nigar. 10. Copies of Farman, Sanads, Parwans and Petitions. 11. Dastur-ul-Amal and Amal Dasturs.[15] 12. Papers relating to bails for personal appearance and money securities. 13. Papers relating to Madad Maash (lands). 14. Diaries and daily account books of each Karkhanas sealed by Amin, Daroga and Mushrif of Kharkhanas. 15. Abstracts (of papers) of each Karkhanas sealed by Amin, Daroga and Mushrif (of Karkhana). 16. Diary, Account book and abstracts of income and expenditure of Treasury (of Karkhana ?) sealed by Amin and Daroga.

Mir-i-Saman and Diwan Buyutah[16] :

Whatever is reported by Mushrifs (clerk) of Karkhanas to be required there, he (Khan-i-Saman) should supply it or order the Mushrif to do so. Diwan-i-Buyutab forwards the requirements of Karkhanas to the Mir-i-Saman with a request to supply it. He administers the Karkhana in accordance with the rules and regulations and in co-operation with the Khan-i-Saman.

Office papers of Mir-i-Saman and Diwan-i-Buyutah :

Salaries, wages and allowances of apprentices.....2. Collection (?) of Tahwildars, present and rewards. 3. List of articles present in Karkhanas. 4. Diaries of Mushrif of each Karkhanas. 5. Daily statement of Treasuries. 6. Statement of income and expenditure of Tahwildars of each Karkhana should be yearly. 7. Price list of articles, duly sealed. 8. Six monthly statement of the output of the Karkhanas should be submitted by Mushrifs to the office of Diwan-i-Buyutat...(?)

Amins, Darogahs and Mushrifs of Karkhanas :

Daroghas are appointed for administration. If there are Mushrifs (appointed) also in that city, they are higher than Daroghas. The Daroghas, Mushrifs and Tahwildars should all strive not to deviate from the path of honesty and rectitude and always to keep in view the betterment and promotion of Government's interests. They should perform all their duties with devotion and act according to the regulations given by the Khan-i-Saman under his signature. They should accept (act upon) what is in accordance with the regulations and draw the attention of Diwan to that which is beyond it and act (in such cases)

15. Dastur-ul-Amal contained administrative rules and regulations. These were often supplemented by Amal Dasturs or Qanungoes papers in which orders superseding those of Dastur Amal were registered.

16. *Mir-i-Saman and Diwan-i-Buyutat* were high ranking officials of the Imperial Household. One of their multivarious duties was the administering of the Karkhanas, arranging their supplies (of raw materials stores, etc.), appointing and supervising of their staff, etc.

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according to his (Diwan's) written order. They should submit the diaries, signed by Mushrifs and sealed by Daroghas to the Mustaufi so that the auditing is completed daily. The following is the list of office papers:

1. Dastur-ul-Amal bearing the seal of the officer concerned. 2. Price list and statement of cash and articles, duly sealed. 3. Copies of Parwans, letters....4. Statement of things present in the Karkhanas. 5. Daily statements. 6. Abstracts of income and expenditure. 7. Receipt of articles either given to Tahwildars or received from them. 8. Casualty list of horses (of the stable).[17] 9. List of purchases and sales. 10. List of essential articles.

There are Thirty-six[18] *Karkhanas as of old*:

1. Bawarchi Khana (Kitchen). 2. Rikab Khana, Achar Khana (Pantry, Pickles). 3. Abdar Khana (Drinks store or butlery). 4. Toshak Khan (Wardrobe and Mattresses). 5. Jawahir Khana (Jewellery store). 6. Zargar Khana (Goldsmith's Deptt.). 7. Qur-Khana (Royal Insignias). Khusbhu Khana (Perfumeries section). 9. Ibtiagh Khana (Ibtiya Khana?) (Purchase Deptt.). 10. Dawai Khana (Medical store or hospital). 11. Kirkiraqi Khana (Jewelled ware's Deptt.?) 12. Kitab Khana (Library). 13. Imarat Khana (Building's Deptt.) 14. Top Khana (Artillery). 15. Astabal-o-Ushtur Khana (Stables of Horses and Camels). 16. Fil Khana (Elephant's stable). 17. Chita Khana (Leopards). 18. Ahu Khana (Deer Park). 19. Barbari Khana (0) 20. Farash Khana (Carpet's store). 21. Mashal Khana (Torches, Lamps, etc.). 22. Chithi Khana (Correspondence section). 23. Zin Khana (Saddles). 24. Ilaqabandi Khana (Factories for silk cords and tapes). 25. Sukhsej Khana (Bedding stores?). 26. Pashmina Khana (Woollen stores). 27. Zardoz Khana (Gold embroidery). 28. Khatimband Khana (Setting of rings, inlaying, etc.). 29. Sufidbaf Khana (some weaving section?).

17. The Persian word used is Saqtinama which means a casualty list of horses that have died in the cavalry but since the papers relate to the office of Karkhanas the term probably applies to horses of royal stable.

18. There is some difference about the number of Karkhanas at different times. Originally, in Firuz Tughlaq's time, there were 36, but some later MSS. mention more names. The present list mentions only 30 names out of which one is illegible. Some of the names mentioned do not correspond with the usual names given in other lists (e.g. Nos. 19, 25 and 29). Some of the familiar names are absent for the obvious reason that the list is incomplete. The list is a mixed one both of Karkhanas (factories); which were manufacturing workshops of one kind or another as well as Imperial stores (e.g. Nos. 1, 3, etc.), which were not correctly speaking Karkhanas.

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PART PLAYED BY JIJABAI, THE MOTHER OF SHIVAJI IN THE FOUNDATION OF THE MARATHA STATE

PROFESSOR R. V. OTURKAR

THIS IS a study based upon sources of Maratha History published from time to time in several volumes. References to Jijabai contained in those volumes were culled and put together with the object of estimating her achievements. This attempt revealed to me that she was not simply a mother that gave good training to her illustrious son, but she actually participated in a variety of activities concerning the administration of the Maratha State. Popular History books tell us that Jijabai told young Shivaji stories from Ramayana and Mahabharata and thus provided for his training, the basic foundation of the love of Hindu culture. This is true so far as it goes; but the extent of her activities covered a field wider still.

Born in 1596, she was married to Shahaji in 1610. Her early life was full of vicissitudes. She had seen her father and husband working at cross purposes and on occasions she had to participate in military marches from one place to another. She was a woman of mature judgment when Shivaji was born, and even before Shivaji came of age and started his activities, she had the opportunity to acquaint herself with the problems of administration in the Poona Jahagir. By the time Shivaji started his activities independently, say from 1647 *i.e.* after the death of Dadaji Kondadeva, she was over 50 years old. One can imagine the kind of relationship that must have existed between the old mother and her young son. Shivaji was constantly engaged in military activities and had little time to settle a number of affairs requiring careful attention. Upon whom could he rely except upon his mother under whose affectionate care he had grown to be a youth of vision and understanding? The original papers published so far, only substantiate the legitimate guess that Jijabai must have been of great help to Shivaji in his work of administration. What follows is a summary reproduction of various instances in which Jijabai played her part.

(1) *1651 A.D.* Jijabai writes to the officers of Poona that Inam of the land at Veherwade (वेहरवडे) is renewed to one Gano Gabaji Tabib and the officers need not wait for, or expect another letter from

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Chiranjiv Raje *i.e.* Shivaji. The letter is in Modi, the *facsimile* of which has been published in the B.I.S. Mandal Quarterly as early as in 1920. The words 'officers need not wait for another letter from Shivaji' are really significant of the powers she assumed or were entrusted to her.

(2) In a quarrel between the rival worshippers at Jejuri temple the writer says 'our dispute reached Shivaji, whereupon Jijabai asked—Shivaji may have been presumably absent—'What is your quarrel about?' The cause of the quarrel was then stated. Thereupon Jijabai said to the Gurav *i.e.*, the worshipper at the temple. 'Since you claim the five pieces of cloth, and the claim is in dispute, you return them to the treasury for the present and the remaining three pieces of cloth may be taken over equally by you, three coparceners of the Watan. Here Jijabai is only temporarily suspending the point of dispute and postponing its final decision. (Shiva Charitra Sahitya, vol. VII, p. 37).

(3) While capturing Purandhar, Shivaji went to the fort with Jijabai first for the celebration of Diwali and then as is understood for the sudden capture of Purandhar by first imprisoning Nilojirao and then capturing Shankarrao Sarnaik, through whose intercession Shivaji had gone to the fort. This incident is narrated in a paper of the year 1674, but must have taken place near about the year 1647. (Patrasara Sangraha, vol. III, letter 2747).

(4) In another paper there is a reference to a suit between the two rival parties Babaji Junzarrao Deshmukh of Kānadkhore and Bhau Maloji Patangrao, regarding a claim to a Watan to be finally decided by Jijabai. She looked into the old papers and she learnt that the Gōt or the kinsmen Panchayat had divided the Vritti (*i.e.*, a vatan for religious purposes) between the two. Jijabai considered the claims of both and asked Babaji to give a larger share to Maloji, to meet the claims of justice. (Rajwade, vol. 16, letter 22). The incident belongs to the year 1667.

(5) In a letter of the year 1668 Jijabai wrote to Vithoji Haibatrao Deshmukh of Gunjan Maval, 'Haibatrao is reported to have gone away through fear of danger to his life. Before doing so he had reported to Moropant Peshwa that as he had not been in a position to perform his administrative duties of the region (Desagat as it is called) he would nominate his Mutalik *i.e.* representative for the performance of his duties'. Jijabai further writes, 'since the letter has been received, I am sending herewith a letter of assurance that Mutalik would be allowed to work out the Desagat from time to time and the dues of your privileged services would be assigned to you. Government wishes you all happiness and you need not fear any ill at the hands of the Central Power'. From this illustration it will be seen that Jijabai not

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only handled judicial problems but also attended to executive duties, particularly those where settlement is to be created and confidence restored. A newly rising power has to conquer, consolidate and create confidence amongst those who are trying to adjust themselves to the new rule with an uneasy mind. Jijabai with her years feminine qualities and dignified bearing was eminently fitted to take up this work which was complementary to one which Shivaji had undertaken. (Patrasara Sangraha, No. 1206).

(6) Here is another instance worthy of note.

In a letter of the year 1668, Jijabai wrote to Babaji Ramdesh Kulkarni, paragane Poona: 'It is reported that you are raising trouble about the limits and boundaries of the land belonging to one Mukund Kanhoji.....' Further having described the nature of the mischief as was reported to her, Jijabai warns, 'if you create unnecessary troubles in this manner, you should well remember that Chiranjiv (i.e. Shivaji) would make no personal consideration in the performance of his duty and would inflict punishment upon the miscreant. Know this well and create no unnecessary trouble'. Babaji Ramdesh very probably must have been an elderly person of long standing and also a Brahmin who usually was treated with consideration according to the standards of that age. Jijabai wanted to warn that neither age, nor caste, nor dignity would stand in the way of punishing the wrong-doer and executing justice. (Patrasara Sangraha, letter No. 1234).

(7) Another letter of the year 1669 is still more interesting. Jijabai writes to Vithoji Haibatrao Silimbkar, Deshmukh of Gunjan Maval: 'You have promised to give your daughter in marriage to the son of Gomaji Naik. You were invited here (*i.e.* near the Huzur) for the celebration of the marriage. You wrote thereupon that you were suffering from dire poverty and starvation and you could not proceed for the purpose. I am therefore arranging to send to you 25 Hons and food material sufficient for 500 persons. This should remove the difficulty in your way. Please therefore start for the celebration of the marriage'. As will be seen, this letter deals neither with any executive or judicial matter. It is a personal affair settled with human considerations. One can imagine how the sympathetic and affectionate action of Jijabai must have created a deep impression upon the mind of Vithoji and the report of her behaviour must have endeared her to the people of the locality. Rule is not established by sword. It is by human behaviour that the necessary impression is created and relationship is developed. (Patrasara Sangraha, No. 1244).

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There are similar letters of the years 1670, 1672 and 1673 (letters Nos. 1380, 1522 and 1591). In one letter (1380) there is a revival of an Inam of 1 Chavar (Cubit is = 18 inches = 14 Tasus ; 5 Cubits = 1 Kathi ; 20 Kathis Square = 1 Bigha ; 120 Bighas = 1 Chawar) land to one Hari Govind of Kiwad in Tarf Khedebare. In another letter (1522) there is a similar investigation and renewal of the Inam trees, which had fallen into abeyance during the period of unsettlement, to one Chepgir Gosavi of Humgaon, while in the third letter (1591) Jijabai orders the transfer of the Vritti of Kulkarni to one Vinayakbhat Thakar who maintained the wife and children and family members of Rangobhat Thakar who had been the Kulkarni of four villages in Karyat Maval but had run away and been subsequently killed in famine times.

It is possible to go more deeply and make a more searching inquiry to hunt out references throwing light on the manifold activities of Jijabai ; but even as it is the ten incidents referred to above are a proof positive that Jijabai was an active copartner in the work of her illustrious son. Nor is Jijabai the only exception. Radhabai, the wife of Balaji Vishwanath, did similar work of guarding the home front when Balaji was active abroad. She was thus a worthy wife of her husband. The instances of Yesubai, Ahalyabai and Anandibai are too well-known even to an ordinary student of Maratha History. It is not the purpose of this paper to take up a wider theme of studying the nature of the part played by the womanhood of Maharashtra in the social and political activities during the 17th and 18th centuries. Perhaps the subject is fit to be taken up for Ph.D. in History or Sociology. I shall only conclude by saying that we are now in a position to revise our opinion and form a better judgment about the position of Maratha women. What we imagined to be true can now be corroborated by historical evidence.

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THE BISAT-UL-GANAIM OF LAXMINARAYAN SHAFIQ AURANGABADI, A PERSIAN CHRONICLE OF MARATHA HISTORY

Shri P. Setu Madhava Rao

There are a number of contemporary Persian accounts of the history of the Nizams of Hyderabad written in the 18th and the 19th centuries. It is well-known that intimate relations between the Nizams and the Marathas existed throughout the 18th century. It is a tale of a perpetual conflict between the Maratha expansion and the resistance of the Nizams to the former. The battles of Palkhed, Udgir, Rakshas Bhawan and Kharda are some of the battles fought between the Nizams and the Marathas in the 18th century. Scholars of Maratha history are now able to draw upon voluminous Maratha correspondence like the Peshwa Daftar in reconstructing the Maratha history. The same cannot be said however of the Persian accounts written by the historians in Hyderabad. The historians of the Marathas have paid little attention to the Hyderabad version of the Nizam-Maratha relations. As a matter of fact, there are good Persian histories for the period. Unfortunately, very few of them have been published. Even these publications took place 60-70 years ago with the result that many of the published books are out of print and are available with great difficulty. Fortunately, the State Library in Hyderabad, the Central Records Library, Hyderabad, and the Osmania University Library have been able to preserve a number of manuscripts and copies of published works. Among the histories of the Nizams published so far mention may be made of the life of Nizam-ul-Mulk by Dr. Yusuf Hussein Khan. There is a Urdu biography of Nizam-ul-Mulk by Junaidi. Urdu biographies of Nizam Ali Khan, Mir Alam and Sher Jung by Sirajuddin are available, but there is no literature in English devoted exclusively to the reign of Nasir Jung, Salabat Jung and Nizam Ali Khan, with the result that the Persian sources—whether published or in manuscript form—have not become accessible to students of Maratha history. It is necessary that Persian works on the period like Khazane Amira, Masire Nizami, Risale Darbari Asafi, Masire Asafi, and Tuzuke Asafia which were written in the 18th century become available to students of history. Other works such as Tarikhe Gulzare Asafia which were written in the 19th century are also extremely useful. The historians of the period are Bilgrami, author of the Khazane Amira, Mansaram, author of the

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Masire Nizami and the Risale Darbari Asafi, Girdharilal, author of Tarikhe Zafrah, Tajalli Shah, author of Tuzuke Asafia and Laxminarayan, author of the Masire Asafi and the Persian chronicle Bisat-ul-Ganaim.

The work Bisat-ul-Ganaim, which means the Daring of the enemy, is a Persian chronicle in a loose rambling style. In its treatment of recent legends and hearsay accounts and inaccurate dates and anachronisms it resembles the Maratha Bakhars. It claims to give an account of Maratha history from the rise of Shivaji's family upto the battle of Panipat in 1761 A.D. The author does not claim veracity for the accounts. He says that he has drawn upon a Maratha chronicle about whose author he has no knowledge. He also relies on traditions and legends. The merit of the book however is that it is one of the very few Persian accounts dealing exclusively with Maratha history and it proceeds from the pen of one who was a Persian scholar, poet and acquainted with the politics of the Deccan in the latter part of the 18th century.

Laxminarayan Shafiq's family hailed originally from Lahore. His grandfather was in the personal service of Khawja Abid, the grandfather of the First Nizam. Laxminarayan's father, Mansaram, was the Chief Secretary to Nizam-ul-Mulk. Mansaram was also the author of two Persian works dealing with the history of the Deccan. Laxminarayan was a great Persian scholar and has left an account of Persian poetry and poets. He is also the historian of the period being the author of Masire Asafi.

His work Bisat-ul-Ganaim was completed by him on the 18th of November 1799. The book was published, it appears, for the first time in 1905 A.D. under the changed name of Khiabani Marahatta, meaning the garden of the Marathas.

Commencing his narrative of the Marathas, the author makes the following observations :—

" It occurred to me that I should write an account of the Marathas who are the dominant chiefs, nay the sole chiefs, of the Deccan.....The Muslim historians in their writings speak contemptuously about their opponents. They use harsh and disparaging words about them and allow religious hatred to influence worldly matters. They brush aside the merits of their opponents and only point out their defects.....The works which the Marathas have achieved during the period of their power have been ignored by the Persian historians both of old and recent times. The author of the present chronicle has made enquiries

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to the extent possible from people knowing the language of and acquainted with the Marathas and has brought into writing whatever he has found out. He has not brushed aside strange information which he has received."

Laxminarayan then proceeds with the enumeration of the names of seventy families, the prominent among whom were Bhosle, Shirke, Ghorpade, Nimbalkar, Chavan, Jadhav, Shinde, Gaikwad, Mohite and others. He has described the legends dealing with the origin of the term Bhosle. He has traced the origin of this family to the Ranas of Udepur. In the next chapter he has described the legend that the Ranas of Udepur were descended from Nausherwan, the Emperor of Persia. He begins the history of the Marathas with the migration of the Bhosles to the Deccan and the rise of Maloji, the father of Shahaji. The events which led to the marriage of Shahaji and Jijabai follow the traditional stories current in the Marathi chronicle. In tracing the subsequent career of Shahaji, the author has not been able to give correct details about the times of Malik Ambar, Murar Jagdeo and others.

The following chapter deals with the birth of Shivaji. Laxminarayan has given the traditional date of Shivaji's birth, viz., Vaishakha Shudhdha Panchami, Monday 1549 Shalivahana Shaka. His account of Shivaji's career occupies a major portion of the book. It may be said that the book covers 110 pages and the account of Shivaji covers nearly 40 pages. The career of Shivaji has been described at great length. Laxminarayan was an admirer of Marathas in general and Shivaji in particular. It will be interesting to find out what particular Bakhar was made use of in writing this chronicle which was completed in 1799 A.D. The episode of Afzal Khan has been described graphically by him. The following is a gist of the episode as described by Laxminarayan.

Having reached the foot of the hills, Afzal Khan sent his Dewans Krishnaji and Gopinath to Shivaji informing him that he had arrived and that Shivaji should go and see him in all confidence. Shivaji sent word that he had already pitched his tents awaiting him, and informed him that it would be difficult to transport the necessary equipment for entertainment to the place where Khan was staying and requested him to go over to the place where Shivaji was waiting him, Next day Afzal Khan sent away his son Fazal Khan and riding in a palkhi moved towards Pratapgadh. As death was hovering above him, he threw all caution to the winds and accompanied by 32 followers including the palanquin-bearers, 5 attendants, Krishnaji and Gopinath he approached Pratapgadh. Shivaji had kept in hiding 40 swordsmen like Sambhaji, Kawji, Hiroji, Jiwa, etc. He instructed them to wait for the opportune moment to come out of hiding. Shivaji then armed himself heavily with armour, sword, dagger and vaghnakh. He then

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paid a visit to his mother, fell at her feet and asked for her blessings. At this time Gopinath Vakil appeared and informed that Afzal Khan had arrived in the tent with Krishnaji Dewan. Shivaji armed to the teeth and with full courage approached Afzal Khan and salammed him. Afzal Khan did not know Shivaji. He therefore asked his Dewan whether the person approaching was Shivaji himself. Afterwards he said, "What is the reason for destroying the country and the interests of the King?" Shivaji replied "There were evil-minded persons who were creating mischief previously. I have cleared the country of them. I am entitled to praise and thanks and not criticism and displeasure." Afzal Khan said, "Whatever has happened has happened; now hand over the forts to me and resolve upon the service of the King." Shivaji said that he would like to see the Firman of the King in this regard so that he could show respect to the Firman and comply with it. At this, Krishnaji, the Dewan said, "You have now come to Khan. You should first beg pardon for the faults committed. Only then could you expect the Firman." Shivaji replied that he and the Khan were both the servants of the King. He said, "Why does the Khan want me to beg pardon. Yet I will not refuse what you say. I will go to the Khan." Having said this, Shivaji embraced Afzal Khan. At the time of the embrace Afzal Khan holding Shivaji in his arms stabbed him with a dagger. It could not be effective owing to the protection of the armour. Struggling, Shivaji plunged the bichwa which he had in his hand into the bowels of Afzal Khan and tore his belly. He then freed himself from his clutches. Afzal Khan tied his stomach with a piece of cloth, drew his sword and hit Shivaji on the head. Shivaji received a slight wound on the head and struck Afzal Khan with a sword. The Afghans who were attending on Afzal Khan attacked Shivaji but Banaji Bano disposed them off. Krishnaji, the Dewan, on seeing this affair, attacked Shivaji but was felled by Esaji, a companion of Shivaji. The palanquin-bearers, carrying the body of Afzal Khan, left the place, but the followers of Shivaji crowded upon the body and having cut-off the head of Afzal Khan along with its headgear hung it on the gate of the fort.

This, in brief, is how Laxminarayan deals with the episode of Afzal Khan.

Laxminarayan has dealt with Shivaji's career, as remarked above. in great detail. The escape from Agra and Shivaji's subsequent letter to Aurangzeb have also been brought out. About Shahaji's imprisonment by the King of Bijapur, Laxminarayan states that Shahaji's release was brought out through the intercession of Ranadulla Khan, the General of Bijapur. This does not correspond to historical facts. Laxminarayan has described the visit of Shivaji to Kutubshah of Golconda in 1677 A.D. The episode of Esaji's fight with an elephant at Golconda described by him shows that Laxminarayan must have

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drawn his account from some well-known Bakhars. Shivaji's end was, according to Laxminarayan, hastened by domestic difficulties. Laxminarayan hints that Shivaji was poisoned by his wife Soyarabai, the mother of Rajaram. Shivaji's death took place on the 24th Rabbi-ul-Akhir 1091 Hejira.

In the following Chapter Sambhaji's reign is described. Full details of the treasure which Shivaji left and the forts possessed by him are given. Sambhaji was captured while indulging in luxuries. According to Laxminarayan, he and Kabji were put to death for abusive language used against Aurangzeb. The author says that, hard pressed by the Marathas, Aurangzeb had put forward peace-feelers. About the end of Shahu, Laxminarayan has put forward a strange tale that Shahu was a voluptuous debauchee and that he died as a result of injuries received in an amorous adventure. He has indicated that this was what he had heard. In the next chapter Laxminarayan has given an account of the Maratha chiefs of the Nizam, Chandrasen Jadhav, Sultanji Nimbalkar, and Maharao Janoji Jaswant Numbalkar. He has then dealt with the rise of the Peshwas and their conflict with the Nizams. He has dealt at length with the Maratha expansion in the north leading ultimately to the battle of Panipat. He speaks of the advice which Surajmal Jath gave to Sadashivrao Bhau, advising against an advance beyond Delhi. The battle of Panipat has been described very graphically by Laxminarayan, expecially the last fight which Sadashivrao Bhau put up before he was killed. The admiration which Laxminarayan felt for the Marathas is very much apparent when he describes the heroic deeds of Sadashivrao Bhau, Vishwasrao, Jankoji, Samsher Bahadur, Ibrahim Khan Gardi and others. The author brings the chronicle to an end with a reference to the death of Balaji Bajirao.

This, in brief, is an account given in this book. The author has drawn upon, as remarked above, Marathi chronicles, Persian works, and traditions and legends current in his day. The book is of no great importance as a piece of history. Many of the statements made in the book do not stand the test of scrutiny. Its only merit is that it proceeds from the pen of a Hindu Persian scholar and historian who was a keen student of contemporary events. This is one of the few Persian books dealing entirely with the Marathas from their rise upto the battle of Panipat. It can best be described as impressions formed by a scholar about the Marathas. Incidentally, it would be worth while trying to trace the Marathi chronicles on which Laxminarayan has based his accounts.

It is hoped that the above description of the Bisat-ul-Ganaim will induce students of history to study the Persian sources of Maratha-Nizam relations in a greater measure than hitherto.

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BAJI RAO I AND NORTH INDIA

Shri Satish Chandra

It has been generally held by writers on Maratha history that Baji Rao I not only initiated in a systematic manner the Maratha policy of expansion towards North India, but that he had formed the fixed design of overthrowing the Mughal empire and planting the Maratha banner on the walls of Attock. This contention is supported by certain passages in the Chitnis Bakkhar describing the controversy between Baji Rao and the Pratinidhi, Shripat Rao, over Maratha policy in relation to the Deccan and North India. We are told that whereas Pratinidhi wanted that attention should first be given to the over-running of the Konkan where the Sidi of Janjira had recovered many areas, and the completion of the conquest of the Karnatak begun by Shivaji, Baji Rao dwelt on the weakness and imbecility of the Mughal Court which was torn by factions and internecine feuds. He dismissed the Pratinidhi's fear of the Nizam and of a renewed Mughal invasion, offering to hold the Nizam in check as well as to effect a northward drive. He is supposed to have ended his peroration with the famous words, " Strike, strike at the root and the branches will fall of themselves." Listen but to my counsel and I shall plant the Maratha banner on the walls of Attock.[1]

However, a too literal interpretation of Chitnis has tended to give a distorted picture of Baji Rao's policy. While Baji Rao certainly made the conquest of Malwa and Gujarat his immediate objective, it is by no means certain that he aimed at the conquest of the whole of the Mughal empire in the North, or that he was disinterested in the conquest and domination of the Deccan.

The essential argument of the Partinidhi that an all-out programme of expansion towards the north without befriending or effectively subduing the Nizam and establishing a Maratha supremacy over the Deccan and the Karnatak would be dangerous and against the best interests of the Marathas had a good deal of force. Baji Rao pointed to Malwa and Gujarat in preference to the Deccan because the Deccan

1. Chitnis, *Thorle Shahu Maharaj yanchen Charitra*, pp. 60-61.

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had been impovarished by famine and war, and money—an ever present requirement of the Maratha sardars—was not to be had there. But even while struggling for the establishment of the Maratha domination over Malwa and Gujarat, Baji Rao seems to have constantly kept before him the broader political objective of establishing a Maratha hegemony over the Deccan. In fact, it would seem that for Baji Rao the Maratha domination of Malwa and Gujarat was a prelude to the complete Maratha domination of the Deccan.

The nature of Baji Rao's ambitions in the Deccan is indicated by an extant paper containing important demands regarding the Deccan. For the sake of clarity, the document entitled "Memorandum of Demands" might be translated in full.[2]

1. The grants of *swarajya*, *chauthai* and *sardeshmukhi* already granted under the imperial seal should be ratified by royal *farman*, and the *peshkash*[3] excused.

2. The *chauth* and *sardeshmukhi* of Malwa and Gujarat should be granted by royal farman.

3. The kingdom of Tanjore which is an old Maratha kingdom and has been annexed by the Mughals should be restored.

4. The forts of Shivner, Chākan, Māholi, Karnālā, Pāli, Miraj and Kirkol under Mughal occupation and the territories dependent on these forts, *i.e.* the tarf of Junner, Pārner, Rājangaon, Ākluj, the 'suba' of Miraj, Kotul and Dhādharphal should be restored.

5. The *deshmukhi* of Shivner should be granted to us (Shahu).

6. *The appointment to the subahdari of the Deccan should be made on our recommendation.*

7. *Farmans* should be sent to the Deccani Pathans, Diler Khan, Abdun Nabi Khan and Alaf Khan, that in order to help the royal business they should join the Maratha armies of Raja Shahu and chastise Nizam-ul-Mulk.

8. The *subahdars* of the Deccan should not treat with the Raja of Panhala.

2. Selection from the Peshwa Daftar, vol. X, No. 1. *Cf.* Sardesai, *New History*, vol. II, pp. 78-79. Some of the clauses have been omitted or incorrectly rendered by the author.

3. In return for the grant of the *swarajya*, Shahu had agreed in 1719 to pay a *peshkash* of Rupees ten lakhs, and in return for *sardeshmukhi* Rs. 1,17,19,390/- 12/- (Dr. A. G. Powar, *IHRC*, Proc. 1940, pp. 204-12). However, not even ten lakhs out of this sum had been paid till 1724.

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9. Abdul Majid Khan, the young son of Dilaer Khan should be granted the title of Diler Khan and confirmed in his *jagir*, and Abdul Karim Khan, the cousin of Abdul Majid Khan, should be confirmed as the subahdar of Bijapur.

10. Deserters from our side should not be employed in Mughal service.

11. Ramji Goswami etc. petitioners[4] should be granted a *farman* conferring (lands in) inam.[5]

12. Maratha nobles from our side who have been given service by the Mughals should be sent back to us.

13. The Mughal and Maratha army appointed to the Deccan should be sent a *farman* that whoever exerted himself in chastising Nizam-ul-Mulk would be honoured and confirmed in his *mansab* and *jagir*.

14. *Fateh Singh Bhonsle should be granted the subahdari of Hyderabad, with the mansab of 9,000 and a jagir for (the upkeep of) 20,000 troops.*

15. The forts and territories captured by the Habshis (Sidi of Janjira) should be restored to us, and *if necessary, the royal armies should chastise him and help the Marathas in occupying them.*

16. *Rupees fifty lakhs promised by the Emperor should be granted.*[6]

In substances the Marathas demanded the *chauth* and *sardeshmukhi* of Malwa and Gujarat and *the complete Maratha domination of the Deccan*, along with a subvention of Rupees fifty lakhs, and the withdrawal of help and recognition from Shambhaji of Kolhapur.[7]

What was the occasion for these staggering demands by the Marathas? It has been argued that the occasion was Nizam-ul-Mulk's rebellion in 1724, and the Emperor's attempt to secure Maratha support for Mubariz Khan. However, it appears strange that the name of Mubariz Khan should not appear anywhere in such an important document. Clause 9 suggests that the document was written after the death of Diler Khan who fought against Nizam-ul-Mulk at the battle of Shakar

4. The Marathi ward is दुगाी which is obviously the Persian word د عاگو.

5. *Inam* or gift was generally a hereditary grant of land, without any condition of military service.

6. *Cf.* Sardesai, *loc. cit.*, where the sum of Rs. 50,000/- only is mentioned.

7. Shambhaji's predecessor, Shivaji II, the son of Tara Bai was granted the *mansab* of 3000/2000 and the title of Anup Singh along with the *deshmukhi* of Hyderabad by Jahandar Shah at the instance of his wazir, Zulfiqar Khan (*Akhbarat*, entry, d. Sept. 4, 1712). It is not certain if a similar recognition was ever extended to Shambhaji.

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Khera, while clause 15 suggests that it was written at a time when the Marathas were contemplating action against the Sidi of Janjira (*i.e.* 1731-32). Since relations between the Delhi Court and Nizam-ul-Mulk, and Nizam-ul-Mulk and the Afghans of the Karnatak were never good, the document could have been written any time between 1724 and 1733.

The nature of Baji Rao's abmitions regarding the Deccan is attested to by a number of other documents. Thus, the first paper, relating to the demands made by Baji Rao and agreed to by Nizam-ul-Mulk at Mungi Shivgaon on March 6, 1728 reads as follows :—

"The administration of the Deccan should be handed over to us : by God's grace, the task shall be carried out with loyalty and economy—provided that loyalty (to the Emperor) shall be observed through you."[8]

The Marathas could scarcely have hoped that such a demand would be agreed to by Nizam-ul-Mulk in practice without a prolonged war. However, that it should have been made by the Marathas is significant.

Between 1728 and 1735 there was extended conflict between the Marathas and the Mughals in Malwa and Gujarat. The Bundelas entered into an offensive and defensive alliance with the Marathas, and invited them to lead an offensive towards Allahabad and the areas to the east of it. The danger of Maratha incursion into the Duab alarmed Saādat Khan of Awadh who looked upon these areas as lying in his natural line of expansion. He repaired to Delhi, apparently convinced that the Maratha expansion towards the North was all the Nizam's game. The Maratha agent in Bundelkhand, Mudhāji Hari, informed Baji Rao that Saādat Khan had formed the project of meeting Baji Rao personally in Malwa. The terms he intended to offer were that the *subahdar* of the Deccan should be a person nominated by the Peshwa, and that Baji Rao should be appointed the *subahdar* of Malwa and his other demands accepted, stipulating in return that Nizam-ul-Mulk should be properly dealt with.[9] However, it seems that the projected meeting never materialised.

After three years of war from 1732-35, in February, 1736, Baji Rao entered Malwa at the invitation of Khai-i-Dauran, the chief Bakhshi, in order to negotiate a peace settlement with the Emperor. The demands presented to the Emperor by Baji Rao through his vakil, Dhondo Mahadev, included not only a claim for the *subahdari* of Malwa and

8. *SPD*, vol. XV, p. 89. The Marathi text seems to be a literal interpretation of a Persian text. Baji Rao's intention apparently was that the Nizam, as the representative of the Mughal Emperor, should delegate his powers to the Marathas who promised to remain loyal to the Emperor.

9. *SPD*, vol. XIV, No. 9.

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Gujarat with an authority to levy tribute on all the Rajas between the Narmada and the Chambal, and control all the forts etc., but also a stipulation that the *sardeshpandegiri* of the Deccan was to be granted to the Peshwa. The *sardeshpandegiri* was to carry with it 5% of the revenues of the Deccan. There were other demands also. The Emperor agreed to all the demands. It was agreed that the *sanad* for the post of *sardeshpande* would be issued when the question of the *nazar* had been settled. After negotiations, the *nazr* was fixed at 6 lakhs, of which one-fourth was to be paid in cash, and the rest in instalments.[10]

Not satisfied with this, Baji Rao demanded further that the Viceroyalty of the Deccan should be given to an Imperial prince, with the apparent idea that his deputy would be nominated by the Peshwa. The Peshwa also demanded a *jagir* of 50 lakhs for himself in the Deccan, and further stipulated that any additional revenue gained in the Deccan as a result of his efforts would be shared half and half. The demands for the forts of Shivner and the kingdom of Tanjore were repeated, in addition to a number of villages being claimed in *mokasa*.[11]

These extravagant demands threw the Emperor's advisers into consternation. They were prepared to make the Peshwa the *sardeshpande* of the Deccan in order to throw a bone of contention between him and the Nizam and divert the attention of the Peshwa from North India. But they were not willing to hand over the entire Deccan to the Peshwa. Thus, Baji Rao's demands relating to the Deccan were one of the main causes of the break-down of the negotiations with the Emperor in 1736.

Baji Rao now decided to force the Emperor's hands by raiding the Duab. His object according to his own letter, was to induce the Emperor to make peace by showing him the Marathas at the gates of Delhi.[12] However, the raid had the opposite effect from the one intended, and threw the Emperor into the arms of Nizam-ul-Mulk.

The tussle between Nizam-ul-Mulk and Baji Rao which now began was the most momentous struggle faced by Baji Rao. The victor of the struggle would be the virtual arbiter of India. However, for Baji Rao it was more a battle for the supremacy of the Deccan than of North India. "Let every Maratha join," he wrote to his brother, Chimnaji, on the eve of the battle of Bhopal in 1738, "and one grand united push may make us the masters of the Deccan." He also wrote repeatedly, "If the Nawab (Nizam-ul-Mulk) is taken care of, the entire Deccan will be freed of danger.[13]

10. *SPD*, vol. XV, pp. 92-93.
11. *SPD*, vol. XV, p. 95.
12. *Brahmendra Swamichen Charitra*, p. 27.
13. *Brahmendra Swami*, pp. 33-35; Sardesai, *Riyasat*, 371-72.

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Although Nizam-ul-Mulk was hard-pressed at Bhopal, Baji Rao refrained from forcing a final show down with him. The final terms referred only to Malwa, and the territory between the Narmada and the Chambal. However, it seems that Baji Rao agreed to these terms only after he had pressed once again the Maratha claims relating to the Deccan. Baji Rao presented the following demands :—

1. Cede the kingdom of Tajore which had belonged to Shivaji.

2. The Peshwa is deeply in debt. To help him a *jagir* worth 50 lakhs should be granted to him in the subah of Khandesh, Aurangabad and Bijapur.

3. The charge for the *watani sardeshpandegiri* of the Deccan should be fixed at 5%, and the administration of the Deccan should be carried on through the Peshwa.

4. Cede the fort of Shivner, and a number of villages in *mokasa*.[14]

It is difficult to foresee how Baji Rao's policy would have shaped after the battle of Bhopal had Nadir Shah's invasion not intervened, followed by Baji Rao's premature death. Baji Rao may have pushed forward into North India beyond Malwa. It is equally possible that he may have concentrated on fulfilling his unrealised ambitions relating to the Deccan. In that case, many of the political blunders of Balaji Baji Rao might have been avoided, and the Marathas placed in a better position to establish a lasting domination over North India.

In view of the close and continuous interest of Baji Rao in the Deccan, it seems scarcely correct to accept the notion that Baji Rao's primary objective was the establishment of a Maratha domination in the North and that he was unmindful of the importance of consolidating further the Maratha position in the Deccan. Baji Rao was apparently not satisfied with the Maratha position in the Deccan as established by the treaty of Mungi Shivgaon in 1728, and strove constantly to bring the entire Deccan under the administrative control of the Marathas. The North Indian policy of Baji Rao, therefore, needs to be re-assessed and viewed against the background of his ambitions in the Deccan.

14. *SPD*, vol. XV, pp. 94-95. These demands are contained in a separate *yadi* entitled : " Demands of Baji Rao Pant Pradhan presented to Nizam-ul-Mulk in writing."

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ALIVARDI AND THE AFGHANS OF TIRHUT

Dr. Upendra Thakur

Darbhanga of Tirhut played a very significant part in the politics of Bengal and Bihar during the regime of Alivardi Khan Mahabat Jang (1740-1756 A.D.). It was the brave Afghan soldiers of Darbhanga who formed the bulwark of Alivardi's army and helped him occupy the throne of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. Their fighting genius and unflinching loyalty mostly contributed towards the fulfilment of his high ambitions. But for these valiant and sturdy Afghan soldiers it is difficult to say what the verdict of history would have been on Alivardi's rise and achievements. Again, it was these Afghan soldiers who proved to be his most formidable enemy towards the latter part of his reign. It took him several years to deal with these turbulent Afghan elements to effectively secure his own position.

According to Sir J. N. Sarkar, the earlier Afghan settlers or the Indo-Afghans in Allahabad, Darbhanga, Orissa and Silhet were replenished in the 17th and the first half of the 18th century by a fresh wave of Afghan immigration into Northern India.[1] These Afghan adventurers found military employments in many places " either as retainers or mercenaries." In some places they founded their principalities[2] and built up spheres of influence as in Tirhut (Darbhanga and Hajipur), Rohilkhand, Farrukhabad etc.[3] They were endowed with " brilliant fighting qualities and a genius for military organisation."

At the same time they were " strongly attached to the interests of their own clans."[4] The decaying Moghul Empire soon opened their eyes and encouraged them to play a dominant part in the confused politics of the day. They soon realised that they were far superior to the Moghul armies in the art of warfare by virtue of their " courage, intractability and vindictiveness."[5]

1. Sarkar, *Fall of Mughal Empire*, vol. I, pp. 43-45.
2. *Ibid.*
3. *Ibid.*
4. K. K. Datta, *Alivardi and his times*, p. 119.
5. *Siyar*, vol. I. p. 438.

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I

As the *naib nazim* of Bihar (1733 A.D. onwards) and also during the first four years of his government as the Subahdar of Bengal (1740-44 A.D.) Alivardi had received immense help from the Afghans of Tirhut and Bihar. The entire province of Bihar was in a state of turmoil when he had assumed charge as Deputy Governor. "Most of the zamindars had become turbulent and rebellious, and the land had fallen a prey to the nefarious activities of a band of wandering people, called the Banjaras who in the guise of travellers and traders used to plunder the Imperial domains and treasures."[6] These Banjaras used to assemble to the number of about 80,000 horse and foot, leading a lakh of oxen with them. On the pretext of buying and selling rice, on whichever side they went they committeed plunder, especially in the districts of Oudh, Gorakhpur, Ghazipur, Bettia and Bhuānrā or Bhawrah in Sarkar Tirhut which was their special jagir.[7] Alivardi however, tried to restore order and strengthen his army with a view to putting and end to this Banjara menace. He admitted into his service Abdul Karim Khan,[8] a powerful Afghan Chief having fifteen hundred Darbhanga Afghans in his command. And, it was with the help of these brave Afghans that Alivardi crushed the turbulent Banjaras and got an imense booty from them.[9]

After the Banjaras Alivardi reduced to submission the refactory zamindars of the province like the rajas of Bettia, Bhanwarah (or Bhawrah, a Mahal under Sarkar Tirhut),[10] Bhojpur, Raja Sunder Singh of Tekari and Kamgar Khan Main of Narhat Samai.[11] As a matter of fact "their regions had never previously been trod by the feet of the armies of former Nazims, nor had their proud heads ever bended before to any one of the former Subahdars."[12]

According to Muzaffarnama,[13] the Raja of Bettia (Dhruva Sinha, 1715-63 A.D.) was "the foremost rebel of Bihar" and always used to give trouble to the army-chiefs. Alivardi, with the help of Nawab

6. *RS*, 296 ; Datta, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

7. *Cf. Muzaffarnama*, Trans. by Sir J. N. Sarkar in *BPP*, vol. LXVI, 1946-47, pp. 68-69.

8. *Rs.* 296 ; Datta. *op.cit.* 18 ; Stewart, *History of Bengal*, p. 478.

9. For a detailed account of Alivardi's encounter with the Banjaras, and the results thereof, see *Muzaffarnama*, Trans by Sarkar in *BPP*, vol. LXVI, 1946-47. pp. 68-69 ; Datta, *op.cit.* 18 ff ; *RS*,p. 296 ; also see the writer's book *History of Mithila* (1556-1947), vol. II, Chap. I (unpublished).

10. *Ain.* II, 156 ; Stewart, (*op. cit.*, p. 478) wrongly calls it Phoolareh of Phulwari. The latter was a mahal under Sarkar Bihar. Also *cf. RS*, p. 296-97 ; *HB*. vol.II, p.439.

11. This zamindari extended along the south-east of zillah Bihar (*vide* Buchnan, *Patna-Gaya Report*, vol. II, pp. 588-59).

12. *RS*, p. 296 ; *Siyar*, II, p. 58 ; Singh, *History of Tirhut*, pp. 96-97.

13. *BPP*, vol. LXVI, p. 67, ff.

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Sahatmat Jang and Abdul Karim Khan Afghan badly crushed the Raja who fled away in terror from his fort to the distant hills. This victory led to the great honouring of Abdul Karim Khan which "raised his pride to the highest pitch."[14]

The Raja of Bhura (Bhumra, or Bhawrah), Raja Narendra Sinha, said to have been proud of his hills and jungles and strong places, used to refuse obedience to the orders of the Governor. This year too he tried to assert his independence.

Alivardi rapidly marched against him "marking his saddle his sleeping place."[15] The Raja of Tirhut also prepared for a fight. A severe encounter took place, the like of which had never seen before. The battle is known as the famous battle of Kandarpighat.[16] After a stubborn resistance and temporary victories the Raja had at last to take to flight in face of the Nawab's undaunting and overwhelming armies. Abdul Karim was ordered to pursue him. He is said to have made forced marches, siezed the wife and children of the Rāja on the skirt of the Dhaulagiri hill (Himalaya) and sent them to the Governor. The victors returned to Patna fort. The Raja, however, made his submission : the district was brought under administration and the Raja allowed to return to his home.[17]

Alivardi next fell upon Raja Sundar Singh of Tikari and subdued him. It was as a result of this victory that Mustafa Khan, an Afghan general of Raja Sundar Singh was taken with 35 troopers into the service of Alivardi and day by day received such promotion that he reached the highest rank and became the master of 4,000 troopers with the title of Babar Jang.[18]

Alivardi then turned against the Chakwars, a brave and powerful Hindu tribe with their stronghold at Sambho in the Begusarai Sub-

14. *Ibid.*

15. Bhawrah is situated about 19 miles north-north-east of Bettia town and about the same distance north-north-west of Sugauli. It stands on the Nepal frontier and was a mahal under Sarkar Tirhut. Gladwin in his translation of the *Tarīkh-i-Baugāla* read the name as Phoolwareh which Rennell also gives in his plate IV as Fulvarya. This is wrong. Ain. II, 156 has, Bhānwārah, a mahāl in Sarkar Tirhut. The Raja referred to, was Narendra Simha (1747 A.D.) of the Khandavatā dynasty of Mithila (1556-1950 A.D.) of which the present Maharaja of Darbhanga is a distinguished scion (*vide HM*, vol. II, Chap. III).

16. For details of this historic battle, see Prof. R. K. Chaudhary's *History of Muslim Rule in Tirhut* (1200-1765 A.D.) *MS.* (unpublished) ; writer's book *History of Mithila* (1556-1947 A.D.), vol. II, Chap. III (unpublished) ; Also see the writer's forthcoming paper, "*The battle of Kandarpighat.*"

17. *Muzaffarnama* in *BPP*, vol. LXVI, p. 68. Mithila tradition, however, does not at all support this view. As a matter of fact the Raja is said to have come out victorious in this battle. We have, however, no reliable information to confirm or contradict this statement (see *HM*, vol. II, Chap. III).

18. *Muzaffarnama*, 70.

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division of the Monghyr district. The Raja was subdued and made to pay an annual tribute to the Subahadar of Bengal[19].

All these consecutive success, however, turned Abdul Karim, the brave Afghan commander from Darbhanga altogether a changed man. He "grew insolent and manifested a spirit of independence." By temperament and training Alivardi was the last man to tolerate such revolting manners; he soon apprehended the dangerous situation and got him murdered by deceitful means, a touching account of which has been given by the author of the *Muzaffarnama*.[20] This was indeed treachrous assassination of a man who had rendered him valuable services.[21] But these acts of treachery and violence were a common feature of the mediæval history, and Alivardi was no exception to this general rule. His measures in Bihar, however, can be summed up in the following words: "Peace and order returned to the province as a result of Alivardi's successful administration."[22]

II

After the death of Shuja-ud-daulah, his son Sarfaraz ascended the *masnad* of Bengal. His weak and inefficient handling of the situation encouraged Alivardi to seize the government of Bengal. He had gathered 3,000 sturdy Afghans in his army and "his infantry levied in Bihar were much stouter than those in the army of Sarfaraz Khan, who were mostly natives of Bengal."[23] He had with him an assembly of brave Hindu and Muslim generals like Mustafa Khan, Shamshir Khan, Sardar Khan, Omar Khan, Raham Khan, Sarandaz Khan, Shaikh Masum (all Afghan generals from Darbhanga) and several other tried and veteren soldiers. At last the historic battle was fought at Giria (1740 A.D.). After a furiously contested battle Sarfaraz was killed on the spot by a chance shot on his forehead. Some of his devoted Hindu and Muslim Commanders fought valiantly to the last to avenge their master's death, but their efforts ended in grim failure. Alivardi was now an undisputed and uncontested ruler of Bengal. This Bengal revolution of 1737-40 was no doubt "a significant episode not only in the history of the province, but also in that of the decadent Moghul Empire. It is a clear illustration of the grossly vitiated atmosphere of the age, and of the effects of treachery, ungratefulness and inordinate ambition..... A Nemesis followed it when his (Alivardi's) favourite grandson and

19. For a detailed account see *G. D. College Bulletin series*, no. 3; R. K. Chowdhary's paper in *Ramcharitra Abhinandan Granth*; *History of Mithita*, vol. II, App. C:; R. K. Chowdhary, *History of Muslim Rule in Tirhut* (unpublished).

20. Trans. by J. N. Sarkar in *BPP*, vol. LXVI (1946-47), pp. 68-70.

21. Datta, *op. cit.* p. 15; *RS*, p. 297.

22. *HB*. vol. II, p. 439; *KT*. (*JBORS*), vol. V, p. 223).

23. *HB*, vol. II, p. 439.

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successor Siraj-ud-daullah fell a victim to the same forces which had worked to cause the ruin of Sarfaraz. It might well be said that the battle of Plassey was the reply of divine justice to the battle of Giria."[24]

The new Nawab of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa[25] gave the Deputy Governorship of Bihar to his youngest nephew, Zainuddin Ahmad Khan. The Government of Tirhut was now placed in the charge of Abdul Ali Khan, maternal uncle of the historian Ghulam Hussain and a cousin of Alivardi in addition to his duties as the revenue collector of the parganas of Bihar and Biswāk. Besides this there were changes also in the administration set up.[26]

The repeated Maratha invasion and the indiscriminate depredations in its wake gave Alivardi some very anxious moments of his life. It was again with the help of these brave Afghan generals that Alivardi could chase the Marathas out of Bihar and Bengal after great many skirmishes and battles.[27]

The third Maratha invasion in March 1744 under Bhaskar Pandit fortunately spared Bihar, but the fourth Maratha invasion in 1745 A.D. greatly affected Bihar. It was a domestic revolution that turned Alivardi's strongest allies into his bitterest foes. Mustafa Khan,[28] the foremost of Alivardi's Afghan generals from Darbhanga, broke into open rebellion against him and invited Raghoji, the Maratha chief, to invade Bengal. This open rebellion of Mustafa Khan, followed by other formidable Afghan insurrections marks one of the most tragic episodes of the latter part of Alivardi's government which was literally shaken out of its bottom and thrown in doldrums for a good many years.

Mustafa Khan, the most conspicuous of the Afghan generals and "an individual of such a praiseworthy nation"[29] helped him considerably in all his adventures from the first invasion of the Maratha till the assassination of Bhaskar Pandit.[30] Moreover, he was one of his trusted counsellors in matters of administration.[31] But, ironically enough Mustafa was the first Afghan general to break his relations with Alivardi and thus turn out to be one of his most formidable foes.[32]

24. *HB*, vol. II, p. 443; Datta, *op. cit.*, pp. 41-42; *Sivar*, vol. I, pp. 827-42; *RS*, pp. 297-324; *KT*, (*JBORS*, vol. V, pp. 223-29).
25. For his Orissa conquest see *Siyar*, vol. I, pp. 344-70; *KT*, (*JBORS*. vol. V, pp. 228-29); *RS*, pp. 325-27; Datta, *op. cit.*, pp. 43-54; *HB*, vol II, pp. 443-46.
26. *HB*, vol. II, pp. 442-43; Datta, *op. cit.*, pp. 43-54.
27. For a detailed account of Alivardi's fight with the Marathas see *Siyar*, vol. I, pp. 375-408; 413-19, 430-37; *HB*, vol. II, pp. 455-61; Datta, *op. cit.*, pp. 58-93 etc.
28. For his rise, power and influence, see *Siyar*, vol. I, pp. 429, 437-62.
29. *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 438.
30. Sarkar, *Fall*, vol. I, pp. 104 ff.
31. Datta, *op. cit.*, p. 120.
32. *Siyar*, vol. I, p. 439 ff.

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Mustafa Khan was an extremely ambitious man. Constant success for three or four years " enflamed by his courage, made him cast a wishful eye upon that pomp and that wealth of Bengal which endlessly blazed in review before his eyes. "[33] He aspired to be Alivardi's equal and attempted to become his superior.[34] According to *Muzaffarnama*,[35] however, Mustafa Khan entitled Babar Jang, " became an object of envy to the world " because of his exalted position and highest rank and power. Shamshir Khan and Sardar Khan, who were discontented with his ascendancy, secretly deceived him " like Satans implanting the false suspicions in his heart."[36]

It is said that instigated by them he demanded the deputy governorship of Bihar by removing Haibat Jang (Zainuddin Ahmad Khan) from Patna or Azimabad. As that was not possible, his ill-feeling was aggravated, till at last " One day Mustafa Khan, contrary to the customary time, early in the morning with many treacherous men came to the Darbar for audience. Spies reported to Alivardi that he intended to cause a disturbance that day. Therefore, Gulam Husain Khan ' arzbegi ', who was a wise man, detained him for an hour outside with charming talks while he sent one man to summon the other regularly attending ' Courtiers ' (*Mujrāiān*). As soon as Mustafa was presented, Alivardi engaged in talking with him in such an attractive manner that the old man was drowned in surprise, and did not get his opportunity, till the crowd of the courtiers had assembled. Next day Mustafa again came to the Darbar near the evening with his wicked intention. Alivardi did not give him audience but evaded him. Babar Jang in his pride left the public audience hall."[37]

Instigated by mischievous persons he formed yet another ambitious design in his heart. He drew up a manifest (*Mahazar*) for " uniting all the Afghan Sardars together ousting Alivardi from the govenorship, and began to induce the Afghan generals to affix their seals to it. When Shamshir Khan and Sardar Khan brought the manifesto to Umar Khan for him to seal it and share the government, the latter out of royalty, tore up the paper, and opened his mouth in abusing the Afghan even up to Shershah. Shamshir Khan and Sardar Khan, out of precaution, lest the anger of Alivardi should ruin the entire Afghan tribe, came back to their homes in silence, their real intention which was to give Babar Jang a bad name, was not fulfilled."[38]

33. *Ibid.*, p. 438.
34. *Ibid.*, p. 438.
35. Trans. by Sarkar *BPP*, vol. LXVII, 1948, pp. 12-15.
36. *Ibid.*
37. *Ibid.*
38. *Ibid.*

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Alivardi was also partly responsible for this change in his attitude. In a moment of dire necessity he had promised him the deputy governorship of Bihar as a reward for assassinating Bhaskar, the Maratha general.[39] The task having been completed Mustafa " insisted on the performance of the promise."[40] Alivardi, however, evaded its fulfilment and " wanted to shut up the man's mouth by loading him with distinctions, to regain his rancorous stubborn heart by softening it with sweet words and to soothe his resentment by expression full of regard.[41] The general, after having been fed for some months with todays and tomorrows, at last " lost all patience and spoke openly."[42]

This precipitated an open rupture between the two. Mustafa soon saw through the sinister motives of the Nawab and resigned his service. Alivardi saw in the disunion among the Afghans a stroke of good fortune. He dismissed[43] Mustafa Khan who had offered his resignation.[44] Mustafa mustered a body of 9,000 Afghan horsemen, besides a powerful batch of infantry, and pressed his demands for the deputy governorship of Bihar,[45] and also the arrear of his pay of his soldiers amounting to seventeen lakhs of rupees,[46] which the Nawab paid him at once through Jagat Seth and sent him back to his place with all honours. Mustafa, now being quite hopeless of getting the co-operation of other Afghans, for certain obstacles, could not carry out his plan in Murshidabad. He, therefore, set for Patna intending to wrest the governorship of that province from Zainuddin Haibat Jang. But Mustafa's kinsmen and generals like Umar Khan, Raham Khan, Shamshir Khan and Sardar Khan could not be won over for reasons already noted above. They deserted him for good. Alivardi cleverly managed to keep them attached to his cause by bestowing rewards and favours on them.

Mustafa left Murshidabad for Patna towards the close of February, 1745 A.D. with 15,000 cavalry. Alivardi also set out in pursuit with a large army when he learnt of the hostile intention of Mustafa Khan and his having started for Patna in fighting mood. Zainuddin, the governor of Patna, was then in mahal Bhānwārā of Tirhut, where he received

39. *Siyar*, vol. I, pp. 431 ff.
40. *Ibid.*, p. 439.
41. *Ibid.*
42. *Ibid.*
43. *Muzaffarnama* (*BPP*, vol. LXVII, 1948), p. 13.
44. *Siyar*, vol. I, pp. 439-42 says that Mustafa Khan resigned and his resignation was accepted by Alivardi.
45. *Ibid.*, p. 440.
46. *Ibid.*, p. 448. According to *Muzaffarnama* (*BPP*, vol. LXVII, p. 18) only nine lakhs of rupees were his dues as arrears of pay.

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the intelligence about Mustafa's approach.[47] Alivardi wrote to him to come down to Murshidabad for his safety, and advised him in no way to oppose Mustafa Khan. After receiving this letter Zainuddin immediately replied in anger " If I do not oppose his designs and do not bring this wanderer in the wrong path to the right path, what should I do ? I shall then have to withdraw my hand from Azimabad and make a gift of that province to this man. That cannot be done by this slave."[48] Thus Zainuddin decided to oppose the Afghans with all his might.

At that time in all 14,000 troopers were present with Zainuddin, while Mustafa Khan was at the head of 20,000. When Alivardi learnt of his nephew's determination to fight against Mustafa he again and again hurriedly wrote to him : "(Do not) desire to (fight) Babar Jang who is carrying European-manned artillery with him. You too know his personal bravery. If, in spite of this you insist on resisting him, remain on the defensive till I arrive with my army. Don't fight except from trenches."[49] Zainuddin was, however, determined to resist him, come what may. He moved immediately from Tirhut and by incessant marches arrived at Azimabad.[50] He sent out letters on all sides calling upon brave men to come to his side and join in the fight. He himself crossed the Ganges (back to Patna) and entrenched, as directed by Alivardi, in the garden of Jafar Khan which is close to Patna.[51] With the help of his old troops, some local nobles and zamindars and Hindu commanders like Raja Kirat Singh and Raja Ram Narain and others he at last prepared to face Mustafa's army.[52]

On his way Mustafa Khan slew, plundered and desolated all places, towns and villages and took some pieces of artillery and public money by force and advanced further. When he reached Monghyr he wanted to capture it. Hassan Beg Khan, the *Qiladar* (officer-in-charge) offered opposition like a brave soldier. Mustafa's troops made their way to the wall in face of heavy fire from the fort and entered and took possession of it. The *Qiladar*, along with his three sons, was made prisoner. Abdul Rasool Khan, Mustafa's own brother, was seated on his elephant at the foot of the fort where in course of the assault he was fatally hit by a stone hurled from the fort.[53]

47. *Muzaffarnama*, f. 62A (quoted in Datta 122) ; *Siyar*, vol. I, p. 446. Zainuddin had received from his uncle the whole pargana or district of Tirhut in Jagir i.e., as an appanage. He, therefore, used to sajourn some time in Tirhut (*vide Siyar*, vol. I, p. 428).

48. *Muzaffarnama* (*BPP*, vol. LXVII, 1948, pp. 12-13.)

49. *Ibid.*, 13.

50. *Siyar*, vol. I, pp. 447-53.

51. *Muzaffarnama*, (*op. cit.*), 13.

52. *Siyar*, vol. I, pp. 447-53.

53. *Muzaffarnama*, 13 : *Siyar*, vol. I, pp. 447-53.

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When Zainuddin heard that Mustafa had seized the Monghyr fort and was marching towards Patna, he, in compliance with Alivardi's instructions to avoid opposing Mustafa in an open encounter as far as possible, sent Mir Murtaza and Askar Khan as ambassadors to him with the following message : " He, you have behaved to Alivardi Khan and he to you, you know and he knows. I am powerless and free from guilt in this matter. I am ready to pay two lakhs of rupees for the expenses of your journey and such materials as you desire."[54] On receiving this message Mustafa rudely replied : " It is not a time for letters and messages : my two-edged sword has done and will do my work."[55] The news disheartened Zainuddin and he had no alternative but to strengthen his trenches even more than before and prepare for the worst.

When Mustafa Khan arrived within six *kos* (twelve miles) of his trenches, Zainuddin again sent Haji Alam Khan to sue for peace, Mustafa once again gave the same insolent reply : " When an army of the heretics (*Shias*) and a force of Hindus confront me, it is my duty to fight the heretics first."[56]

Zainuddin and his men passed the entire night in watchfulness. In the morning of Thursday 18th Safar 1158 (14th March, 1745) Mustafa attacked Zainuddin's army near Azimabad. Some of his generals presented a bold stand but were wounded and fled away. Zainuddin thus had to suffer great reverses. But he never lost heart but fought bravely with a few cavalry. Soon, the tide was turned and Mustafa in spite of his advantageous position was badly defeated. Nearly three hundred of his noted chiefs and generals were slain. Muskets were incessantly fired on his troops by Jaswant Nagar and some Bahliā musketeers, with the result that most of Mustafa's men were slain. Mustafa's elephant-driver was also shot dead. The bloody fight continued on for about a week. At one time it seemed that Mustafa would be killed or taken captive. On seeing his condition the Afghans hurriedly retreated, seized the bridle of Mustafa's elephant, left the trenches and took to flight. Victorious and emboldened Zainuddin advanced to the front of the trenches, ordered the damaged wall of the entrenchment to be repaired and returned to his own tent to offer prayer to God.[57]

Mustafa remained for one week encamped in front of the trenches, continually firing his artillery. The following week, on March 21, 1745 he again rode out, and " with the speed of thunder and wind "

54. *Muzaffarnama*, 13.
55. *Ibid.*, 13.
56. *Ibid.*, 13 ; *Siyar*, vol. I, pp. 450-51.
57. *Muzaffarnama*, 13-14 ; *Siyar*, vol. I, pp. 458-62 ; Datta, *op. cit.*, pp. 123-26.

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forced his way into the trenches, leaving a *dastā* (battalion) of his troops to face the trenches of Ahmad Khan and Sheikh Jahan Yar. When he arrived opposite Zainuddin, he saw the men of the trenches dispersed and hard pressed. Seeing this he fearlessly ran towards Zainuddin, but his advance was, opposed by Diwan Kirat Chand and Maharaja Ram Narain who had in the mean time arrived with their guns. By chance a musket-bullet hit Mustafa's one eye and blind him. Bleeding and injured he fled away to his tent. Zainuddin soon sent a report of his victory to Alivardi who had arrived within two days' march of time.[58]

Zainuddin pursued and vanquished the Afghans through Naubatpur (13 miles south-west of Patna Jn. Rly. Station) and Muhib Alipur (on the east bank of the Son, 19 miles south-west of Naubatpur), and compelled them to retire to the south-west of the Son river.[59] At Muhib Alipur Zainuddin heard of the arrival of Alivardi near Patna and soon joined him. The Nawab, along with Zainuddin, quickly chased the Afghans beyond the frontiers of Bihar as far as Zamania, opposite to Ghazipur.[60] Alivardi returned to the seat of his government, after embracing his brother and his brother's son Zainuddin.[61]

This expulsion, however, did not damp the indomitable spirit of Mustafa. After four months he assembled another army and acquired greater power than before. After this, he along with his son Murtaza Khan and others allied with some Shahabad zamindars and once again marched towards Bihar. First he entered the Shahabad district where the zamindars, especially Udawant Singh Ujjainia of Jagdishpur, were hostile to Zainuddin.[62] Zainuddin also marched from Azimabad and advanced as far as Karhani (in Shahabad). The Afghans had already arrived at a place, two miles beyond the village of Karhani.

The two armies at last met on the bank of the river Son. A sharp battle ensued on the 20th June, 1745.[63] Zainuddin's ranks were broken in spite of the heavy shower of fire from his artillery and muskets. After a furious chase Mustafa compelled the vanguard of Zainuddin's army under Kirat Chand to run away from the battle-field. Daud Khan was killed and Khadim Hussain Khan, the *darogha* of the *Khasbardars* (orters of the rulers own weapons) fell down, dangerously

58. *Muzaffarnama* (*op. cit.*), p. 15.
59. Datta, *op. cit.*, p. 127 ; Sarkar, *Fall*, vol. I. pp. 110-16.
60. *Ibid.*
61. *Siyar*, vol. I, p. 443 ; *Mazaffarnama*, 15.
62. *Siyar*, vol. I, p. 465.
63. Datta, *op. cit.*, p. 128.

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wounded from his horse. A great confusion followed. Mustafa advanced bravely; scattered his enemy's rank and siezed several guns and other weapons. Zainuddin's army became terror stricken. But Abdul Ali Khan, another Commander of Zainuddin's army took a bold stand. When Mustafa arrived near Zainuddin, suddenly a musket-ball entered his chest. He became senseless, and while he was thus prostrated, his *mahut* (elephant-driver) led his elephant out of the field. When he recovered his consciousness he returned to the battle-field and drove Zainuddin into hard straits. This time Raham Khan, Karam Khan, Abdul Ali Khan, and Mahdi Nisar Khan engaged in fighting him. Zainuddin shot two arrows into the side of Mustafa which killed him instantaneously. With his death, the Afghan army was completely demoralised and broken and crushed.[64]

In a moment the tide was turned Mustafa's head was cut off and was taken to Patna on the point of a spear.[65] His son and followers fled away to the village of Magror (14 miles west of Chainpur on the bank of the Karmanasa river) under the leadership of Murtaza Khan. The first Afghan insurrection was thus thoroughly suppressed and Zainuddin triumphantly returned to Patna. He reported about his victory to Alivardi. In spite of such a victory, however, he could not pursue the army and plunder the property of Mustafa. Instead he returned to his seat, after the leaderless army had crossed the Ganges and rewarded his soldiers who had fought so well.[66]

The first Afghan insurrection was soon followed by another Afghan insurrection which was, however, short-lived, and of less formidable nature.

III

The distressed Afghans once again attempted to sieze power. The Afghan refugees at Magror soon appealed to Raghoji Bhonsle, the Maratha chief to help them. Raghoji invaded Bihar in September, 1745.[67] This formidable Maratha-Afghan alliance presented a serious problem to Alivardi. Moreover, the principal Afghan generals, Shamshir Khan and Sardar Khan in Alvardi's army proved insincere and disloyal to him. He was treacherously betrayed by them during his fight with the Marathas on the bank of the river Son in November, 1745. They had secretly entered into intrigues with Raghoji against

64. *Muzaffarnama*, 15.

65. For details, see *Siyar*, vol. I, pp. 465-69; *RS*, pp. 350-53; Datta, 125-29; *HB*, vol. II, pp. 461-63; also cf. Prof. Akhileshwar Kumar's paper, "Mustafa Khan, the Afghan Rebel", submitted to Indian History Congress, 20th Session (1957), Anand.

66. *Muzaffarnama*, 15; Sarkar, *Fall*, vol. I, pp. 116-18.

67. *Siyar*, vol. II, pp. 6-7, 16-17; Datta, p. 129; *Muzaffarnama*, 15-16.

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Alivardi to share the government of Bengal with him. The Maratha chief, Raghoji escaped only due to the negligence or treachery on the part of the Afghan general, Shashir Khan of Darbhanga who led the vanguard of the Bengal army.[68] It is said that the Marathas had gained Ataullah Khan over to their side on the promise that the former would bestow on him the government of Azimabad when conquered. Moreover, they had secretly deputed the two Afghan officers from Darbhanga—Shamshir Khan and Sardar Khan—to do away with Zainuddin Ahmad Khan, the governor of Bihar, for which they were promised two lakhs of rupees in addition to the Fauzdari of Darbhanga and the command of the 12,000 horse.[69] Alivardi, when he came to know of their treacherous design, dismissed them from his service in June 1746. They, however, refused to go away before their dues were fully paid. They had taken such a defiant attitude that when the Nawab sent a *Chobdar* (Serqeant-at-the Mace) to tell them to wait for some time, they ill-treated the messenger. After some skirmishes they were forcibly ejected but they next encamped at Sakrigali (the gateway between Bengal and Bihar), insisting on being paid. Finally, they along with their 6,000 men retired to Darbhanga (Tirhut). Bihar was thus finally rescued from the horrible depredations of the Marathas and the Afghans. But these defeated Afghans were destined to create a far more for midable revolution in Patna a year and half afterwards.[70]

IV

Thus, the Afghans were not finally extinguished. Greater troubles were now brewing for Alivardi. It was " a sad irony of fate that the ground for these was paved by his nephew, Zainuddin." [71] His past achievements and successful exploits against the Marathas and Mustafa Khan had practically turned his head. He became ambitious to sieze the *masnad* of Bengal by forcibly removing his old uncle Alivardi Khan.[72] With a view to executing his ambitious designs he wanted to enlist the veteran Afghan generals of Darbhanga who had been once condemned and dismissed by Alivardi Khan. He, therefore, sent a letter to Alivardi through his agent, Mir Abul Maāli, requesting his uncle to permit him to re-instate the dismissed Afghan soldiers sitting idly in their homes at Darbhanga. He also pleaded that they constituted a terrible menace to his government and that it was impossible to drive them out of the province. It would, therefore, be wise and advisable to admit these officers and their 3,000 soldiers into his service, if the expenses to be

68. *Siyar*, vol. II, pp. 15-16.
69. *Ibid.*, p. 16.
70. *Siyar*, vol. II, p. 17 ; *RS*, p. 355 ; Datta, p. 130 ; *HB*, vol. II, p. 463 ; Sarkar, *Fall*, vol. I, pp. 125-26.
71. Datta, *op. cit.*, p. 130.
72. *Siyar*, vol. II, p. 29.

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incurred for their maintenance were paid from the Bengal treasury.[73] Both Alivardi and Haji Ahmad (Zainuddin's father) dissuaded him to take such action, but Zainuddin insisted.[74] Alivardi rather reluctantly consented to his proposal, simply out of foundness for his nephew.

Zainuddin, therefore, sent his trusted courtier Askar Khan[75] to the Afghans at Darbhanga. He invited them to come down to Patna and accept service in his army.[76] His invitation was gladly accepted by the Afghan generals. The latter took the *Qurān* on their hands and took the oath of fidelity to Zainuddin.[77] By the middle of December, 1747 a large body of Agghans under Shamshir Khan, his sister's son Murad Sher Khan, Sardar Khan and Bakshi Baheliā left Darbhanga. They reached Hajipur, opposite Patna, on the northern bank of the Ganges.[78] They suspected some trick on the part of Zainuddin to suppress them thoroughly and did not cross the Ganges all at once. For fifteen days negotiations continued between them and the agents of Zainuddin. Zainuddin personally went over to Hajipur and interviewed the Afghan leaders. He renewed the agreement and promises and ordered them to cross over to Patna. It was only then that they, to the number of ten thousand horse and foot, crossed the Ganges and encamped at Jāfar Khan's garden early in January, 1748[79] as directed by the Subahdar.

Sabit Jang, who was always planning how to accomplish his futile ambitions, considered the arrival of these Afghans as favourable to the success of his designs. He, therefore, sent a letter by a footman that first Haibat Jang (Zainuddin) should be slain at an interview and there after the destruction of Alivardi would be easy.[80]

By a mutual agreement, the 13th of January was fixed for a ceremonial interview of the Afghan chiefs and their followers with Zainuddin in the *Chihil Satun* or Hall of Audience at Patna. In compliance with Zainuddin's orders none of his soldiers were present in that hall. Zainuddin remained there almost undefended. Thus in his eagerness for Afghan friendship he became so blind to the situation that he forgot to take even the most necessary precautions, and as such fell a victim to the Afghan treachery and deceit. On the appointed day Zainuddin sat on the *masnad* in composure of mind for "re-assuring these villains"[81] (by the absence of his armed guards).

78. *Ibid.*, p. 30.
74. *Muzaffarnama*, 17.
75. *Ibid.*
76. *Ibid.*, *Siyar*, vol. II, p. 30.
77. *Muzaffarnama*, 17.
78. *Siyar*, vol. II, p. 30.
79. *Ibid.*, p. 31 ; *Muzaffarnama*, 17.
80. *Ibid.*, p. 17.
81. *Ibid.*, p. 17.

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The Afghans formed three corps : Ahmad Panie, Murad Sher and Thakur Baheliā with 500 Afghans entered into the *Chibil Satuh* to interview the governor of Azimabad, while Shambshir Khan arrived at the centre of the city, near the Kotwal's *Chatutarā* with 3,000 or 4,000 Afghan soldiers blocking the eastern gate and the main street leading to the palace. It was then that an Afghan, named Abdur Rashid Khan, stabbed Zainuddin with dagger and Murad Sher cut him into two pieces with a violent blow of sword.[82] His limbs were cut into pieces and buried in a plot of land, now known as *Maqbera-i-Haibat Jang*, in Begumpur mohalla of the Patna City.[83]

A general confusion followed the murder of Zainuddin. Most of his officers and personal attendants were brutally slain or dangerously wounded. Shamshir Khan and Sardar Khan entered Zainuddin's palace. His father Haji Ahmad (Alivardi's brother) was awfully tortured for seventeen days continuously. The Afghans found out 70 lakhs of rupees in cash, and vast quantity of jewels and bullions, lying hoarded in the palace. Haji Ahmad died on the 30th January, 1748 from the effects of inhuman torture. The members of the family of Zainuddin and Haji Ahmad became captives in the hands of the Afghans.[84]

Azimabad or Patna thus remained under the domination of the Afghans for full three months. The Afghan usurpation brought untold miseries on the inhabitants of the town. Indiscriminate plundering in the wake of the sacking of the city made people pass their days and nights in extreme terror. "Not a day passed without some houses undergoing all the horrors of violence and defilement. Dishonouring whole families became familiar, and few houses and few persons did escape the defiling hands of an unbridled soldiery, and the infamous practices of that nation of miscreats."[85]

Leaving his followers Murad Sher and others in charge of the Patna City, Shamshir Khan fixed his camp in Jafar Khan's garden[86] and prepared to oppose Alivardi who was sure to advance into Bihar to chastise him. Practically the whole of northern India was at the time infested with the Afghans. Shamshir Khan and Murad Sher gathered 40,000 cavalry and almost the same number of infantry.

82. *Siyar*, vol. II, pp. 36-37 ; *RS*, p. 355, fn. 1 and 4 ; *Muzaffarnama*, 17.
83. Datta, *op. cit.*, 133.,
84. *Siyar*, vol. II, pp. 39-40 ; *Muzaffarnama*, 17.
85. *Siyar*, vol. II, p. 40. for similar accounts by Salimullah and Wafa see Datta, *op. cit.*, quoted p. 135 ; also cf. *RS*, 355-57.
86. *Siyar*, vol. II, p. 39.

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On the 30th of January, 1748 Mirza Hakim Beg reported to Alivardi the heart-rendering news of the treacherous assassination of his nephew, the disgraceful end of his brother and the shocking humiliation of his daughter. Alivardi, having heard this gruesome news, immediately decided upon marching to Patna to recover the city and rescue his surviving relatives who were then prisoners in the hands of the Afghans. He summoned a council of his friends and soldiers and recounted before them all that had happened. All of them unanimously " swore on the Korān to stand by him till the last moment of their life." [87] He also received financial help from his daughter, Ghasiti Begum; her consort Nawazish Muhammad Khan, Jagat Seth and other bankers.[88]

Having completed the necessary precautions Alivardi left his camp at Amāniganj for Patna on the 29th of February, 1748 with 15,000 or 16,000 cavalry and 20,000 infantry. The army passing through Sakrigali on the 17th of March reached Bhagalpur and thence advanced towards Monghyr. He was also joined by Saif Khan, Governor of Purnea, with 15,000 men near Sultanganj. The Nawab halted for a few days at Monghyr, and was joined there by Raja Sunder Singh of Tikari with 1,500 cavalry and some infantry, and also by Kamgar Khan, zamindar of Tirhut and Samai.[89] The Bengal army then marched from Monghyr and soon reached Barh on the Ganges, 34 miles east of Patna. The allied Afghan and Maratha troops under Mir Habib, Janoji, Shamshir Khan and others also advanced towards Barh to oppose the Nawab's army.[90] The city of Azimabad was left in charge of Ahmad Khan Qureshi, the Diwan of Shamshir Khan.

On the 16th April, 1748 Alivardi moved to the village of Rānichock or Rānisārāī or Kālādiārā, eight miles west of Barh, and drew up his army on the plain. The battle commenced with brisk cannonade. A cannon-ball soon blew up the head of Sardar Khan who commanded nearly half of the Afghan army. There prevailed a general confusion among the Afghan soldiers. It was now the turn of Murad Sher Khan who, wounded by a musket-ball, fell into the *howdāh* of his elephant, and later his head was severed from his head by Nawab's general Dost Muhammad Khan. At about the same time Shamshir Khan also fell wounded from his elephant and Mirza Habib Beg, a follower of Diler Khan, a general of the Nawab, immediately cut-off his head and flung it at Alvardi's feet. The death of their leaders utterly disconcerted the Afghan soldiers who took to flight and the Marathas also soon

87. *Ibid.*, pp. 45-46.
88. *Ibid.*, p. 46.
89. *Ibid.*, p. 49; *RS*, p. 357, fn. 1.
90. *Siyar*, vol. II, p. 50 ; Sarkar, *Fall*, vol. I, pp. 138-46.

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dispersed. After a few days the Nawab entered Patna City truimphantly and was overjoyed to find his daughter and relatives alive.[91] The City of Azimabad was thus delivered from the rebels' hands after full three months.

Alivardi was now determined to do away with the Afghan menace once for good. He, therefore, deputed a batch of faithful men to Darbhanga to sieze the goods and effects of the Afghans.[92] The Raja of Bettiah had kept under his protection all the women of the family of Shamshir Khan. The Raja requested the Nawab through his letter that " the families of Shamshir Khan and Sardar Khan had been lodged with him by their owners, as in a place of safety ; and that should these defenceless persons be suffered to depart to some other country, he would undertake to pay to His Highness, a *nuzur* or present of three lakhs of rupees."[93]

The offer was not accepted, and a party of trustworthy men was sent to bring over the females of the Afghan chiefs. In order to frighten the Raja Alivardi personally crossed the Ganges and proceeded towards Bettia. The Raja was frightened, and made over the widow and daughters of Shamshir Khan to the Nawab's envoys. Orders were immediately sent to them to bring " those ladies in covered coaches, and with so much decency and care, so that they should never come to be defiled by any prophane eye."[94] Alivardi received them with kind and " every mark of regard and attention. "[95] After a few days he " conferred a number of favours on the whole family and at their own request sent them to Darbhanga which was their native place, and where by his order they were complemented with several villages that furnished amply to their subsistence."[96] As Siraj-ud-daula wanted to take into his *harem* the daughter of Shamshir Khan, Alivardi called her his own daughter and sent her away to her home under escort of a trusty man.[97] This generous conduct of Alivardi towards " the women of his fallen foe stands in a striking contrast to the brutal treatment of his daughter and other relatives by the Afghan rebels at Patna."[98]

91. For a detailed account of the historic battle of Ranisarai, see *Siyar*, vol. II, pp. 56-57 ; *RS*, pp. 357-59 ; Datta, *op. cit.*, pp. 137-41 ; *KT*, (*JBORS*, vol. V, pp. 229-80) ; Sarkar, *Fall*, vol. I, pp. 147-51.

92. *Siyar*, vol. II, p. 58. Also cf. Sarkar, *Fall*, vol. I, pp. 152-54.

93. *Siyar*, vol. II, p. 58.

94. *Ibid.*, p. 58.

95. *Ibid.*, p. 59.

96. *Ibid.*, pp. 60-61 ; *RS*, p. 359 ; *Muzaffarnama*, pp. 17-19.

97. *Ibid.*, p. 19. For other details, pp. 19-21.

98. Datta, *op. cit.*, p. 141.

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This Afghan menace over, Alivardi stayed at Patna for six months to arrange for the proper administration of Bihar. His grandson (Zainuddin's son) Siraj-ud-daulah was appointed Deputy-Governor of Bihar. He was, however, a nominal head, while the actual business of administration was entrusted to Raja Jankiram as his (Siraj-ud-daulah's) deputy.[99] The Nawab thereafter left Patna on the 6th November, 1748, and reached his capital, Murshidabad in truimph on the 30th November, 1748.

The Afghan insurrection of 1748 in Bihar " was indeed a potent factor in the history of India during the rest of the 18th century. It accelerated the dismemberment of the Mughal Empire and indrectly helped the rise of the Sikhs, but seriously opposed the ambition of the north-pushing Marathas at the field of Panipat in January, 1761, and kept the East India Company in Bengal in constant anxiety the N. W. Frontier policy and relations with the native states till the days of Zamān Shah (1793-1800)."[100]

99. *Siyar*, vol. II, p. 68. The *Muzaffarnama*, p. 19 says that Saulat Jang had asked for the deputy-governorship of Bihar, but Alivardi declined and gave that office to Raja Jankiram.

100. Datta, *op. cit.*, 141.

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A DISPUTED ARTICLE OF THE TREATY OF PURANDHAR

Dr. A. C. Banerjee

The seventh Article of the Treaty of Purandhar (1 March 1776)[1] raised protracted discussions on the sovereignty of the Gaikwads in Gujarat. It provided that the territories ceded to the East India Company by Sayaji and Fatesing Gaikwad would be restored "when it is proved by their letters and sanads, granted by the former Peshwas and now in the Gaikwads' hands, that they do not possess power or authority to make such cessions."[2] "Thus was raised the moot-point whether the Gaikwad territories in Gujarat were in the nature of a *jagir* which the Poona Government alone could dispose of, or whether they were held by the Gaikwads in their own independent right."[3]

The Bombay Government naturally took a favourable view of the Gaikwads' position, for upon it depended their claim to retain the ceded territories in British possession. They referred to the partition treaty of 1759 between Damaji and the Peshwa by which, they said, "the town and pargana of Broach were included in the share allotted to Damaji, with whom and his successors, therefore, the sovereignty and power of ceding them only rested; which was plainly acknowledged by Raghoba in the treaty of Surat." They referred also to two other 'instances'—which they described as 'undeniable proofs'—of the Gaikwads' 'unquestioned right to make cessions'. First, the Company had been collecting revenues 'from so many districts adjoining to Surat ever since October, 1759' on the strength of four *sanads* granted by Damaji Gaikwad. Secondly, the Poona Government did not raise any objection when the Bombay Government concluded a treaty with Fatesing in February 1773, although Mostyn 'was then actually at Poona in quality of Resident for the Company'.[4] Writing to William Hornby on 25 March, 1776 Thomas Keating gave what he called 'a succinct and distinct account of the Gujarat province since its recovery

1. Aitchison, *Treaties, Engagements, and Sanads.*
2. Remark on the Bombay Government on the treaty, 15 March, 1776 (Gense and Banaji, *The Gaikwads of Baroda*, vol. III, p. 2).
3. *GB*, vol. III, p. 1.
4. Remarks on the treaty, 15 March 1776 (*GB*, vol. III, pp. 2-3).

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from the Mogul Government' and from that statement drew the conclusion that Sayaji 'possesses as full and just a title to make grants of any part of his dominions as any prince in India'.[5]

Warren Hastings, however, had his doubts on this point. In his letter dated 6 May, 1776 he reminded the Bombay Government that "in the original plan of your treaty with Raghoba:.....the share collected by the Gaikwads from the territories of Broach is demanded of Raghoba as one of the conditions on which he was to receive the Company's assistance." Moreover, "by the 5th article of the treaty between Raghoba and Fatesing, to which Colonel Keating made himself a party on behalf of the Company, the government and the revenues of the parganas of Broach were ceded to the Company by the former." On the basis of these facts the Governor-General came to the following conclusion: "If Raghoba, whom you then considered as Peshwa, had authority to make this cession, it follows that Fatesing is a dependent of the Maratha State, and that he can have no power to alienate any part of the territory under his immediate government without the authority of the reigning Peshwa."[6] Writing to the Bombay Government two weeks later (20 May, 1776) he invoked in support of this conclusion a political principle of very wise significance; by the Treaty of Purandhar, he said, "we suppose and admit.....that the supreme authority of the Maratha State is united in, and represented by, the Peshwa."[7] This is what the Poona Government wanted, and for the time being at least Hastings preferred to settle all outstanding questions through direct negotiations with Poona instead of recognising subsidiary parties.

The Governor-General's conclusion was challenged categorically by Hornby in his letter to the Directors dated 23 July, 1776. "If", he asked, "the Poona Government had a right to the whole Gujarat province, where was the necessity for a partition in the year 1759, when they had Damaji in their power?" The Governor-General and Council, he said, "seem not to be aware that by this decision they have in a manner guaranteed to the Poona Government an absolute right and property over the Gaikwad dominions."[8] Fatesing himself, however, admitted in his letters to Colonel Upton that "he had no authority to alienate any country"[9] and the Poona Ministers argued in their letter

5. *GB*, vol. II, pp. 5-6.

6. *GB*, vol. III, p. 10. Gense and Banaji hold Hastings 'guilty of deliberate mis-representation"; in their view the 'original plan' of the Bombay Government and the 6th Article of the Treaty of Surat do not justify his argument.

7. *GB*, vol. III, p. 10.

8. *GB*, vol. III, p. 11.

9. *GB*, vol. III, p. 13. Warren Hastings considered "his personal evidence" as "very suspicious." (*GB*, vol. III, p. 15).

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to Mostyn : " You mention the division of the Gujarat country between the Peshwa and Gaikwad; but all the world knows the Gaikwad is a servant of the sarkar. If he was not a servant, why would the sarkar take half of his country, or why would he serve them ?"[10] Meanwhile the Bombay arguments appeared to have exercised some influence in Calcutta and writing on 18 August, 1777 the Governor-General authorised the Bombay Government to " retain possession of the districts ceded by Fatesing, until clearer proofs shall be afforded by him or by the (Poona) Ministers that he had no right to make these cessions."[11] This proposal was accepted by the Bombay Government on 29 October 1777 on the basis, presumably, of an elaborate minute written by the President a few days earlier.[12]

A few months later—on 23 March 1778—Warren Hastings gave his final decision on the dispute and directed the Bombay Government to " keep possession " of the territories in question " since the (Poona) Ministers have failed in producing the proofs that Fatesing did not possess power or authority to make such cessions."[13] The Ministers, however, did not accept this decision which they regarded as " contrary to the treaty,.....extraordinary " and surprising.[14] The tangle was then sought to be solved through a fresh appeal to arms.

The crucial documents throwing light on the question of the Gaikwad's sovereignty are the *sanads* and agreements[15] of the time of Madhav Rao I. But these documents do not justify the categorical conclusion that " the Gaikwads were as much the masters at Baroda as the Peshwas at Poona."[16] Whatever their original position might have been *vis a vis* the Peshwas, in the second half of the 18th century they were really the vassals of the Poona Darbar and it is not easy to recognise their right to dispose of the territories under their charge without the approval of the suzerain. The British decision in favour of the Gaikwads was obviously inspired by political motives.

10. *GB*, vol. III, p. 14.
11. *GB*, vol. III, p. 16.
12. *GB*, vol. III, pp. 16-18.
13. *GB*, vol. III, pp. 32-33.
14. *GB*, vol. III, p. 34.
15. *GB*, vol. III, pp. 28-32.
16. *GB*, vol. III, Introduction, p. xxi.

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TIMUR'S HOLY WAR AGAINST THE INFIDELS OF INDIA

(Summary)

Dr. M. Vedantasastri

To raise the cry of religion in matters of secular interest in order to serve one's own end political or other, is not a new thing. The Mahabharat states that in the hoary past, Indra, the ruler of the Gods, raised this cry when he had to move against the sage Chyavana, and practice has not yet been out of order, though it might have changed its colours.

Sultan Mamud raised the same cry in his campaigns against India; but what really actuated him in his project is greed of wealth, not religious fervour; similar is the case with Timur's invasion of India.

The year 1398 is memorable in the annals of India; it witnessed the activities of a crusader—the self-styled crusader Timurlane and the birth of another crusader, Kavirdas, a crusader of a different type.

The Mulfazat-i-Timuri *alias* Tuzuk-i-Timuri is said to be an autobiography of Timur; and what we find in this is corroborated by the Zafarnama of Sarafuddin.

In his autobiography, Timur wants us to believe that the motive of holy war actuated him in attacking the infidels of India—just as it was done by Sultan Mamud four centuries ago. But a careful reading of his life will convince even a cursory reader that he was fired up with the imagination of leading an expedition into India, instead of into China, when he was informed of the fabulous wealth of India and the weakness of the central authority therein. His first attack upon the Kators and Siyaposhes near Indarab was due to the fact that they exacted backmail and tribute from the true believers and as King of Islam he thought it proper to punish them. Then this King of Islam captured a fort in an island in the Jhelum that belonged to Shahabuddin, himself a Muslim. Certainly the motive of Timur here was not actuated by the idea of holy war; and his next attack or Nusarat Khokkar as well as on Sarang, a Muslim chief of Multan tells the same tale. Then he encountered Rao Dulchand and his brother Kamaluddin; and

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after having crushed the Hindus of Saraswati, he took Loni, where the Hindus, under Maller Khan, Wazier at Delhi offered a stiff fight. After that he met Emperor Mamud near Delhi, before which he massacred one lakh Hindus in cold blood. The capital was sacked, because it had a majority of Hindu inhabitants. Next he took Mirat from Illiyas Afghan; and having crushed the Hindus of the Ganges as well as the Siwalik mountains, he took Nagarkot for which he had to measure swords with a number of chiefs, one of which was Shaikha, a Muslim. Then he took Jammu which belonged to the Emperor and demanded a heavy tribute from Shah Iskandar, the ruler of Kashmir.

All these show that Timur fought the Hindus and Mussalmans of India, who offered him a united front; and thus his theory of holy war was but a cloak for his greed for wealth as well as for political domination.

And from this invasion came out two things in bright perspective:—

(1) Before a foreign aggressor proclaiming zihad, the Hindus and the Muslims stood united and fought bravely and thus Timur could score nowhere an easy victory.

(2) The cry of Islam raised by Timur failed to hoodwink the Indian Muslims and this clearly brings home the fact that communal feeling in the 14th and 15th century was less acute than what prevailed in India in 1947; and it is also a fact that another crusader, I mean Kavir, went a long way in cementing Indian unity.

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MUGHAL GOVERNORS AND THE RAJA OF KHURDA IN ORISSA DURING JAHANGIR'S RULE

(*Summary*)

Dr. Bhabani Charan Ray

Orissa under Jahangir entered into a period of conflict between the Mughal Governors and the Raja of Khurda. The object of the Mughal Governors was to reduce the Raja of Khurda to submission because the Raja, as a descendant of the Hindu royal family of Orissa, was proud of his position. Moreover he was the superintendent of the temple of Jagannath. So he was considered as the custodian of the religion of the people. Thus he had religious influence of the people behind him.

During the governorship of Hashim Khan Dash, Purusottam Deva the Raja of Khurda fought against him. But he was forced to sign a humiliating treaty. When Mukarrham Khan indulged in his iconoclastic activities he again raised the standard of rebellion. He was defeated, even fled away from his country but did not surrender to the Mughals. After his death his son Narasingh Deva occupied the throne of Khurda. Ahmad Beg the Governor of Orissa asked him to send his family to Cuttack as security for his good behaviour. The Raja defied his order. So his country was invaded. This invasion was intervened because of the arrival of Shahjahan from the Deccan. The Raja won the favour of this rebellious prince and consequently established his power firmly in his country. After the departure of Shahjahan from Orissa, Ahamad Beg again acted as Governor. But the Raja remained firm in his position and refused to surrender to the Mughal authority.

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MUSLIM LADIES IN INDIA

(*Summary*)

Shri S. K. Paul

It is generally stated that Islamic injunction does not allow any Muslim lady to participate in public life. Be it true or not, it is a fact, that a good many Muslim ladies had cast tremendous influence in politics in India and the adjoining islands.

Ibn Batuta, who visited India in the mid-fourteenth century informs us in his Rehala that a Muslim lady with the designation Sultan was ruling Maladwip, when he visited the island. The same authority writes that Rijiya appeared in public before she became Sultan. During the Khalji regime, we notice the influence of the Begums upon the political career of Alauddin, one of whose wives succeeded in disposing of Malik Kafur in favour of her son Mubarak.

During the Mogul period, we first meet Gulbadan Begum who was a writer too. Next we meet Hamida Banu who had considerable influence upon her husband Humayun, son Akbar and grandson Selim. It is to be remembered in this context that during the early years of Akbar's reign, Maham Anga, his nurse, succeeded in establishing a petticoat government.

Next we come across Nurjahan whose influence upon the political move of Jahangir is too well-known to ignore. After Nurjahan, Mumtaz. She was not so meddling as Nurjahan but nevertheless her influence on Shahjahan cannot be denied.

After Mumtaz, we notice the influence of Jahanara on Shahjahan which caused Prince Aurangzeb to feel jealous of her. Then comes Rausanara and noticeable is her authority during the early years of Aurangzeb's reign. His daughter Zeb-un-nisa was a cultured lady and composed "Makhfi" but her influence on politics was not perhaps keenly felt. In this context, the daughters of Dara and Shuja cannot be easily passed over. The former guided Prince Azam, whom she married in all his political career; and the latter completely changed the course of the life of Mahammad Sultan, the eldest son of Aurangzeb.

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Lal Kunwar was the most favourite concubine of Jehandare Shah and the influence of Lal as well as of her associate Zohra is well-marked in Indian history.

In the reign of Farruk Siyar, a lady Kokiji was raised to the rank of a minister; and several years later, we find Malika-us-zamani taking part in politics. Finally in the last phase of the Imperial House of Babar, we meet Zinnat Mahal, as one of the champions of the unsuccessful War of Independence in 1857.

Coming to Oudh, we find the authority of the mother as well as the wife of Shujauddulah upon him; and in Rokhilkhand, it was the activity of the wife of Hafiz Rahamat Khan and his daughter that ultimately led to the death of the said Shuja.

In the South, we meet the incomparable Chand Sultana as well as the dowager queen of Bijapur, at whose instance Afzal rushed to meet Shivaji.

In Bengal, the influence of Zinnat-un-nissa upon her son Sujauddin, of Sharifunissa Begum upon her husband Aliveradi Khan and of Lutfunnissa upon Sirajuddullah is well-known. But the most prominent lady that tried to control the course of politics there in her favour was the indomitable Ghesiti Begum, eldest daughter of Aliverdi, Moni Begum, wife of Mirzaffar, was highly respected by the East India Company, for which she passed by the designation, mother-i-company. Finally we shall speak of Mastani. It is an accepted fact that the political career of Baji Rao I was ably guided by Mastani, who loved him from the very core of her heart.

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DEATH OF SHIVAJI

(*Summary*)

PROFESSOR S. R. PHADKE,

MYSTERY still surrounds the death of Shivaji. He died at the early age of fifty. The causes attributed for his death can be divided into three groups :—(1) Supernatural cause like the curse of Fakir. (2) Illness due to fever or blood dysentery or inflammation of the knee-joint and (3) poisoning by Soyrabai.

First group lacks utter support while second group finds favour with many. But the third group is summarily rejected by many. This third possibility cannot be totally rejected but must be given a proper hearing at the bar of history till more conclusive proof comes forward to prove or disprove any of the three beliefs.

The main points in this connection, which require more detailed study are—(1) Why and when the question of partitioning the kingdom came before Shivaji—Whether at the instance of Sambhaji's misbehaviour and immoral ways of life or at the instance of Soyrabai's selfish greed. (2) Why partition did not materialise—was it because of Sambhaji's refusal alone or due to Shivaji's cleverness as well. (3) Activities of Soyrabai in pursuing her end to the last. A close study reveals that Shivaji constantly evaded partitioning the kingdom and guarded Sambhaji's interest to the end. This possibly made Soyrabai hasten the death of Shivaji.

Shivaji got no time to make arrangements for the future as the death was sudden and hence his death was followed by plots and counterplots for which no one but lesser element in human nature alone should be held responsible.

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SECTION III

MODERN INDIA

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PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

PROFESSOR KARIM ALI SAJUN LAL

I WISH, at the outset, to express my deep sense of gratitude for the signal honour you have done by electing me as the President of the Modern Section of this learned body. But when I consider the responsibilities and privileges involved, I some times feel that you have been extravagant in your kindness and generosity.

With the dawn of Independence, scholars of Modern Indian History, have been faced with new problems, the most serious of which is revivalism inspired by pseudo patriotic fervour as a reaction to the imperialist prejudice exhibited by many scholars in the past. The tendency to glorify the past is but natural for a citizen and politician of a recently emancipated country, but a historian has a duty to himself and to his country to present an objective account of events, and not play the second fiddle to politicians. This implies preparedness for a dispassionate and critical estimate of men and events based on comprehensive and objective scrutiny of facts drawn from source materials which are luckily remarkable for their richness and variety.

These source materials consist of Parliamentary papers, official and private correspondence, itineraries and routine Government records, formal histories, biographies, memoirs, diaries, press reports and political pamphlets, etc. No doubt " considering the vast scope of the subject and the volumes of available material " in many languages, Indian and foreign, preserved in different archives separated by vast distances, it is obvious that the writing of the History of Modern India demands tremendous financial resources and human efforts.

Most of the works published so far can be divided under three categories :—

(*i*) Some works aim at objective history and are crammed with facts and are tinged by the prevailing theories of imperialism. We may include under this category the works of James Mill, Marshman, Beveridge, Kayes, Ornel, Grant Duff, Malcolm, etc.

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(*ii*) Some historians like, Garret, Thompson, Dodwell and Roberts do attempt at a dispassionate analysis. But these scholars do not view things from the point of view of Indians.

(*iii*) R. C. Dutt dwelt mainly upon the economic aspect of the British Rule in India, while Major Basu's history is overcast with patriotic fervour and smacks of nationalist propaganda.

If we carefully analyse the causes of this state of affairs, one has to remember the various handicaps under which the European and Indian scholars had to work during the British rule, such as :—

(*a*) Lack of access to all relevant sources.

(*b*) Lack of knowledge of various languages in which materials are buried by one individual scholar (Persian, Portuguese, Dutch, English, Marathi, Bengali, etc.).

(*c*) Official seal of secrecy on Government transactions. Documents were made available upto a certain date and that too under archives supervision and Government sanction.

(*d*) Fear of the British officials who would not brook criticism of their rule in India.

(*e*) Records are not situated in one place. They have to be consulted in the Record Rooms at India Office, London ; National Archives at Delhi and various libraries in India and in the European Capitals.

Here I would say that " it is enough that our knowledge of history, do what we may, may not be quite accurate and absolutely correct in all its details from the imperfection of the material, and even the minds that go to work upon it ; but we are bound in honour, nay even common honesty, to set ourselves down to write history merely to tell the tale of what had actually happened, and to the utmost extent possible, as accurately as we can get at that. It is then that history becomes a study of value, and value as a record of actual human experience. It is then and then only we make use of it for studying the evolution and progress in the past to know what promoted real progress and what prevented it, and thereby cultivating a critical judgment, which would eschew all that is actually evil, or is likely to be productive of evil. That and that alone is the real teaching of history and the function of historians to serve honestly the Muse with that ideal before him."

Since our country has become independent, you will all agree with me, the atmosphere for conducting historical research is very favourable. The sympathetic co-operation of the Government of India, is most useful

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in breaking the barriers. Almost all the records are made available. An attempt is also made to secure the transfer of the Records of India Office from London to Delhi. Encouragement is given for the study of various European and Oriental languages. Grants-in-aid are also given to Institutions and individuals, participating in the writing of an objective history of Modern India. Foreign writers are now looking at it from a truly historical perspective.

Much work has been done in the field of political history, but very little seems to have been attempted in other fields of history, say the economic, military, naval, and freedom history.

To take the last first, the States of Madhya Pradesh and the former State of Hyderabad and Bihar have published their freedom histories. The Bombay Government has published the source material in two volumes. But there are no monographs from the pen of our scholars about Charles Bradlaugh, William Digby, Cotton and others who have done so much for our country. Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramiah's History of the Congress is a standard work, but why is it that the State Congress Committee do not supplement it?

Speaking about the freedom history of the States, I would rather suggest that source material should be published first before writing a definitive history, as I feel we are so close to the events of immediate past. The difficulty becomes greater when it is done under the official patronage.

Some workers have no doubt been in the field of economic history. Among the recent publications on the subject, mention may be made of about those of Dr. A. Tripathi, Dr. Bhattacharya and Dr. N. K. Sinha, but there is much more to be done and more and more scholars should take up this neglected but very interesting line of study.

Now there is not much hindrance for one to peruse the records pertaining to the military ad naval history. Dr. Bisheshwar Pershad has paved the way for others by publishing a number of volumes of War History. When are we going to take up the study of our naval history?

Our cultural contacts with the Middle East and Far East countries need not be emphasised. Thanks to the late Maulana Azad, we have now the Indian Council of Cultural Relations. Our scholars should take full advantage of the Indian Council for further studies of these countries.

A study of the psychological background, geographical environment, the social and political atmosphere under which the makers of Indian history functioned, will enable us to unveil the mystery that

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envelops them, and enable us to evaluate properly and without bias their actions. For example the vacillations of Raja Ranjit Singh, the rôle of Bahadur Shah during the great events of 1857, the rift between Sir Sayyid and the National Congress, the attitude of Lord Minto towards the National Congress and the demand for reforms, may be better appraised when viewed from this perspective. This is an important aspect of work which has not been given the attention that it deserves.

Having said so much about studies in history, I now turn my attention to the work of the National Archives and the State Record Offices. Though a number of volumes have been published yet much remains to be done. What I request is that the publication programme should be hastened up. In other States much remains to be done. The Bombay State, as usual, has taken the lead. The Panjab, Madhya Pradesh, Bihar and others are not lagging behind. Still there are many States who have not begun any publication. The publication of descriptive catalogues of the States Records is the urgent need of the day. Here I would suggest that the descriptive catalogues when compiled should be systematically classified and scientifically edited. The place where each document mentioned in the catalogue is to be found should be specified. It would thus be possible for future research students to know at a glance where the materials relating to their subjects are to be found. It would also spare them a good deal of time and expense.

The Bombay Historical Society took the lead in the publication of Bibliography of Indian History and Indology. It published a few volumes and it discontinued its work. This work was taken up by Prof. G. M. Moraes for a few years. Now I am glad to say that Dr. K. K. Datta has published, "A Survey of the Recent Studies on Modern Indian History," which is a useful annotated bibliography of Indian History from the 18th century. I would suggest that the publication of bibliography should be one of the aims and objects of the Indian History Congress. These artifacts, as said earlier, would be of great help to scholars.

Now I come to the subject, the Urdu Press—a subject dear to me. Sir Charles Metcalfe, who during the tenure of office as the Governor-General of India, passed the Act XI of 1835, giving full freedom of expression to the people, earned the undying distinction of being the Liberator of the Indian Press. From that time onwards upto the outbreak of the Mutiny and the post-Mutiny period, the contributions made by the contemporary Urdu and other language newspapers, have added to the wealth of very delightful topical information pertaining to Indian History.

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As sources for the study of the mid-nineteenth century period of Indian History, these newspapers have an abiding value. They reveal the inner history of great and small national events of their time, presenting historical personages and characters in their true perspective. The little incidents of everyday life, rumours of the Court, society scandals, country-side gossips, movements of armies, the enactment of laws and the slow but steady growth of public opinion, etc., give us an insight into the thoughts and actions of our forefathers. To read these contemporary newspapers is to enter into the life of the bygone days, and to accompany the editor, correspondent and the news letter-writer through the nook and corner of the vast sub-continent of India, seeing it as they did through their eyes, watching their struggle with the local authorities through cumbersome proceedings of the courts of law.

These newspapers describe the rise or decay of religious sects and also the change in literary taste. They portray the manners and customs of successive generations and even record the revolutions which have taken place in dress and public amusements. In short it may be said that these newspapers place before us a true picture of the life of our forefathers.

Reflecting as they do the public opinion on the burning topics of the day, these newspapers also offer a sure index to the popular reaction to a given measure, but one must be careful of the editorial comment, as it is likely to share the political bias of a particular party. The news columns also supply chronological data and the advertisements reveal interesting material about social and economic history.

It is my firm conviction that no book dealing with this important period could be considered as being complete unless and until the historian includes therein facts alluded to above after delving deep into these volumes. These contemporary sources give information from the point of view of the public whereas the State Papers and Government Records preserved in the Archives represent official views.

It is, therefore, my appeal to the historians in general and to the Indian History Congress, in particular, to take full advantage of this kind of material.

Before I close my address, I have to sound a note of caution that in the enthusiasm of independence, we have no right whatever to make history subservient to our immediate objectives, however good they might be in themselves, and the value of history is lost completely for good by the slightest interference with the recording of its actual course.

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THE PĀNCHĀLAMKURICHI REBELLION (1797-99)

Dr. K. K. Pillay

Vira Pāṇḍyan Kaṭṭabomman, the Pōlegār of Pāñchālamkuṛichi, his aims and achievements as well as his relations with the English East India Company have recently become subjects of acute controversy. On the one hand, there are the British accounts which depict him as a turbulent chieftain and freebooter. On the other, there have appeared at present several journalists and politicians who have attempted to make a great hero of Kaṭṭabomman, considering him as the first of the valiant fighters of South India against the British in the cause of freedom. The celebration of the anniversary of the '1857 Rebellion' has provided an additional impetus to this tendency, and it is time that the sources of history relating to the period were assessed properly and the conclusions drawn impartially.

The records of the Madras Government constitute the most important of the sources for this period. The Revenue and Military Consultations contain the correspondence between the Government and the local officials. The Despatches which passed between the Madras Government and the Board of Directors in England provide valuable reviews of the situation from time to time. No systematic attempt seems to have been made yet to study these documents and evaluate them. There is little justification to discredit the reliability of these records. The imperialist motive which could have prompted the writers to give a coloured version of the events and personalities had not yet appeared. The position of the British in India was still insecure, and the officials of the Company were bound to provide their superiors with true account of the happenings. Little could they have imagined that their correspondence would become the source materials of history.

The ballads and folk-songs which have glorified Kaṭṭabomman are for the most part sentimental creations of talented writers under the spell of a popular desire to lionize the Pāñchālamkuṛichi Pōlegār. As sources of history they can hardly be considered reliable. An attempt is made in this paper to examine the data furnished by the records and assess the truth regarding Kaṭṭabomman and his relations with the British.

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Pāñchālamkuṛichi, of which Kaṭṭabomman Nāyak became the Pōlegār in 1791, is located in the Tinnevelly district. In shape it was an irregular parallelogram, two sides of which were about 500 feet in length and the other two sides about 300 feet. Its revenue as it stood in 1798 was between 42,600 chuckrams and 61,600 chuckrams. The annual tribute of the Pōlegary was assessed at 6,600 chuckrams.[1] Authentic information regarding the origin of the Nāyak chieftancy over Pāñchāl-amkuṛichi is not available. The popular tradition, that the ancestor of Kaṭṭabomman had come from the Telugu country in 1101 A.D. and settled down in the south in order to escape from the cruelties of a Muslim Governor, is clearly anachronistic. It is significant that Pāñchālamkuṛichi does not figure as one of the Pāḷayams in the time of Viswanātha Nāyak (1529-64). Presumably it appeared later. However, the history of the Pōlegārs of Pāñchālamkuṛichi is traceable from 1707 A.D. by the help of details gathered by W. C. Jackson, the Collector of Ramnad.

During the time of Pollāppāṇḍya Nāyakar, the Pōlegār between 1736 and 1760, the Company undertook an expedition against Pāñchālamkuṛichi, but did not succeed in subduing it. Since then, hostile relations continued between the Pōlegārs of Pāñchālamkuṛichi and the British.

In the last quarter of the 18th century the extreme south of India was under a dyarchical arrangement. The Nawāb of Ārcot, as the vassal of the Mughal Emperor, had administrative authority over the entire Carnatic. When the Nawab became an ally of the East India Company, he concluded a treaty with them in 1781 by which the Nawāb entrusted to the Company the collection of the revenue in the Tinnevelly region. In 1785 the Nawāb withdrew this right from the Company and it was not until 1790 that it was again restored to them. Thus by the time that Kaṭṭabomman became the Pōlegār in 1791, the Company had secured the right of collecting the revenue from the southern region. Soon disputes arose between Kaṭṭabomman and the Company over the collection of the revenue.

Not only did Kaṭṭabomman fail to pay the kist (revenue due to the Company), but he also helped the rebels of Ramnad in 1797 against the British. Besides, he disregarded the duties required of him, like supplying provisions for the army. On top of these, Kaṭṭabomman carried on depradations into Eṭṭayāpuram, which was a tributary of the Company.[2]

1. *Revenue Consultations*, vol. 98 B., pp. 2871-2, 8 November 1799. A. chucram was equivalent to 1/28th of a Rupee, worth about half an anna.

2. *Revenue Consultations*, vol. 89, pp. 3369-70, 15 October 1798.

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Jackson, the Collector wrote to the Pōlegār demanding the tribute. But Kaṭṭabomman disregarded it although he had collected from the inhabitants the Dēśakāval fees of the succeeding year as well.[3] Another charge levelled against the Pōlegār was that he collected unjustifiable exactions from the Company's weavers. Jackson had reasons to conclude that Kaṭṭabomman was guilty of debauchery and that he was under the influence of wicked counsellors who led him into evil ways.[4] Jackson accused him of having harassed the inhabitants of Pāñchālamkuṛichi to pay him as Dēśakāval fees which they had not been paying before. It was alleged that he had sent to the Choultry 30 peons, who seized the villagers and flogged them until they paid 45 chuckrams and that the peons plundered the villagers of paddy and jewels.[5] Kaṭṭabomman replied that the collection of Dēśakāval from the people of Pāñchālamkurichi was an age-long right of the Pōlegār, and in this assertion he was no doubt right. The real grievance of the Collector was that the arrears of the kist due to the Company were not paid. He accused him also of rebellious conduct and remissness in not responding to the call of the Collector to interview him at Ramnad.[6]

Meanwhile Kaṭṭabomman's harassment of the weavers continued. They were compelled to pay more than the legitimate fees, and failure to pay the required amount was punished with flogging.[7] The weavers could not move about freely for fear of molestation by the Pōlegār's men. A complaint from Shiva Sūrien dated 18th July, 1798 stated that at Congreykkuṛichi, the son of the Dēśakāval, Moṇigar Daḷawāy Kumāraswāmi Pillai, and 2000 armed men surrounded the village and seized all the weavers. They carried off 17 weavers with their hands tied behind as far as Karkuḷam hills where they flogged them severely and fixed bloodsuckers upon them. Kaṭṭabomman's men are stated to have thrown mud into the mouths of the women relatives of the weavers and plundering their houses of everything.[8] Moreover, juice of the 'milk hedge' (a variety of prickly pear) was poured into the eyes of the weavers. Several men had their teeth pulled out and many were flogged with slippers.[9]

Even repeated complaints of the Collector to the authorities at Madras about Kaṭṭabomman's misbehaviour had no effect. At first they counselled him to settle the matter amicably. Eventually,

3. *Board's Consultations*, vol. 204, p. 4829, 8 June 1798.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 4833. The same view was held by Lushington. *Board's Consultations*, vol. 225, p. 3276, 15 April 1799.
5. *Board's Consultations*, vol. 204, p. 4842, 18 June 1798.
6. *Ibid.*, vol. 206, p. 5659, 30 July 1798.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 5660.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 5662.
9. *Ibid.*, pp. 5663-64.

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however, on August 18, 1798, the Collector was permitted to summon Kaṭṭabomman to appear at the Cutcherry at Ramnad within 15 days. Accordingly the Pōlegār was asked to meet the Collector at Ramnad on September 5, 1798.

Kaṭṭabomman was not apparently prepared to defy the Company at that stage, and he prepared himself to obey the order. Hearing that the Collector had come to Tirukkuṛṛālam, Kaṭṭabomman proceeded thither with his armed men on 27th August. Jackson was surprised to see the Pōlegār accompanied by his soldiers. Refusing to meet him there, the Collector promised to grant him the interview at Chockampaṭṭi. But there again he put it off to Śivagiri. Similar procrastination continued[10] all through the way down to Ramnad. Jackson granted interviews to other Pōlegārs at the various stations and received kists from them. It was obvious that he adopted a vindictive attitude towards Kaṭṭabomman.[11]

For 23 days Kaṭṭabomman and his retinue had meekly accompanied the Collector over a distance of nearly 400 miles. Eventually on 19th September, both the parties reached Ramnad, and on the 20th the interview was granted. The armed followers of Kaṭṭabomman were not allowed to enter the fort. The Pōlegār, accompanied by his vakil Śivasubrahmaṇia Pillai, otherwise known as Thānāpathi Pillai, entered the Cutcherry. The Pōlegār and his vakil were compelled to stand before the Collector for about three hours answering questions. Copies of letters which had been sent to Kaṭṭabomman were read out to him, and he was asked whether he had received them all. He replied that most of the letters had been received by him, though he could not be sure of some others. Finally Kaṭṭabomman was asked to stay inside the Fort until the Collector received a reply from the Government as to the treatment to be accorded to him. The Pōlegār expressed his inability to do so on account of his late illness. Suddenly some Sepoys attempted to capture him and his Vakil. This made them seek their way out of the Fort.[12] Father Veḷḷayaṇ, a faithful follower of Kaṭṭabomman as well as the Pōlegār's brother, Umatturai had come inside the fort, and noticing the developments, they signalled to the armed men, who, thereupon joined the Pōlegār. The Collector's troops immediately appeared on the scene, and a clash followed. Some Sepoys on either side were killed in the scuffle, as also the the Adjutant, Lieut. Clark. The question whether Clark was killed by Kaṭṭabomman himself or by one of his soldiers became later a much disputed one. Jackson held

10. *Revenue Consultations*, vol. 88, pp. 3103-4, 2 October 1798, and pp. 3111-31.

11. *Ibid.*, vol. 89, pp. 3377-8, 15 October 1798. Also *Board's Consultations*, vol. 210, p. 7140, 27 September 1798.

12. *Revenue Board's Consultations*, vol. 211, pp. 7578-9.

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that Kaṭṭabomman slew him and produced the affidavits of three cloth mercthants in support of his allegation.[13] But Kaṭṭabomman pleaded that he did not kill Clark, and later, the Committee of enquiry too, thought the probably Clark died at the hands of a soldier.

At the scuffle Thānāpathi Pillai was captured ; but Kaṭṭabomman and many others escaped.[14] On their way from Ramnad they plundered the villages. The Company's treasury at Tuticorin was attacked and forcibly taken. Umatturai plundered the storehouses of the English on the pretext that the alien Englishmen had unjustifiably deprived the labouring natives of their grain. Kaṭṭabomman himself, soon after reaching home appears to have made preparations for war,[15] though he professed loyalty to the British. He wrote to the Governor and to the Commanding Officer at Tuticorin ascribing the unpleasant occurrences at Ramnad to the conduct of the Collectorī[16], and made a fervent plea for the release of Thānāpathi Pillai.[17]

But Kaṭṭabomman's harassments of the people of the adjoining region continued. A letter of January 15, 1799 from the Pōlegār of Eṭṭiyapōre to the Collector complains about Kaṭṭabomman's atrocities. Five hundred armed persons, accompanied by 200 coolies, marched into Achaṅkuḷam within the jurisdiction of Eṭṭiyapōre, and after having forcibly cut down 300 bundles of Kombu grain, returned home.[18] It is noteworthy that the same complainant alleged that Kaṭṭabomman had allied himself with the Pōlegārs of Nāgalāpore, Kaḍalakkuḍi, Mēlmoṇḍi, Koḷattūr and other places and that he was contemplating plunder on a large-scale. The Pōlegār of Eṭṭiyapōre complained to the Collector again on January 20, 1799, that Kaṭṭabomman's men had carried away some bullocks from Eḷavēndal, a Sirkar village.[19]

Jackson was not taken in by Kaṭṭabomman's loyalty. He continued to urge the Governor for taking action against him. But the Governor was eager to offer Kaṭṭabomman an opportunity for a peaceful settlement with the Company. The Government published a Proclamation calling upon the Pōlegār to submit to the Company assuring him of an impartial investigation into the Ramnad incident.[20] The Govern-

13. *Ibid.*, pp. 7589-90.

14. *Rev. Consultations*, vol. 88, pp. 3104-10 ; 3113-9, 2 October 1798 ; and vol. 89, pp. 3378-85, 15 October 1798.

15. *Ibid.*, vol. 89, pp. 3214-16, 13 October 1798.

16. *Board's Consultations*, vol. 211, pp. 7576-9 22, October 1798.

17. *Rev. Consultations*, vol. 88, p. 3103, Sept. 23 1798 ; pp. 3111-8, 2 October 1798 ; and pp. 3119-20.

18. *Board's Consultations*, vol. 218, p. 801, 20 January 1799.

19. *Ibid.*, vol. 218, p. 814.

20. *Rev. Con.*, vol. 88, pp. 3123-7., 4 October 1798.

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ment also ordered the release of Thānāpathi Pillai who was instructed to advise his master to submit to the Company.[21] The Governor rightly realized that Jackson had developed an inveterate prejudice against Kaṭṭabomman and that it was impossible to expect him to tackle the situation tactfully. Jackson had really worked himself into a fury and he was partly responsible for the bitterness between Kaṭṭabomman and the Company. Jackson was threfore suspended from his post and Major-General Floyd was asked to open negotiations with Kaṭṭabomman.[22]

Accordingly Major-Geneal Floyd issued a Proclamation and Kaṭṭabomman agreed to submit to the Company.[23] Thereupon the Governor appointed a Committee to investigate into the Ramnad incident.[24] Kaṭṭabomman proceeded to Ramnad and explained his position to the Committee,[25] which after a thorough investigation submitted its report to the Government. It was concluded that Kaṭṭabomman's actions had been misunderstood to a certain extent and that Jackson's conduct towards him was unduly harsh. The humiliation to which Kaṭṭabomman was subjected on account of his having had to follow Jackson for 23 days through the territories of other and inferior Pōlegārs and the added agony which he had to suffer at the interview could well have been avoided. The Committee felt that Kaṭṭabomman must have had apprehensions about his personal safety as a consequence of which he effected his escape. Moreover the Committee took the view that Lieut. Clark was stabbed not by Kaṭṭabomman himself but by a pike man in the Pōlegār's train. Hence Kaṭṭabomman was acquitted of this charge. But in so far as he was responsible for the actions of his followers it was decreed that Kaṭṭabomman was to make a provision equal to the salary and allowances of the late Clark for the support of his widow and children.[26]

The organisation of Revolt:

Though it seemed that Kaṭṭabomman was reconciled with the British, he had by no means forgotten his hostility towards them. He sought peace but as a temporary expedient in order to strengthen his position. While professing loyalty to the British he was busily engaged

21. *Ibid.*, vol. 89, p. 3135, 8 October 1798.

22. *Rev. Despatch to England.* vol. VI, pp. 342-3, 15 October 1798. *Rev. Cons.* vol. 88, p. 3134, 3 October 1798 and *Ibid.*, p. 3134 and *Rev. Cons.*, vol. 89, p. 3211, 13 October 1798.

23. *Rev. Cons.*, vol. 89, pp. 3521 and 3539, 17 October 1798.

24. *Rev. Despatch to England*, vol. VI, pp. 397-8, 15 October 1798.

25. *Ibid.*, pp. 398-9, 15 October 1798.

26. *Rev. Cons.*, vol. 94, pp. 554-61, 1 March 1799 and *Rev. Despatches to England*, vol. VI, 15 October 1798.

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in war-like preparations. He collected a large body of armed men.[27] The fortifications were strengthened and the entrances to his territory were carefully guarded.[28] Moreover, he organised a league of the Pōlegārs of Tinnevelly and Ramnad against the Company. This league included among its members the Pōlegārs of Yellayarumpunnai, Nāgālapuram, Kōḷārpeṭṭy, Kaḍalakkuḍi and Kuḷattūr.[29] Besides, realizing the importance of the fort of Śivagiri, he planned to get possession of it. Fortunately for him a civil war broke out between the Pōlegār of Śivagiri and his son; the League immediately sent forces in support of the rebel son. As Śivagiri was a tributary of the Company, this move of the League was considered an open challenge to the British authority.[30] Kaṭṭabomman also entered into alliance with the disaffected chieftains of Ramnad, Śivagaṅga and Diṇḍigul. It is further learnt that this alliance of the rebels extended to Malabār, Mysore and the Bekkan.[31] He is known to have established contacts with Dhoṇḍia Wāhāg, a turbulent Maratha rebel, and through him, with the rebels of Malabār and Mysore.

The opportunity for rebellion arose when the British became involved in the Mysore war. The rebels of Kaḍalakkuḍi entered Ramnad and attacked the villages of Gōpālapuram and Aruppukkoṭṭai.[32] The rebels harassed the people who had entered the service of the Company.[33] Kaṭṭabomman withheld the payment of the kist as well as the amount fixed for the family of the late Clark.[34]

Meanwhile S. R. Lushington had succeeded Jackson as the Collector and he summoned Kaṭṭabomman to Ramnad. But without the permission of the Collector Kaṭṭabomman went there accompanied by his armed men. On the way he and his men encamped at Paḷamerri Since Ramnad was in a state of rebellion on account of scarcity of food, the Collector feared that Kaṭṭabomman's march would create a dangerous situation.[35]

27. *Rev. Cons.*, vol. 88, p. 3187, Sept. 1798.

28. *Ibid.*, vol. 88 B, pp. 3121-23, 2 October 1798.

29. *Ibid.*, vol. 98, p. 2770, 8 November 1799.

30. *Ibid.*, vol. 101, p. 361, and pp. 365-6, January 1800; and vol. 97, pp. 2418-20, September 1799. (Letter of the Governor-General to the Board of Revenue dated 19 August 1799.

31. *Pol. Cons.*, vol. 5, p. 1638, 22 December 1801; *Rev. Cons.*, vol. 107, p. 216, February 1801. *Military Cons.*, vol. 283, p. 3445 and 3498-3501, 22 May 1801 and *Rev. Cons.*, vol. 99, p. 3321, 6 December 1799.

32. *Military Consultations*, vol. 254, p. 3886, 12 June 1799; vol. 256, p. 4579, 5 August 1799; and *Rev.Cons.*, vol. 98A, p. 2744, 14 September 1799.

33. *Public Consultations*, vol. 236, pp. 1932-4, June 1799.

34. *Rev. Cons.*, vol. 96, pp. 1562-9, August 1799; and vol. 97, p. 2419, September 1799.

35. *Rev. Cons.*, vol. 96, pp. 1562-70, August 1799.

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Bannerman's final triumph :

By this time the British had won the war with Mysore, and therefore their forces were diverted to the south to quell the rising there. Major Bannerman was put in command of these forces and was given extensive powers to deal with the situation effectively. Bannerman and his lieutenant Trichborne succeeded in defeating the rebels at Paḷamerri. The rebels suffered heavy losses and many who fell into the British hands were executed. But the country continued to be restless on account of drought and scarcity of grain. Therefore Bannerman posted Trichborne at Kummuḍi in order to prevent people gathering together in large numbers.[36]

On 1st September 1799, Major Bannerman delivered an ultimatum to Kaṭṭabomman to meet him at Pāḷayamkōṭṭai on the 4th. As usual the Pōlegār professed a submissive attitude, but pleading that the day specified was inauspicious, he did not attend on the commander.[37] The excuse of the Pōlegār was considered unsatisfactory, and therefore, Bannerman marched with his army against Pāñchālamkuṛichi. He was reinforced by troops from Kōilpaṭṭi and Kayattār, and on 5th September, the fort of Pāñchālamkuṛichi was attacked. This sudden move came as an unexpected blow for Kaṭṭabomman, for he was not prepared to meet the situation. The fort itself was in need of repair, and many of his armed men were away at the time. Bannerman cut off the communications to the fort and demanded an unconditional surrender. But the garrison refused to submit.[38] Bannerman reconnoitred the fort and discovered its vulnerable points. Soon action was begun, and the English guns went into operation. The garrison, however, rose equal to the occasion, and when they retaliated by firing on the advancing troops, the invaders were struck with consternation. Meanwhile, another division of the Company's force rushed and it succeeded in blowing open the gate of the fort. The invaders met with a stubborn resistance at the hands of the garrison under the leadership of Veḷḷayyan, and when he was killed in the midst of his heroic fight, his place was taken by Ūmatturai, the faithful brother of Kaṭṭabomman. Under his able leadership the rebels repulsed the English onslaughts and inflicted heavy loss on the invaders.[39] Bannerman expected to receive fresh reinforcements from Pāḷayamkōṭṭai, and therefore, he decided to renew the attack later. When the troops arrived the next day it was too late for commencing the attack before sunset. Meanwhile, the soldiers inside the fort felt their position precarious and fled in the

36. *Military Cons.*, vol. 253, pp. 3246-8 and pp. 3250-55, 11 June 1799.
37. *Rev. Cons.*, vol. 98 A, p. 2706, 2 September 1799.
38. *Ibid.*, vol. 98, pp. 2896-2900, 22 November 1799.
39. *Military Consultations*, vol. 258, p. 6186, 24 September 1799 ; and *Revenue Consultations*, vol. 98 A, pp. 2706-11, 5 September 1799.

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northerly direction.[40] The besiegers promptly pursued them and at Kōḷārpaṭṭi a severe clash occurred. Many of the Pōlegār's soldiers fell and the British succeeded in capturing some of the leaders, among whom was Thānāpathi Pillai, the friend and adviser of Kaṭṭabomman. Kaṭṭabomman and other chief rebels managed to escape.[41]

Bannerman now turned against the other Pōlegārs who had allied themselves with Kaṭṭabomman. On September 9, he occupied Nāgalāpuram and succeeded in capturing Soundara Pāṇḍya Nāick, the brother of the Pōlegār of Nāgalāpuram and the commander of the army. Before long, the other allies of Kaṭṭabomman, including the Pōlegārs of Yellayarumpunnai, Kaḍalakuḍi, Kuḷathūr and Kōḷārpaṭṭi surrendered.[42] Bannerman continued his victorious march through Koilpatti and forced certain other rebellious Pōlegārs to surrender.[43] In order to strike terror into the minds of the rebels the ring-leaders were publicly subjeted to capital punishment. Soundara Pāṇḍya Nāyak was executed at Gopalapuram, while Thānāpathi Pillai was beheaded at Nāgalāpuram. Thānāpathi Pillai's corpse was paraded through the streets of Pāñchālamkuṛichi and his head was exhibited on a pike fixed on a bastion of the fort.[44]

Kāṭṭabomman's end:

Escaping from Kōḷārpaṭṭi, Kaṭṭabomman seems to have wandered from place to place desperately until at last he found refuge in the forest of Kalpōre. However, his presence there was detected by the sepoys of Vijaya Raghunātha Toṇḍaimān, the Rāja of Pudukkōṭṭai.[45] It is popularly believed that Toṇḍaimān at first offered protection to Kaṭṭabomman and that later he betrayed him into the hands of the British. Though these details are not confirmed by dependable sources of information, undoubtedly it was Toṇḍaimān who handed over the rebel Pōlegār to the British.

Naturally Bannerman was jubilant, and on 16th October, he brought the rebel chieftain directly to Kayattār, where, by previous arrangement an assembly of all the Pōlegārs had been summoned. At the assembly Bannerman announced the charges against Kaṭṭabomman in a formal manner. His refusal to pay the kist to the Company, his failure to respond to the summons of the Collector, and finally his embarkation on a war with Śivagiri as well as with the Company were

40. *Ibid.*, pp. 2713 and 2777, 8 November 1799.
41. *Ibid.*, p. 2724.
42. *Military Consultations*, vol. 296, p. 2518, 13 April 1799, and *Revenue Consultations*, vol. 98 A, pp. 2714-33, 8 November 1799.
43. *Rev. Cons.*, vol. 98 B, pp. 2765-70, 8 November 1799.
44. *Ibid.*, pp. 2740-48, p. 2752 and p. 2754, 8 November 1799.
45. *Ibid.*, p. 2757 and pp. 2794-5, 8 November 1799.

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the principal charges levelled against him. Kaṭṭabomman admitted these charges, though the manner of the admission was notably contemptuous. Finally the commander announced that Kaṭṭabomman was condemned to death. Then he was removed to the pre-arranged spot near the old fort of Kayattār, and there he was hanged.[46] It is notable that Kaṭṭabomman met his end with courage and calmness. Bannerman himself has recorded that at the examination in the assembly Kaṭṭabomman displayed a remarkable nonchalance. During the course of the examination, frequently he looked with scorn at the Pōlegārs of Eṭṭiyapōre and Śivagiri who were hostile to him. When he was being led to be executed, too, he cast contemptuous looks on the Pōlegārs who were standing on either side of his way. He expressed only an anxiety regarding his brother Ūmatturai, and finally when he reached the tree at which he was to be hanged, he indicated his regret in having left his fort in the defence of which he could have met a nobler death.[47]

It is the spectacular scene of his execution and his studied nonchalance which have cast a halo of heroism around him. Popular imagination was fired by the dramatic end of the undaunted chieftain; no wonder, epics and ballads appeared about Kaṭṭabomman and his exploits. Now, the question is whether the recent attempts to make a patriotic hero of Kaṭṭabomman is warranted by the known facts. That he was courageous and shrewd, and that he had a burning desire to expel the Company from the new position which they had acquired can all be readily admitted. That he organised a league of brave Pōlegārs and above all that he put himself into communication with Malabār and Mysore testify to his ingenuity. If he had succeeded in organising the alliances at the proper time and in an effective manner, perhaps there was a chance of his realizing his aim. And if success attended his efforts, history would have accorded to him a lofty place as one of the great heroes who fought for the freedom of the country. But nothing succeeds like success, and since he failed, he is not so well-known as he would otherwise have been. On the other hand it is important to remember that his resources, political or military, were hardly adequate for the mighty struggle. Nor did he possess an organising capacity of a high order. If he had planned a sound scheme of alliances soon after he had assumed the Pōlegārship, success might have been within his reach, particularly because then the British position was distinctly weaker than in 1799. But history has no place for 'ifs'.

However, it is one thing to admit that he was anxious to expel the British, and it is another to say that he was imbued by a patriotic

46. *Ibid.*, vol. 98 B, pp. 2879-82, 8 November 1799.

47. *Rev. Cons.*, vol. 98 B, pp. 2883-4, 8 November 1799. (Bannerman's Letter to the Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras.)

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desire to save his country from foreign domination. There is hardly any basis for such a facile view. It is true that he and his brother felt that the British intruders had no right to demand tributes ; but neither the Nawāb of Ārcot nor the Nāyaks and the Pōlegārs had a better right to do so. Moreover, Kaṭṭabomman had never shown a concern for the welfare and happiness of the people of his Pāḷayam. He plundered the citizens of Pāñchālamkuṛichi as well as those of the neighbouring regions.[48] Cruel devices were adopted by him in order to squeeze money from the people. His moral character, too, was of a low order. There is little justification for disbelieving the findings of both Jackson and Lushington regarding Kaṭṭabomman's licentiousness and his incapacity to act independently of his wicked advisers.[49]

It may be argued that in the context in which he was placed, he had no other alternative than to plunder the neighbours. Several great heroes who have fought for the independence of their country have had to resort to similar ways. A Śivāji or Haidar Āli could not have reached the high position they attained if they conformed to a strict code of morality. But, apart from the means employed, Kaṭṭabomman lacked the vision and capacity to achieve his ends. The truth is, as shown earlier, the dramatic execution and the nonchalance he displayed in facing it, have primarily roused the popular tendency to exalt him. While his personal courage, sagacity and skill in the art of dissimulation are admirable, on the whole, he appears to have been just a typical Pōlegār of the times. To read patriotic ideas into his actions is hardly warranted by the known facts.

48. *Board's Consultations*, vol. 204, p. 4842, 18 June 1798.
49. *Ibid.*, vol. 204, p. 4838, and vol. 225, p. 3376.

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DHURNA AND BRAHMANICAL IMMUNITIES IN BENGAL UNDER EARLY BRITISH RULE

Dr. R. C. Mitra

The assumption of the responsibility for the administration of criminal justice by the East Indian Company was not accompanied with any radical change. It did not form the prelude to the super-imposition of an alien code and an unfamiliar system of social ethics on an arrested native development. Till the acceptance of the Indian Penal Code in 1860, Muhammadan law formed the broad base on which rested the edifice of criminal justice though it admitted of various modifications by successive Regulations. The persistence among the Hindus of certain offences of illegal constraint with an odour of pseudo-religious sanctity about them presented a baffling problem to the early Anglo-Indian administrators. The Muslim rulers who had long superseded the Hindu criminal code in their own dominions had nevertheless extended a grudging indulgence to these extra-legal practices on grounds of caste or local sanction. The survival of these offences for several decades of the Company's rule in India and the stream of Regulations to wrestle with these anomalies only attest the sturdy hold which such practices had obtained on the mind of the people.

A case in point is presented by the widely prevalent practice of Dhurna of which the deeper emotional roots may probably be traced to masochistic urges. Hindu sentiment had long invested it with a halo of moral grandeur. In its accepted form it connoted a method of illegal duress by an aggrieved individual for the extortion of a donation or recovery of debts or of titles to land or property without recourse to judicial process. It was a species of private redress by real or pretended moral pressure. The demandant posted himself at the door of the party in a manner so as to prevent ingress or egress with the avowed intention of starving himself to death or of self-immolation by swallowing poison or by some weapons unless satisfaction was rendered to his cause. If the demandant was a Brahmin, the veneration for his caste rendered the device more formidable by invoking a graver odium on the antagonist. Under the circumstances, social convention made it incumbent on the besieged party to similarly abstain from food till

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settlement was reached and the embargo removed. Moral pressure may, in limited circumstances, be exercised with the silent acquiescence of the community to redress the balance of law in favour of the strong. But the practice could so easily lend itself to abuse that it often degenerated into an odious form of duress. As this form of constraint was exclusively an offence against Hindu law, the Mahommedan rulers were chary of taking cognisance of it and left it to the interpretation of the Pundits according to the injunctions of the Shuster. In Benares, which was ceded to the Company in 1775, the English were loath to interfere with the procedure in the province till 1820. But the objectionable features of the practice were effectively interdicted by a Proclamation issued in the province on 22nd, December 1792 and the relevant rule of proceeding was established by Secs. 11 and 12 Reg. XXI of 1795.[1] The magistrate was authorised to issue warrant for the apprehension of Brahmins accused of committing the offence of Dhurna. If on preliminary evidence a *prima facie* case could be made out against him, the accused was to be committed to trial by the Court of Circuit in accordance with the Bebastha or exposition of Hindu law by the Pundit. On proof of guilt the wrong-doer was to be expelled from the province of Benares and to forfeit all rights and claims in fulfilment of which the misdemeanour had been committed. But the Regulations betray distrust of the pettifogging technicalities in which the Bebastha was likely to be entangled. So Sec. 12 provides that even if the offence escaped the clutches of the Hindu canonical law relating to Dhurna, it was not to lead to immediate acquittal. If there were reasons to conclude that some form of illegal duress in the commonly accepted sense of the term had been used, the offender was to be bound down by a Mochulka or engagement that in the event of the recurrence of any offence tantamount to Dhurna, he would be liable to the full penalty of Dhurna proper *viz.*, banishment from the province of Benares and loss of rights or claim to the issue. The scope of the above Regulation was subsequently extended to all persons, Brahmins as well as non-Brahmins by Sec. 6 Reg. VIII of 1799 which also enjoined upon the Pundits a liberal interpretation of the term, Dhurna, without narrowing it down to specific definitions of Dherm, Bebhar, Chullona, or Achrit (custom and usage). The above rules were extended to Bengal, Behar and Orissa by Reg. V, 1797 and to the Ceded Provinces by Reg. III, 1804. A prohibitory proclamation to this effect was issued in every thana. A significant change in the mode of trial was effected and an uniformity of procedure was established by Sec. 3, Reg. VII of 1820 which included this offence in the purview of Mahommedan law under the head of Zulm. In consequence, the Futwas of the Moslem law officer replaced the dispensation of the Pundit in all places. It prescribed at fine of Rs. 1,000/-

1. Harrington, *Analysis of the Laws and Regulations*,

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or confinement upto one year in lieu of the above. This could be supplemented in instances attended with serious aggravation, with further confinement in civil jail up to a period of one year, subject to reference to the Nizamat Adalat. Besides, the Magistrates were authorised to dispose of lighter forms of infraction by a fine not exceeding Rs. 200 and civil jail for a term of six months. By way of illustration of the niceties involved in the interpretation of the Regulations it may be noted that when a person placed himself at a distance of a hundred paces from the grocer's shop and lived exclusively on Sherbat for 16 days, the Nizamat Adalat held that the circumstances did not constitute the offence of sitting Dhurna[2].

A sanguinary variation of the practice obtained in the province of Benares where the profound reverence shown by Hindus to Brahmins was frequently perverted by the latter to a defiance of the laws or the executive orders of the government. This took the form of the threat of suicide by ripping open a part of the body or by swallowing poison, or by the threat of heinous sacrilege of murdering his own female relatives by the aggrieved Brahmin. Still more desperate was the device of the Koorh in order to thwart arrest or molestation chiefly by revenue or judicial officers. At the approach of the officers for serving out the detested process, the Brahmins occasionally erected in a circular enclosure a funeral pyre on which they placed an old woman or some female relative whom they threatened to kill by setting fire to the pile of wood or similar inflammable materials. Sometimes they sought the same purpose by brandishing their swords before their women or children who were expressly brought out and exposed to horrified public view. Cases are known where these usually hollow threats were put to grim execution. The victim sometimes voluntarily submitted to this species of self-immolation as a means of righteous defence of injured dignity or in the fond delusion of being able to become the ghostly tormentor of the person whose acts had occasioned her sacrifice. Elaborate measures were provided in Sec. 2 to 10, Reg. XXI. 1795 for preventing the erection of a Koorh or the threat or commission of any violence under speudo-religious pretences. On receipt of an attested information of preparations of this character in progress, the Magistrate was required to serve out a notice in vernacular by a friend or relative of the offending Brahmin, or in default by a Hindu peon urging immediate abandonment of the project. Instead of any threat of prosecution the notice was to hold out positive and encouraging assurance of an enquiry into the alleged grievances by the Magistrate in person following compliance with his order. The coercive process of law was to operate only on the violation of the order. In that case a warrant specifying the contumacy was to be served out by a Mahommedan peon. The service of a Hindu peon was forbidden obviously because he might have scruples against defying the

2. Beaufort, *Digest of Criminal Law* (1846), pp. 537-41, 641-43.

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personal sanctity of a Brahmin. The Brahmin was then committed to trial by the Court of Circuit which was to proceed against him according to Reg. IX of 1793 and Reg. XVI of 1795, as the Muhammadan law stopped short of cases of this nature. The principal offender in respect of constructing a Koorh or making preparation to slay women or children was to be sentenced to a fine equal to his annual income. For the accomplices in this crime the fine was fixed at one-fourth of the annual income. The Brahmin was to remain in jail until he liquidated his fine or provided adequate security, and on release he was to further offer to the court a Fiulzaminee or security from persons of credit against repetition of similar offence. In case of the accused absconding or resisting the warrant, his lands, held under whatever denomination, were liable to be attached and the revenue thereof was to be paid to the party in resentment to whom the misdemeanour had been attempetd, till the day of his surrender to the arms of law. The Regulations, however, recognise a distinction between homicide caused by the erection of a Koorh and the slaying of women and children under analogous circumstances, but by other means, *e.g.* the sword. The Brahmins responsible for occasioning death by construction of a Koorh as well as his accomplices were to be tried on a charge of Kutl-amd or pre-meditated murder according to Mahommedan law. But the sentence was to be delivered independently of the opinion of the law officers, subject only to reference to theNizamat Adalat, as in all cases of capital punishment. Brahmins wounding women and children by way of protest against actions of government officials or individuals were rendered liable to transportation. But the slaying of women or children under similar provocation subjected the offender to grave posthumous penalties besides capital punishment. Under orders of Governor-General in Council of 17 June, 1789 the family of the condemned person was to be banished from Benares and the Company's territories while his landed estates were to be forfeited to the Government. The Nizamat Adalat had the final authority of rigorous enforcement of the order of banishment and the mitigation or nullification of the order relating to the forfeiture of the lands after close consideration of the age, sex and number of members of the family of the Brahmin. Forfeiture of lands even after confirmation of the decree by the Nizamat Adalat required Government approval about the manner and measure of disposal of the same. The moderation of the Government was evinced by the rule that the decree of confiscation was never to be executed unless the whole of the family was banished. Any limitation with regard to the members of the family would preclude confiscation. The calculated rigours of the law deserve special attention because Brahmins guilty of simple murder within the province of Benares without the aggravating circumstances mentioned above, enjoyed immunity from death sentence till 1817 (Sec. 15 Reg. XVII). The execution of a Brahmin was however to take place, even after 1817, outside the sacred limits of the city of Benares.

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It may be observed in this connection that the practice of Dhurna is an ancient legacy of the primitive Hindu system and obtained wide currency. Elphinstone in his highly instructive "Report on the Territories conquered from the Paishwas" refers to the system of Tukazza or dunning. Its practice admitted of wide variation from manifestly violent and obnoxious restraint to simply importunate expostulation. The plaintiff seated himself fasting at the door of the defendant, occasionally with a slab of stone upon his head, and invoked the wrath of the gods and the execration of his neighbours upon the iniquity that was being done to him. It was a time-honoured contrivance of mobilising public opinion to wrest justice in cases where courts were deemed inadequate or unavailing. In Note J of the original draft of the Indian Penal Code, Dhurna is equated with Traga. Under this practice, an injured party used to hire the services of a man of the religious order who extorted redress for the aggrieved under the menace of otherwise killing himself or some others members of his party and thereby laying the indelible blood-guilt on the conscience of the person whose action had caused it.[3] John Stuart Mill in his Memorandum on the Improvements in the Administration of India during the last thirty years (1858), laid it to the credit of the Company that it had suppressed this practice by restrictive laws and sound administration of justice. But the spirit of this practice dies a hard death. Moral duress as an instrument of extra-legal justice survives in Protean forms, even though opinion must be divided on its intrinsic value. It is the bow of Ulysses which no weaker hands could bend. Its use by Mahatma Gandhi and its abuse for trivial purposes by disgruntled agitators present a caustic commentary on a much-vexed issue in recent times.

3. Sir George Clans Rankin, *Background to Indian Law*, pp. 213-15.

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A NOTE ON LAKHIRAJ LANDS

Shri Saugata Mukherji

The word lakhiraj is derived from an Arabic source, as indicated by authorities on revenue technicalities, being composed of two words, la which means 'no' and khirāj which stands for revenue or land-tax. Such grants were made in the Mughal period as rewards or payments for some services done. We may, however, reasonably infer that payment of this sort was quite prevalent in medieval India, as we come across so many instances of payment by land or assignments of land in lieu of cash salaries. Originally, the emperor or any other independent ruler made grants of lakhiraj land for services rendered to the community or to the state. These were known as badshahi grants. These were either cases of remission of revenue over a particular area of land already held by the grantee or new grants of land to a particular person or institution to be held free of tax.

Waste lands were also granted for reclamation and cultivation with the revenue wholly or partially remitted. Subsequently however, lesser authorities began granting lakhiraj and other charitable endowments which came to be known as hukumi or non-badshahi grants. In the days of declining authority and growing abuse of the office of the Kanungo, even petty officers with no authority indulged in making similar grants. Presumably, it was a convenient form of payment, (provided the village community sanctioned it) when the treasury was not over-full and where the ratio between the available supply of cultivable land and that of man-power was always traditionally in favour of the former.

It is curious to note that in many places, specially in Northern Bengal, lakhiraj tenures were loosely called jagirs. It was in fact this 'confusion' in terms that interested me originally because it could not be accidental. It is clear that grants of lakhiraj, large or small, were made on the same basic principle as assignments like jagirs with perhaps one important difference that jagirs were not hereditary possessions—indeed not possessions at all—but assignments of land held during the lifetime of an officer, while lakhiraj and other such grants—whatever they might have been originally—subsequently became hereditary possessions.[1] Such proprietors, specially the larger ones, had a scope to expand into landholders on somewhat similar lines as the zamindars became proprietors. The real similarity of the grants of lakhiraj with the

1. Baden Powell, *Land Systems of British India*, vol. I, p. 528.

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assignments of jagir becomes clear with the briefest examination of the nature of lakhiraj grants, starting from the possessions of the higher officials and descending to the base of the pyramidal structure formed by the ordinary mass of peasants and artisans and others of their class.

A point which should be cleared at the outset is : what does ' rent-free ' land really mean ? We find the British writers and revenue officials casually substituting the words ' rent-free ' and ' revenue-free ' for each other. It is, however, now agreed on all sides that very few tracts of land were indeed rent-free in Bengal or any other part of India in the medieval period. These lands were possessed in return for services rendered to the grantor *i.e.*, the overlerd, who never failed to realise such services or ' presents ' from the grantee—even though he might forego his share of the produce of that particular tract of land.[2] This becomes rent in a very real sense when we come to the lowest ' rung ' of the ladder. This had long gone unnoticed but has been recently brought to light by several writers and mention should be made of a particular work in this field which clarifies the issue considerably.[3] Thus lakhiraj or revenue-free tracts of land were granted to zamindars who were then agents of collection of revenue, either as remuneration for their work or as reward for some special services to jagirdars for the maintenance of additional troops ; to religious institutions and holy communities, and lastly to peasants, artisans and other menial servants and petty office-assistants. Thus, what can be loosely called ' feudal service ' was expected in return for these grants. The nature of the service varied according to the position occupied by a person in the hierarchy, but the services which were imposed on peasants, workers, etc. were nothing else than the extraction of labour-rent.

The zamindars who were of old agents of collection of revenue were given, as part of their emoluments, nankar lands to be held revenue-free. The zamindar very naturally absorbed them gradually into this own property.[4] Apart from this, the zamindars and other local influential men were granted lakhiraj to induce them to take an interest in cultivation. In the days of declining authority, these men who had some sort of a real estate to begin with soon promoted themselves into the class of proprietors and it might be imagined that men of a lesser origin, the ' upstarts ', were more energetic in this direction than the ancient nobles. The jagirdars also received over and above their personal jagirs other tracts of revenue-free land solely for the maintenance of troops. Several zamindars also held lakhiraj lands for the main-

2. T. Roychoudhuri, *Bengal Under Akbar & Jehangir*, p. 33.

3. *Burdwan District Records* (New Series), vol. II, Introduction by R. Guha, sec. II.

4. Harington, *Analysis of the Bengal Regulations*, vol. III, p. 320. Quoted by Baden Powell.

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tenance of troops and as cost of supplying boats to the Mughal rulers. The existence of ' nowara ' and 'hissazut' lands attached to the Chandradwip Zamindari of Barisal in the days of the ' Mag ' and ' Firinghee ' incursions, the ' nawabad ' lands of Chittagong and the Ghatwali lands in the western border districts of Bengal certifies to this. About Midnapur, O'Malley quoting J. Grant says : " This district was held by a tenure different to any other known in the country...corresponded with the ancient military fiefs of Europe, in samuch as certain lands were held lakhiraj.....solely appropriated for the maintenance of troops ; " and again, " nearly two-thirds (of the Jagirs in the district) were assigned over for the maintenance of some thousands of barkandazes, matchlockmen or native Hindustani militia."[5] Another community that benefited by lakhiraj grants to a great extent consisted of religious sects, temples and pious men who received grants either from the state such as aima, madad-i-maash, etc. which were placed under the supervision of the provincial sadar. Besides, the zamindars made similar grants like Brahmottar, Debattar, Mahatran, etc. to the Hindus and Piran, Chiraghi, Khairati, etc. to the Muslims. Grants were made to occupational groups like carpenters, ferrymen, milkmen, cobblers, weavers, agradanis and such others. Before the rise of the zamindari system, grants of waste land were made to communal services to men for helping administration and village defence and to artisans, local manufacturers etc. In the Midnapur District Gazeteer we find that Chakran lands were granted to people of such diverse callings as simanadar, paik, gomashta, kumhar, napit, mali, dobi, astapahari (watchman), bearers and rasughirs (carriers of amin's chain of assessment). Thus, on a closer examination, it appears that lakhirajdars of this type rendered more services to the government than to the community and in such cases, labour-rent of this type coincides with the tax payable to the state.[6] With the trasnformation of zamindars into proprietors, communal lands became absorbed into private lands, and as has been shown by a writer on the subject, rent-free lands were retained on condition of personal service to the zamindar. As the very name implies, these men, holding chakran lands, nucleated round the zamindar and rendered him personal service either in the form of labour or with their handiworks even though the zamindar was not entitled to produce rent in such cases. This clearly brings out to what extent ' non-economic compulsion ' could be enforced by the nominal owner (or in this case overlord) of the soil in feudal India. It is clear from contemporary documents that some of the petty office-assistants and menials had to carry out in reality the most essential duties of the zamindar like looking after the law and order, village defence etc.[7]

5. *Midnapur District Gazetteer*, Historical Introduction by O'Malley " Land Revenue Administration.

6. K. Marx, *Capital*, vol. III on ' Labour-Rent '.

7. Letter of the Collector of Birbhum, December 1787. Quoted in Burdwan Records (Introduction).

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In the period between the grant of the Diwani and the Permanent Settlement, the Company became increasingly anxious about the so-called alienation of land and opposed all fresh grants of lakhiraj, even the perforce liberal grants of 'baze-zamin' in Burdwan district with a view to counteracting the effects of the famine of 1770 when the shortage of man-power in relation to land became most acute. Cornwallis however started the policy of outright resumption of alienated lands and this process continued, sometimes in full force, sometimes haltingly, till 1859. The attempt to raise the total amount of revenue receipts to the detriment of the broader agricultural and other interests of the country was, to say the least, unimaginative like so many other land-revenue policies of the company. The Company mainly directed its attack against the petty holdings invalid lakhiraj holdings below one hundred bighas—rather than those bigger than it. The Baze-Zamin Regulations of 1788, the Regulation XIX and XXXVII of 1793 and the regulations about the resumption of invalid lakhiraj grants were the direct result of this attitude. The policy of invalidating the hukumi grants rather than the badshahi ones also hit the class of direct producers hard, those who had benefited by such grants as the 'baze-zamin' grants of the Raja of Burdwan. It is clear that the government leant in favour of the zamindars regarding the resumption of 'alienated' lands from the ryots. It is thus amusing to read the ravings of a representative of the zamindari interests, a self-styled 'lover of justice', accusing the government in an article of having sided with the ryots in Sec. 28 of Act X of 1859.[8] The only thing that rings true in the whole article is that the existence of such numerous lakhiraj tenures was incompatible with the Company's modern revenue organisation, these being the relics of an old economy. This is evident from the fact that the decadent class of 'old' Zamindars and religious communities clung to these possessions with the despair of dying men. The appeals of an impoverished descendant of the great 'Chandradwip' Zamindars of Barisal and the laments and prayers of a community of Brahmins in the same district might have been very pathetic, yet one cannot but sympathise with the Company's resumption of all these lands in 1800.[9] Such blows could not be avoided on the decaying 'old order' and on the remnants of a village economy.

In Assam, the question of lakhiraj tenures remained a vexed question till the 1880's. Here, it was aggravated by the existence of nisf-khiraj or half-free tenures which were originally revenue-free. But subsequently, some levies were made by local chiefs on parts of these lands. From contemporary records of administration, we gather that theoretically all such holdings were taken to have lapsed after the British conquest. Nevertheless, the actual existence of such lands caused the

8. "The Permanent Settlement Imperilled" by a 'Lover of Justice' 1859.
9. T. Roychoudhuri, "Some Old Documents of Barisal", *IHQ*, 1948.

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government to set up an *ad hoc* commission of enquiry with instructions to recommend the resumption of all 'alienated' lands (pending the lakhiraj enquiry) but to put into effect mild terms on these lands. The officials engaged, however, found it an impossible task and had to retain numerous lakhiraj grants as valid. After a protracted correspondence, continued with intervals till 1879, the government had to condone their unauthorised actions and to accept both lakhiraj and nisf-khiraj holdings. The nisf-kirajdars further held the waste lands as revenue-free. Such holdings, situated mostly in Kamrup, were in nature religious grants by the native Ahom rulers and dedicated to temples. Often, these were large tracts of lands, cultivated by sub-tenants who paid only the government rates as revenue but were bound to do service or pay in kind to their overlords (temples) in addition.[10] It is possible that this artificial cotinuation of labour-rent or some sort of rent in kind was a stumbling block in the process of 'monetising' rent and consequently the Company's policy of modernising and maximising revenue. It also possibly affected the growth of a land market which had by then come into existence; but to what extent it is difficult to ascertain at the present state of information. Perhaps, an awareness of the peculiar situation led the government to make these lands compact and isolate them from the other revenue-paying territories where money-rent obtained, as Mr. Ward's note on this subject indicates.[11]

It is true that the introduction of money-rent by the British administrators did not signify any fundamental change in the nature of rent. But it was surely an indication of the coming social changes to which such relics of medieval economy could not be reconciled. Thus, Lakhiraj grants stood as symbol of 'feudal' service, military, civil or labour as the case might be. This survival of lakhiraj also signified the survival of an old set of relationships, little pockets of resistance against a general economic transformation. The Company's repeated attempts to resume all 'alienated' lands since the Diwani thus seem to acquire a special meaning. As has been very aptly remarked, these attempts 'stand for the efforts of the mercantile representatives of a comparatively superior economy to transform a backward community by converting a large fund of labour-rent into money-rent in a way suited to the requirements of its financial transactions. The failure of this effort merely proves how the natural economy of Bengal was to die hard.'[12] It was rather the unnatural continuation of a medieval feature that encouraged the reproduction of the old forces of production and for a long time thwarted the completion of a new economic process.

10. *Assam Administrative Reports*, 1882-3.
11. Mr. Ward's note on the Kamrup Lakhiraj enquiry.
12. *Burdwan District Records*, (New Series), Introduction by R. Guha, sec. II.

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TWO MUGHAL FARMANS RELATING TO THE APPOINTMENT OF SADAR KANUNGOS IN BIHAR

Dr. H. R. Ghosal

In the record room of Muzaffarpur Collectorate there is a big bundle of sanads, parwanas and farmans dealing generally with the grant of *lakhiraj*[1] lands to families, individuals and religious institutions, and, in a few instances, with certain other matters. Five such documents relate to the conferment of the office of Sadar Kanungo in Bihar on some persons belonging to a particular Hindu family. Two of these are farmans—one from the Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb, granted in the thirteenth year of his reign, and the other from the Emperor Shah Alam II, issued in the twenty-fifth year of his accession. The remaining three are parwanas issued under the seals of Abul Hosain, Royal Dewan of Bihar, Raja Shitab Roy Bahadur, 'Victorious in Battle,' and John Shore, President of the Revenue Committee, then employed on settlement duty in Bihar. The parwana of Abul Hosain has the words: 'in the eighth year of the reign'[2] at the end; those of Shitab Roy and John Shore bear the dates: 'in the eleventh year of the reign' (Shah Alam II's reign), and '9th January, 1784' respectively. The parwanas of Shitab Roy and Shore are not so important, because they merely echo the letter and spirit of the farmans in concise language. The really important document is the farman of Aurangzeb, not simply because the duties and emoluments of the office of Kanungo are expressly stated in the document, but the reason that it contains some expressions which throw considerable light on the nature of Mughal government, on the paternal theory of the State, and on a few other points of interests. The farman of Shah Alam confirms the descendants of the persons mentioned in the previous farman in the office of Sadar Kanungo, and is slightly differently worded.

The five documents referred to above were submitted by Roy Purseed (Prasidh) Ram and Roy Selwant Singh, son of Roy Balwant Singh, Sadar Kanungos of Bihar, to Mr. R. Graham, Acting Collector of

1. Revenue free.

2. Probably in the eighth year of Aurangzeb's reign; for we find that one Abul Hasan held the office of Secretary to the Governor of Orissa and certain other appointments (in Bengal or Bihar) between 1655 and 1670.

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Tirhut, along with a petition claiming the amount of *russoom*[3] due from Sarkar Tirhut for a number of years until 1200 Fusli (when the office of Sadar Kanungo was abolished), and were forwarded by the Acting Collector to the Revenue Board, Calcutta, with his letter of the 13th June, 1800. True English translations made by Mr. Graham, which accompanied his letter, are as follows :

No. 1

In the name of God the Merciful and Compassionate—

(Signature of the King).
Firman of Abool Zuffer Mahomed
Moheeuddeen Alumgeer Badshah
Gazee Aurangzebe Bahadur
(In Tughra Character)

Royal Seal

At this time the sublime and propitious mandate has obtained the Honour of promulgation that we have bestowed, *pursuant to ancient custom*[4], with the exemption of Royal presents, theo ffice of Canoongoe of the whole of the Province of Behar, together with its sircars as particuarized on the back, on Dhurneedhur, Jugut Ram and Roop Ram, sons of Dhunraj and Laul Chund, heirs of Kerodhur. Let them perform the duties of that office as it becomes and behoves them, and not deviate in the least particle from the observance and practice of equity and justice, and keeping a watchful eye over their agents in the different sircars and mehauls of the said province, *let them transmit yearly as is usual to the exalted Register office genealogical lists of families, with accounts of the former* and *present state of the augmentations* and *decrease of population,* and having exerted themselves to the utmost as is incumbent on them, for the welfare of the Inhabitants and *encouragement of the lower ranks of the people, let them not attempt a single oppressive measure against them,* and *having satisfied and pleased the labouring farmers* by the mildness of their conduct let them not be overbearing or severe towards them ; and let them not expect or receive more than eight annas in the Hundred Rupees, exclusive of *Dustoor*[5] and *Nankar*[6] admitted by ancient privilege and let them consider the appointment and removal of their subordinate officers as vested entirely on themselves.

It is the duty of the Descendants of the illustrious of noble family, the Ministers of great respectability, the grandees of distinguished merit, the Lords of Dignity, the officers of extensive property, the

3. Rights or dues (customary payments).
4. The italics are ours.
5. Perquisite.
6. Rent-free land (The kanungos were generally given rent-free lands in addition to the customary remuneration which they received).

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Accountants of Dewanny affairs, the trustworthy in state matters, the Jagheerdars and Huzoories both now and hereafter and to all eternity that having endeavoured their utmost in attention and obedience to this sacred edict, and considered the above persons with their descendants from generation to generation, from heir to heir, for ever and in perpetuity, fixed and appointed to the office of Canongoe of the whole said province together with its sircars, they look upon them as preserved and shielded from all injury of dismission and charge and never depart from their weighty opinion, advice or correct council which shall at all times tend towards the increase of our Dignity and the *improvement of the condition of the peasantry*, and that they acknowledge the papers appertaining to that office as valid under the signature of the above persons, and of the other Canongoes that they deliver over to them whatever papers may concern them as is customary. Considering this as positive and peremptory let them not require a fresh edict or order yearly, nor deviate or depart from the mandate of Royal Bounty.

Date the 19th of Jecaud[7] in the 12th and first year of our Reign.

On the back of the farman is given the form of a memorandum, stated to have been issued " under date, Saturday the first of Showal in the 13th year of the fortunate accession or 1080 Hijiree corresponding with the holy month of Assoor (Azure)[8] during the administration of the careful of Royal prosperity, the trusty of exalted empire, the support of ministers of distinguished rank, the cream of noblemen of Elevated situation, the supreme of the lords of the kingdom and state..... .....the fortunate head of affairs of sovereignty Jafar Khaun,[9] and in the secretaryship of the humblest of the slaves of the throne, the asylum of the world, Khawjeh Enaetoolah." The gist of the farman also appears on the back, and the number of *mahals* in each of the eight sarkars of Bihar is mentioned, together with references to some letters written by some officers of the Government on the subject.

At the bottom on the back there are three seals : (*i*) of Jafar Khan bearing the date " 2nd of Mohurrum, 13th Jeloos ",[10] (*ii*) of Mooreedul Khalik Khan,[11] 13th Jeloos ; and (*iii*) of Mohan Doss, bearing the date " 1st of Mohurrum, 13th Jeloos."

7. Zilqad—name of an Arabic month.
8. Azure—Persian solar month corresponding to the Indian month of Paus (December—January).
9. Jafar Khan was Vizier of the empire during 1663-70.
10. Jalloos—accession.
11. Probably Qalich Khan, Sadr-us-Sadr.

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On the right and left side margins there are references to the despatch and arrival of copies of the farman at particular offices, with dates.

No. 2

The Royal signature
Firman of Aboo Mozuffer
Mohomed Jelaluddeen
Shah Alam Badshah Gazee
(In Tughra character)

Royal Seal.

At this happy time, the dignified and respectful Firman is issued that we have continued with the exeption of Peishcush, the office of Cannangoe of the whole of the Province of Bihar, together with its Sircars (which formerly was granted to the ancestors of Roy Bulwant Sing and Roy Purseed Ram, heirs of Kerodhur with a perquisite of 8 ans. in the hundred rupees for their support) to the above named persons according to custom. Let the above persons perform the duties of that office, as becomes and behoves them, and not deviate in the least particle from the observance and practice of equity and justice, ... and having exerted themselves to the utmost, as is incumbent on them for the welfare and colonization of the ryots, let them not attempt a single oppressive measure against them.

(Dated the 9th of Rajub in the 25th year of our Reign)
(On the back)

In the administration of the Repository of nobleness and generosity, the dignity of power and Dominion, the Elevation of the post of splendour and state, the exalted of the pleasure of Felicity and Grandeur, the support of sovereignty and command, the faithful of Majesty, the victorious ornament of the fields of Empire, the Joyful embellishment of the assemblies of delight, the inestimable mirror of truth and fidelity ; .....the pillar of His Majesty the King powerful as Sylaymann,[12] the Minister of the Empire,..... .....the prince of the country, Abooul Munsoor Khann Safdar Jung Soojaud Dowlah Aheea Khan Asafud dowlah Bahadur, the Lion of Battles, the trustworthy beloved Commander of the Forces, and the Roostum of Hind.

Seal of Roy 19th Rajub 25th Jeloosy.	Seal of Khajah Khan Cadree 18th Rajub 25th Jeloosy	Seal of Asaf-uddowlah Nawab with most of the titles recapitulated 25 Rajub, 25th Jeloosy

12. Perhaps stands for Suleman the Magnificent and not for Solomon.

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Some of the expressions used in farman I are very striking. It is to be noticed, in the first place, that the office of Kanungo was bestowed 'pursuant to ancient custom,' and that it continued in the same family 'from generation to generation, from heir to heir, for ever and in perpetuity.' Secondly the Kanungos were expected to be protected and shielded by the higher officers of Government, and were not to be dismissed from their station from which it is clear that they could be removed only by the appointing authority, that is, by the Emperor himself. What is more interesting to note is that they had to transmit yearly genealogical lists of families and accounts of the increase and decrease of population. That the keeping of statistics of population was a regular feature of the administration is evident from the words : 'as is usual.' The next point of interest in the document is the Mughal Government's attitude towards the lower ranks of the population. It is nothing surprising that Aurangzeb, who had during his viceroyalty of the Deccan evinced a genuine solicitude for the welfare of the peasantry, should stress this point in his farman. But the expression 'encouragement of the lower ranks of the people' is particularly worthy of notice. It appears that it was the policy of the State to keep the vast masses of the agricultural population contented, to win their good-will and support. And so the revenue officers were definitely instructed to be mild in their conduct towards them. The whole of the document breathes, as a matter of fact, the spirit of enlightened despotism. The words : 'colonization and encouragement of the Ryots' in farman 2 should not escape our notice ; for it is clear from these that the Mughal Government had to deal with the problem of colonization, and that it was the duty of the revenue officers to provide for the settlement of ryots who were rendered homeless and compelled to migrate from one place to another. Such movements of population, it may be noted, generally took place during severe famines and political invasions.[13] Lastly, the farmans are important because they contain the names of the eight Sarkars,[14] and of the mahals included in each, in Subah Bihar.

13. Even during the early period of British rule such movements of population were not uncommon. See in this connection my paper, "The Famine of 1783-84 and the Company's Relief Measures" published in the *Proceedings of Indian Historical Records Commission*, 1949.

14. The eight Sarkars were : Bihar—58 mahals ; Hajipur—11 mahals ; Tirhut—102 mahals ; Saran—18 mahals ; Champaran—3 mahals ; Shahabad—12 mahals ; Rohtas—7 hahals ; Monghyr—40 mahals.

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SADASHIV RAO IN ORISSA—1793-1803

Dr. Bhabani Charan Ray

Rajaram Pandit died in 1793. His son Sadashiv Rao had already acted as Naib Subahdar of Orissa. Thus he gathered administrative experience. Now the Raja of Nagpur sent Diwan Harivansa Ray with a sanad, a khelat and a string of pearl to invest him (Sadashiv Rao) with the viceroyalty of Orissa.[1]

He was quite friendly to the British like his father. Even though the British Residency at Balasore was abolished he on behalf of the Maratha Government was not prepared to put forth any claim on Barabati and the people within which was attached to British factory.[2]

He co-operated with the British in suppressing the questionable activities of some border Rajas. One of them was the Raja of Mayurbhanj. In 1795 one battalion belonging to the Company's army stationed at Midnapur mutinied. They refused to lay down their arms; they fired upon another battalion. Consequently the latter was obliged to dispose of them; some were killed; some taken prisoner; others fled. Some of them entered into the country of the Raja of Mayurbhanj. It was reported that 160 of the mutineers were maintained by the Raja; they received daily allowance of food from him. When the British asked him to deliver them to their hands, he did not listen to them. When Sadashiv Rao was requested by the British to take action against the Raja he at once wrote to the Raja to desist from giving any protection to the mutineers. He also ordered the faujdar of Balasore to make a full search after the rebellious sepoys and put them out of the limits of Mayurbhanj. Consequently the Raja ceased to indulge in those activities.[3]

Sadashiv Rao many times facilitated the march of British troops from Bengal to Madras. He assisted the march of one regiment under the command of Lt.-Col. Higgens passing from Bengal to Ganjam

1. *TPR, received*, No. 441, 2 September 1793; *Ibid.*, No. 443, 3 September 1793.
2. *Public Consultations*, No. 1, 10 August 1795, No. 1.
3. *TPR, received*, No. 431, 24 December 1795.

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through Orissa.[4] He also helped in crossing the rivers, supplied messengers and grains to the troops under the command of Col. Erskine.[5] When Captain Kirkpatrick proceeded from Bengal to Madras he instructed the Amils to provide bazar to his people.[6] He went to the extent of clearing some roads from the dangers of the tigers to facilitate the march of British troops.[7] Peter Spike, acting Governor-General-in-Council, Fort William, said that Sadashiv's " zeal is over-exemplary in carrying into execution the wishes of this Sirkar (British Government) with a view to improve system of union and harmony subsisting between us.[8]

The Maratha friendly attitude encouraged the British; they reorganised their postal system in Orissa in a better way than before. There was an increase of establishments from Calcutta to Jagannath. Additional Harkaras were appointed at Tappal stations.[9]

Sadashiv's friendly relation with the British did not stand in the way of his fighting for a just cause. He was ever prepared to protest against high-handed or unjust activities of the British Officers or Government if they went contrary to the legitimate interest of the Maratha Government or its people. When Divyasinha Deva II, the Raja of Khurda, died there was a contest for the occupation of the throne by two rivals; one was Mukunda Deva, son of Divyasinha Deva; the other was Shyam Sundar, second son of Birakishore Deva, hence the uncle of Mukunda Deva.[10]

During the lifetime of Divyasinha Deva, Shyam Sundar had resided at Cuttack. Soon after his death he fled to a zamindar in the Northern Sarkar. He could persuade a British Officer and could collect a body of men consisting of troops from the British battalion. He came as far as Chicacole. Then he proposed to proceed to Khurda to seize the throne from his rival. Sadashiv Rao vehemently protested against the British help to Shyam Sundar. The Bengal Government was repeatedly asked to take action so that the fugitive would receive no assistance to create disturbance in the Maratha country. Consequently Shyam Sundar's plan failed. Mukunda Deva had no trouble from his rival.[11]

4. *TPR, written*, No. 48, 1 February 1799.
5. *Ibid*, No. 225, 11 December 1795.
6. *TPR*, received, No. 119, 31 December 1793.
7. *TPR, written*, No. 10, 10 January 1797.
8. *TPR, written*, No. 48, 1 February 1799.
9. *Public Consultations*, No. 32, 28 July 1794.
10. *TPR, received*, No. 398, 6 September 1798.
11. *Ibid.*

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On another occasion Sadashiv's people with a quantity of treasure were proceeding to Murshidabad as they used to do previously. The British Officers stationed at Jaleswar suspected them without sufficient reason. They did not allow them to pass. They obtained an order from the Magistrate of Midnapur and detained them with the treasure. When Sadashiv Rao understood this he complained against the improper and unfriendly behaviour of the British Public officers. He demanded the release of the persons with the treasure. As a result, the British released them with the treasure.[12]

On third occasion he wrote strongly to the British Government to recover some treasure from a person to be handed over to Sri Ram Das, a Mahant of a Math at Puri. That Mahant appointed Brindaban Das to collect offerings made to the god Jagannath. Brindaban Das died there, but the money and property offered to the god Jagannath under his charge were left in possession of Keshu Potdar, an inhabitant of Calcutta. As he was not prepared to surrender them, Sadashiv Rao wrote to the British to direct the proper officers to recover the money and property offered to the god from Keshu Potdar and transmit them through Sadhu Charan Das Vishnu on the part of that Mahant to Purusottam Chhattar.[13]

On the fourth occasion Sadashiv Rao wrote to the British for the release of Ramanand Bhuyan. Ramanand Bhuyan was the zamindar of Jamukonda in Maratha territory. British vessels were driven by the stress of the weather into the Jamukonda river. Ramananda Bhuyan plundered them. The British Government protested against the wickedness of Ramanand Bhuyan before the Maratha Government. Maratha Government assured the British to take necessary action against Ramanand Bhuyan. Meanwhile Ramanand Bhuyan went to Gopi Ballavpur for the purpose of visiting Sri Govind Ji. He was seized there and carried to Midnapur by the British police.[14] Sadashiv Rao wrote to the British that the imprisonment of Ramanand Bhuyan by the British officer was improper, as such duty fell upon the Maratha Government. Moreover, the property plundered from the British vessels had already been recovered. In view of this the British should set him free. He repeatedly pointed out the British mistake and ultimately secured the release of Ramanand Bhuyan from the hands of the British.[15]

12. *Public Consultations*, No. 15, 31 August, 1795; *TPR. received*, No. 261, 30 July 1795; *TPR. written*, No. 152, 13 August 1795.

13. *TPR. received*, No. 153, 4 March 1794; *TPR. received*, No. 154, 4 March 1794.

14. *TPR. received*, No. 136, 7 May 1802.

15. *TPR. written*, No. 77, 6 September 1802; *T.P.R. received*, No. 11. 13 January 1803; *Bengal Secret and Political Consultations* No. 41, 29 December 1803. Letter dated 4 November 1803; *Bengal Secret and Political Consultations*, No. 42. 29 December 1803. Letter dated 17 November 1803.

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During his administration Sadashiv Rao many times complained against the oppression of the Zamindars in British territory over the rayats in Maratha territory. Particularly the zamindar of Kudai, a pargana in British territory, was often oppressing the rayats of Pataspur, a pargana in Maratha territory. He occasionally took bonds from them, asking them not to cultivate the lands to which they were accustomed from time immemorial. He asked his people to build an embankment in the environ of Kahnupur belonging to Pataspur contrary to the past custom. Sadashiv Rao vehemently objected to these oppressions and asked the British Government to take measures against the wickedness of the zamindars in British territory.[16]

Sadashiv Rao was particular to see that the revenue was collected punctually. The Raja of Khurda was vont to delay the payment of revenue to the Maratha Government. As a remedy to this he secured the services of an Amil from Nagpur to enforce the punctual payment of revenue.[17]

In the month of February 1798 Sadashiv Rao set out from Cuttack in order to pay respect to Raghuji Bhonsla. He delivered the charge of his office to his brother Nilakanth Rao.[18] It appears that after his return from Nagpur he continued to take charge of his office upto 1803. In 1803 Ekaji Shukdeo, perhaps same as Vyakoji Shukdeo, was acting as his deputy during his absence.[19] Balaji Kunhar was the commandant of the forces. By the time Orissa was occupied by the British, Sadashiv Rao had been absent and Ekaji Shukdeo had left the country.[20]

16. *TPR. received*, No. 202, 28 July 1802; *TPR. received*, No. 203, 28 July 1802.
17. *TPR. received*, No. 398, 6 September 1798.
18. *TPR. received*, No. 185, 24 April 1798.
19. *TPR. received*, No. 97, 18 May 1803 ; No. 99, 18 May 1803.
20. *Bengal Secret and Political Consultations*, No. 53, 21 June 1804, Enclo. 24 March 1804, M. S. Elphinstone.

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THE KOL RISING OF CHOTANAGPUR (1831-33)—ITS CAUSES

SHRI JAGDISH CHANDRA JHA

THE rising of the Kols in 1831-33 has been described in various ways by different writers. O'Malley[1] calls it the 'Kol Rebellion' in which the Mundas and the Oraons 'rose en masse'[2] and were joined by the Hos, the Cheros and the Kharwars. On the other hand, Bradley Birt[3] refers to it as 'the Kol Mutiny'. Moreover, Kalipada Mitra[4] has catalogued the events connected with the disturbances of the Kols from 1819 to 1839 under the title 'Insurrection of the Coles'. Mr. J. Reid also gives the same title to this explosion[5]. But in spite of this variety of titles, there is no grain of doubt that it was a 'formidable rising'[6] of the aborigines called ' 'the Kols' 'who became restive and reverted to their old practices of resistance and pillage'[7].

For a proper understanding of the factor which led to this serious challenge to authority, it is necessary to analyse the nature of the 'Adivasis' who took part in this great rising and their reactions to the establishment of regular authority. According to E. T. Dalton,[8] 'more than half of the people of Chotanagpur were known by the name of 'Kol' which included many tribes (e.g. the Mundas, the Oraons, Hos, Bhumij and others)'. They were simple but inflammable people and they belonged to a manly race. They were courageous, but intemperate and were not used to subordination and alien domination. As such they violently reacted to the advent of the British rule with the regulations of Bengal Code which had been unwisely imposed on this undeveloped and unwieldy tract. Moreover, since the introduction of

1. In the *Bengal District Gazetteer* (Singhbhum, Seraikela and Kharsawan), p. 35.

2. L. S. S. O'Malley *History, of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa under British rule* (Calcutta, 1925), p. 689.

3. F. B. Bradley Birt, *Chotanagpur, a little known province of the Empire* (London, 1903), p. 92.

4. "Insurrection of the Koles in Chotanagpur," *BPP*, 1942, p. 72.

5. J. Reid, *Final Report on the Survey and settlement operations in the district of Ranchi*, 1902-1910 (Calcutta, 1912), p. 22.

6. P. C. Roy Choudhury, *Hazaribagh old Records*, 1761-1878 (Patna, 1957).

7. "The 'Kols' of Chotanagpur," *JASB*, vol. XXXV, pt. II, 1865.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 154.

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the police system by the British and the appointment of the first 'Political Agent to Government in South Bihar and the recently ceded districts adjacent to that province' in 1819, the outsiders had been pouring in Chotanagpur as police darogas, court amlas and 'abkari' farmers, who did not have the slightest knowledge of the language, customs and the sentiments of these people. Consequently they used tricks and fraudulent methods to exploit these simple aborigines. Soon the British rule became distasteful to them and the so-called civilizing influences of the foreigners enraged them. Thus there was smouldering discontent among the aborigines in the whole of Chotanagpur plateau against the infiltration of the foreigners. The consolidation of the British rule in this area 'had resulted not only in the political dependence and social degradation of a manly race as the children of the soils of Chotanagpur were, but had actually been threatening them with total economic ruin.'[9] Therefore the Kols decided to take revenge upon the foreigners at large and 'as the insurrection advanced, the people of the rude tribe of the Coles, who were the natives of the country, and formed the great mass of the population, rose up on the Hindoos, Mahomedans, and other foreigners, who were settled in their villages engaged in commercial, or agricultural pursuits, drove them almost universally from their homes and property, which were burnt or plundered and sacrificed numbers of those who fell into their hands, to their excited passions, of revenge and hatred."[10] This movement spread from the present district of Ranchi to Singhbhum, Manbhum, Hazaribagh and Palamau.

While analysing the causes of this universal rising of the Coles[11] Wilkinson and Cuthbert, the Joint Commissioners of 1832, throw a flood of light on the state of lawlessness in this region. They say that the early petitions (Urzees) and reports about the disturbances did not state the reasons. But the following two statements[12] are revealing. The first is of Sooee Munda as narrated by Bahadoor Dubhasea and runs thus, " I gave a Tola of Gold to Luttie Cole of Roomang of Sonepore, in exchange for which he agreed to give me a pair of buffaloes during three years. I applied to him several times for them in vain, for which reason I carried off a pair of his buffaloes. For this I was considered a thief by Mohamad Ally, Naick of Roomang, who took from me the buffaloes, and tied and took me to his house. The next day he suspended me from a tree by a rope tied to my hair and subsequently cut me down, when by the fall one of my toes of my left foot

9. K. K. Datta, *Unrest against British rule in Bihar*, 1831-1859, p. 12.
10. *Vide* 'Sketch of the Rise and Progress of the Anglo-Indian Empire. in The Bengal and Agra-Annual Guide and Gazetteer of 1841, vol. II, p. 35.
11. The letter of Wilkinson and Cuthbert of the 12 February, 1832.
12. *Ibid.*

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was broken. I was kept in the stocks five days suffering great torture, and only obtained my release on giving a bullock and buffaloe... (when the Porahat Raja was informed), in place of paying attention to my petition they fined me five Rupees." The second statement is of Bindra Manki as narrated by the same Dubhasea and is as follows :—" I borrowed a pair of old baffaloes from Birju Bania of the Sonepore pergunnah. This man came to my house accompanied by 60 men and took from me six cows, and calves and four buffaloes, seized both my brother Singrae and myself and took us to his house. We succeeded in effecting our escape, but my cattle were not released. I complained to Koomkera Singh, Raja of Bandgaon, of the Bania's treatment of us. He listened to me and gave me 35 men for my protection with whom I went to Surgaon, where not finding the Bania, we seized two men and a pair of bullocks which we took to the Raja. For this an inhabitant of Surgaon, named Singh, preferred a complaint against me at Sherghati. My brother Singrae and self and Bahadur Cole were seized by the Chuckerdurpoor Moonshee and Jamadar.....After remaining confined in the stocks for fifteen days, and suffering great pain, we escaped. When our flight was discovered the Moonshee and Jamadar carried off my two wives. They released the older who was pregnant, but the other who was young was detained, and ravished by the Moonshee and two of his Mussalman peons ; they also thrust a stick into her private parts. The Singh of Surgaon has besides taken away two of my sisters by force, who are still in his house.....when we told the Rajah our grievances we returned home. We four were subsequently sent for by Krishna Dewan, who told us that as we were Coles, we might do as we pleased, but be careful not to involve Rajah Achet Singh in my difficulties by our conduct. We returned home, invited all the Koles, our brethern and castes to assemble at the village Lunkah in Tamar, where we had a consultation. The Pathans had taken our honour and the Singh our sisters and the Kuar, Harnath Sahi, had forcibly deprived us of our estate of twelve villages which he had given to the Singh."[13] These statements prove beyond doubt that the changes of Government which had taken place were not beneficial to the Kols. They were neglected by their new masters, oppressed by aliens, and deprived of the means they formerly possessed of obtaining redress through their own chief."[14] " It often happened that the unfortunate Kol who with difficulty made his way to the far-off station of Chatra or Sherghati found the tables turned on him when he got there. A host of witnesses in the pay of the opposite party were already on the spot, prepared to prove that he had not only no rights in the land but was a turbulent rebel besides."[15]

13. *Ibid.*, pp. 103-105.

14. Hunter, *Statistical Accounts of Bengal* (Lohardagga), p. 350.

15. Quoted in T. S. Macpherson and M. G. Hallett, *Bihar and Orissa District Gazetteers*, Ranchi (Patna, 1917), p. 32.

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As such the Kols became desperate and decided upon a vandetta. This is clear from the following statement of Bindra. "It was agreed upon that we should commence to cut, plunder, murder and eat. We said, if any were hanged it would be us four, if any put in irons, we should be the four. We four should be answerable, and if the gentlemen sent for any it would be us, who were ready to attend and submit to whatever might be the sentence. It is with this resolution that we have been murdering and plundering those who have deprived us of both honour and homes, conceiving that by committing such outrages our grievances would come to light and if we had any master, notice would be taken of them and justice rendered."[16]

This was of course the immediate cause of the rising. But there were many other underlying causes. According to Mr. Dent[17] the dissensions in the family of zemindars of Dhalbhum and Burabhum due to disputes regarding succession and inheritance and the disputes regarding revenue matters arising between Zemindars and the dependant Talookdars and other powerful tenants largely accounted for the origin of these disturbances. As he writes, 'to the dissensions in the Raja's family and the general enhancement of the rents and forced contributions from the Ghatwals.....must be added the vigorous severity with which Madhub Singh appears to have enforced his private claims.'[18] Moreover, the Dewans and other officials oppressed the people. This is clear from this extract from the report of Dent: "The particular temperament of these tribes and the tenures on which they hold their lands are such as not to permit them to sit easy under the deprivation of their estates, as far as the rents of those estates which are usually very low, they are ready to pay subsidies under whatever name they may be collected to defray the expense of any unusual festivities in the Rajah's family, or for a horse, an elephant or anything else which may add to the appearance and degnity of their Lord or Master, but they do not understand why the demand for excessive and successive subsidies should be made and a failure to answer the demand be followed by sequestration of the lands which have always been considered their hereditary property."[19]

Mr. Dent has also referred to the various abuses and forms of exploitation of the backward inhabitants of Dalbhum. The price of salt and the abuse of the monopoly of its sale led to a serious grievance of the people. There were various forms of bribery and corruption in the

16. Concluding portion of the statement of Bindra Manki as quoted in the letter of Cuthbert and Wilkinson of 12th February, 1832.

17. Dent, *Report on the disturbances of* 1832-33 *to the Secretary to Government*, p. 156.

18. *Ibid.*, 4th September, 1833.

19. *Ibid.*, pp. 182-83, para 56.

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affairs of the abkaree (Excise) and the Beer Thakur, while collecting alwwabs, had introduced many types of Salamees and Dustoorees (forms of illegal gratification). Naturally the ryots were so much irritated that they took active part in the disturbances. Besides these, 'the practice of holding the estates liable to sale for arrears of Revenue and also for debts' was very much disliked.[20] The 'sale of ancestral holding for debt was particularly objected to as something entirely opposed to the custom of the aboriginal tenantry. Nor were indebtedness and its consequences confined to the tenantry, but.....all the Zamindars, the members of their families holding maintenance or other grants, the Sardar Ghatwals, and the bigger intermediate holders generally were in embarrassed circumstances. General improvidence seems to have been the order of the day, and much of the land had already at this time passed more or less permanently to money lending outsiders.[21] Thus all those who were dissatisfied with this state of affairs joined Ganga Narayan Singh when he revolted to establish to claim to the Barabhum estate. They had no interest in the family feud of Gangaarayan, but they certainly hoped that the success of the outbreak would lead to the wiping out of the burdensome debt.

But Barabhum in Manbhum was not the only scene of oppression and lawlessness. Harnath Sahi, the Kuar of Gobindpur, had been depriving for some years past all the mankis of Sonepur of their hereditary estates and they were being given to others on leases. This is corroborated by the statement of Ghossie Manjia before the Nazir of the court of Sherghatty on the 4th of January, 1832[22]. This was also supported by Shaick Deena, an Intelligence Hurkurrah in the agency Establishment, and Bhyroo Singh (Bhairo Singh), a Jemadar of the Intelligence Department[23]. One Byjiwnauth manki also stated[24] to the magistrate at Sherghatty in the presence of the Commissioner Lambert thus: 'The mankis of the villages.....consulted together, and determined that as the foreigners had forcibly deprived them of their villages, disgraced them by violating the women, they would assemble together to be revenged.'

We have it from the report of the Joint Commissioners, Messrs. Dent and Wilkinson[25] that the '*thiccadars* had rendered themselves obnoxious not only to the mankis but to the cultivators. They would not permit the former to have even the fruit of trees which themselves

20. *Ibid.*, p. 185, para 62.
21. H. Coupland, *Bengal District Gazetteers*, Manbhum (Calcutta, 1911), p. 64.
22. *Vide* the letter of W. Wilkinson and Cuthbert, Joint Commissioners, 12th February, 1832.
23. *Ibid.*
24. *Ibid.*
25. Quoted in Reid, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

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and their forefathers had planted, and, having only a temporary interest in the land, they naturally raised from it the highest possible rents." Therefore the Kols decided to get rid of the thiccadars and other intermediaries. Moreover, the Joint Commissioners have mentioned the following. The Kols throughout Nagpur had within the last few years had their rents increased by their *elaqadars*, *Zamindars* and *thiccadars* 35 per cent.....They had made the roads throughout the parganas without payment, as beggaries (forced labour). The *mahajans* who had advanced money and grain managed within a twelve month to get from them 70 per cent, and sometimes more. They disliked the tax upon liquor, which was fixed at four annas per house, but more than that amount was levied very generally, besides a rupee salami on almost every village and a *Khasi* or goat.'[26] Other sources of dissatisfaction and irritation were the cultivation of poppy, the *thana* establishment and the forced payment for *Dak* establishment. 'Many of the Kols had executed *Sewakpattas*, that is had sold their services till the debt was discharged, which was in fact binding themselves to give their whole earnings to their creditor, receiving from him food and clothing, or to work for him exclusively, thus becoming his bondmen for life.'[27] The exactions of the Darogas and other amlas of the thana were no less pinching. And all those who perpetrated oppressions on the 'Adivasis' became the victims of their wrath.

Thus the Kol rising of 1831-33 was the result of a number of factors. Of course some of the Rajas and scions of big families (*e.g.* Raja Achet Singh and his Dewan in Singhbhum, Ganganarain in Barabhum) and some chiefs (of Palaman) took the lead, but in essence it was an outbreak of the general masses. It may be said that the explosion of the Kols, 'though no doubt only the bursting forth of a fire that had long been smouldering'[28] had certain unfortunate incidents as its immediate cause. But there is not even a shadow of doubt that discontent against the agrarian system, debt laws and the new judicial and revenue regulations (*e.g.* excise duties, tributary payments) etc., which seemed to be galling to the Zamindars as well as to the ryots, occasioned this furious rising of the Kols. However, it must be admitted that the fire was fanned by 'the influx of hordes of middlemen'.[29] In fact, the Kols were disgusted with the evils of civilized life and they wanted to go back to the State of nature. As Thorton[30] points out, 'the disturbances

26. *Ibid.*
27. *Ibid.*
28. Hunter, *op. cit.*, p. 41.
29. Reid, *op. cit.*, p. 34.
30. Edward Thornton, *The History of the British Empire in India* (London, 1843), vol. V, p. 202.

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themselves would scarcely deserve notice, were it not that they afford additional evidence of the constant tendency of the wilder portion of the subjects of the British Government in India to break loose from the restraints of law and order, and to return to a state where the hand of every man is against his neighbour.' Anyway, we must agree with Reid[31] that this rising made the Government aware of 'the necessity of radical reforms in the administration and after the suppression of the revolt the Regulations were withdrawn and every cause of discontent of the 'Adivasis' was sought to be removed by the reforms in administrative, judicial, police revenue and debt laws and restrictions were imposed on transfer or mortgage of landed property to avoid fraud by middlemen.

31. Reid, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

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GROUNDS FOR DIFFERENCES BETWEEN MALCOLM AND BENTINCK

Shri V. N. Datta

In considering the policy of the Company administration, one should remember that individual administrators often reflected divergent trends of political thought, characteristic of various groupings in English political life.

In one of those letters to Thomas Ellis Flower which are not reproduced in full by G. O. Trevelyan in his Life of Macaulay, Macaulay wrote that he would not like to be as great an egotist as John Malcolm.[1] Macaulay may not be regarded as a real judge of character but Malcolm's letters to his patron, the Duke of Wellington,[2] his brother, Sir Pulteney Malcolm[3] and to his wife[4] seem to reveal clearly that he was not only an egotist but also very ambitions. He asked Metcalfe what were his ambitions![5] He thought even of assuming not before long the office of Governor-Generalship.[6] And presumably because he thought too often about his share of promotions which could not be ensured due to conditioning circumstances, naturally he suffered moods of depression and thought very often of leaving India for his home, the kind of nostalgic feeling which comes as a result of unrealised hopes specially for a man removed thousands of miles from his country.

When Mountsuart Elphinstone was offered the Governorship of Bombay in 1819, Malcolm thought that he had been juggled out due to Canning's attitude. Malcolm did not realise that Canning, as President of the Board of Control, had himself put Malcolm's name at the head of the three names which had been submitted for considerations of appointment to the Court of Directors.[7] The explanation as to why Malcolm was superseded by the Court was that he being a soldier could not be

1. *Correspondence of Lord Macaulay*, 0.15.124, 17 October 1831.
2. Kaye, *Life and Correspondence of Major-General Sir John Malcolm*, vol. II, pp. 463-66.
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 301-2.
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 314-15.
5. Thompson, *The Life of Charles, Lord Metcalfe*, p. 55.
6. Kaye *op. cit.*, pp. 474, 479.
7. C. H. Philips, *The East India Company*, p. 222.

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considered for the office of a Governor.[8] Though disappointed Malcolm never lost heart, congratulated Mountsuart Elphinstone on his appointment as Governor of Bombay and set his eyes on the acquisition of the Lieutenant-Governorship of Central India, the territory which had seized his imagination and was very dear to his heart. He had the same feeling towards Central India which Metcalfe had towards Delhi but even on this, though correspondence continued between Hastings and Malcolm, nothing seems to have been decided due to the Home Government's view which was not in favour of erecting separate, independent States as divorced from Presidencies. As a compensation, Malcolm was invested with the insignia of the Grand Cross.[9] In the meanwhile, the Governorship of Madras fell vacant and the appointment of Munro, otherwise welcome to Malcolm as he had the highest regard for Munro seemed to shock him because he had again been deprived of his legitimate recognition and this time the explanation offered by the Home authorities was that he was a Company's servant and that Madras was the exclusive monopoly of King's servants. The rivalry between civil and military candidates was one of the common features even of daily life when some of the distinguished military commanders seemed to look down upon the civilians as a whole damned lot.[10] These disappointments drove Malcolm to reflections and he began to think as if he had been duped and that he had paid a big price for his connections with Wellesley and the Duke of Wellington, the Political History of India, the undervaluing of Lord Teignmouth's policy, his evidence before the House of Lords in regarding the degree of over-zeal in propagating Christianity in India and his relations with Charles Grant who was a man of consequence from whom he could look for nothing but opposition.[11] But when Munro resigned on grounds of health, the Duke of Wellington advised him not to stand for election as the Court objected to a soldier being a civil Governor, and to the son-in-law being the Governor where the father-in-law was Commander-in-Chief.[12] Malcolm stood for election and the reason for the support from the Court of Directors was that they were anxious to fling Malcolm against the Government candidate, a move which in itself involved the question of power and patronage. It comes as a surprise, that contrary even to the expectations of the Duke of Wellington, Malcolm was offered the Governorship of Bombay, though the question of Central India was still not settled. In spite of the preliminary enquiries made of Malcolm and the answers that he gave, he seems to have had the impression[13] that Central India would be placed under him not in his capacity as Governor but

8. Kaye, *op. cit.*, p. 306.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 320.
10. Edward Thompson, *op. cit.*, p. 50.
11. Kaye, *op. cit.*, p. 331.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 460.
13. *Ibid.*, pp. 483-86.

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as the man who worked for its creation and development. It sounds somewhat curious that just before his appointment as a Governor by Wynn, Malcolm was thinking of becoming a Director of the East India Company,[14] though his candid and sincere friend, the Duke of Wellington, desired him to rest content with his pension.

When Malcolm reached India for the fourth time on 26th October, 1827, he set his mind again on Central India and desired this territory to be annexed to his Governorship and logically enough he entered into correspondence with Bentinck. Now here were two men holding different views on Indian problems. Munro had died, Elphinstone had left for England and Malcolm was the last of the Big Three who seem to exercise some kind of historical sympathy towards native institutions. Munro and Malcolm, not Elphinstone to that extent, were philosophical conservatives who valued tradition and thought it highly intemperate to stand for new-fangled theories and innovations.[15] Conserve the past as far as it is desirable and go slow with changes were principles which they seemed to have imbibed from Burke and 18th century thinkers generally. Experience and not zeal was the safest guide in the making of the British policy in India.[16] It is common to bracket Munro and Malcolm with Elphinstone without realising that Munro and Malcolm shared a common way of judgment on Education, social policy and native institutions but Elphinstone, while exercising imaginative sympathy towards things Indian, had added something vital and substantial, new ideas and new ways. Elphinstone studied Bentham[17] and became somewhat his great admirer and propagator and the plausible reason why he could not go to all lengths in accepting Bentham's theories of legislation and government was that he had stayed in India for too long and did not catch the atmospheric pressures which were showing their influence in India House, London and Calcutta. Malcolm was the last strong type to reckon with and though Metcalfe had gone a little ahead in his zeal for reform and changes, Malcolm stuck to his earlier views which came into conflict with Bentinck who had arrived in India with convictions of making Benthamism the spirit of his government.

As Governor of Bombay, Malcolm was anxious to retain Central India but he learnt that the project of employing him in Central India[18] was likely to be abandoned on grounds of economy and policy which

14. *Ibid.*, p. 437.
15. Gleig, *Sir Thomas Munro*, vol. II, p. 250. See also Munro's Minute of 31 December, 1824, which was regarded as ' wise, eloquent, statesman-like paper. " See *Lord Ellenborough's Political Diary*, vol. I, p. 246.
16. Malcolm, ' *A Memoir of Central India*. vol. II, pp. 298-300.
17. T. E. Colebrooke, *Life of the Hon'ble Mountsuart Elphinstone*, vol. II, pp. 45, 45-48, 51, 115.
18. *Bentinck MSS.* Bentinck to Wynn, 19th April 1828.

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infuriated him and he attacked unsparingly the Bengal authorities : 'Divide and rule is the maxim of these office men as it is of many others. They have large and concentrated authority and unitl the system is changed, every Governor-General must be, to a certain extent and govern India much, though perhaps unconsciously influenced by the feeling and prejudices of that Presidency to which he more particularly belongs.'[19] Malcolm thought Lord Wellesley to be the only notable exception who ever over-leapt this boundary.[20] Wellesley not only visited other countries but called around him those he thought possessed most knowledge from any Presidency in India.[21] Malcolm hoped that Lord William Bentinck would do something similar and not be biased in favour of his Presidency.[22] On native agency, Malcolm shared Munro's sentiments and believed that in their employment to the office of responsibility, due recognition must be given to the rights of natives. He felt that there might be some hazard in their admission but there was much more in their exclusion.[23] As education and employment were interconnected, Malcolm laid down that schools and colleges, should be 'shut up forthwith unless we mean to give more scope for the lessons and knowledge we are imparting.' At the same time, political considerations weighed with him and that is why he desired the process of employment to be gradual.[24] In no case, ought the natives be excluded though Princes and Chieftains, with their historic past behind them, were legally ordained to rule over their subjects. Actually what position these 'higher and more respectable classes' should occupy is not worked out in details in the writings of Malcolm but what is clear beyond doubt is the continuity of their sacred position of which the British authorities should take cognisance. Here the main emphasis of Malcolm is on the retention of the rights and privileges of the 'Princes and Chieftains whom we find existing over the lands ruled by their forefathers.'[25] Malcolm had the Burkean respect for the historical continuity of antique forms and institutions.' Again, like Burke, he had infinite appreciation for 'fallen greatness', though he did believe in sharing the 'aristocracy of office with the natives of India' and encouraging 'cultivators to become proprietors.'[26] Malcolm lamented over the 'degeneracy of the higher classes in India' and pointed out more than once how 'the levelling system' of the British has depressed them into a useless and discontented class.[27] It was said that the Princes and Chieftains had ceased to be the wonder

19. *Ibid.*
20. *Ibid.*
21. *Ibid.*
22. *Ibid.*
23. *Ibid.*
24. *Bentinck MSS.* Malcolm's Minutes, 4 September. 1829.
25. *Ibid.* Bentinck to Charles Wynn, 9 April 1828.
26. *Ibid.*
27. *Ibid.*, Malcolm's Minute, 4 September 1829.

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they were and Malcolm warned the authorities that ' by our neglect in conciliating and harming the higher and more respectable classes of our native subjects we cast away one of the most powerful means we possess of promoting the prosperity and permanency of the Empire. '[28]

In his private letters to Auber, Astel, Ravenshaw and even Metcalfe, Bentinck showed his anxiety to share positions with responsibility with Indians. ' Native Agency cherished and well paid is the sole mode by which our administration can be effectively improved, '[29] wrote Bentinck in his letter to Auber. In his letter to Malcolm, Bentinck realises that Malcolm seemed to have given exaggerated importance to Central India which ' did not offer at present the field of great useful service which your description holds forth.'[30] Furthermore, in the same letter Bentinck added that the principles and maxims which Malcolm had evolved could be applied to ' our western provinces where the field is really great. '[31] As a man of utility, Bentinck could not have any sympathy with traditional rulers and in his letter to Malcolm, Bentinck stated clearly and firmly, ' I am not disposed to feel much respect for these Rajput Chieftains—they are like your old high-land clans, brave plunderers with all the weaknesses, conceit and variety of Asiatic Communities. '[32] In regard to the annexation of Central India to Bombay, Bentinck was not to be influenced by Malcolm's friendly connections with the Duke of Wellington and Ellenborough. Bentinck declared firmly like a man of action as he was in a letter to Malcolm that ' you shall have from me a clean stage, fair play and no favour. I have nothing to do with the promises made to you from home.'[33]

The gulf between Bentinck and Malcolm was more marked. Malcolm had a deep faith in tradition, in the wisdom of the past, in established things and ways. Bentinck was a simple, though confirmed, Westerner, a man of utility, admirer of James Mill, a friend of Bentham and who became subsequently a staunch supporter of Gray's Ministry, keen on the re-shaping of society by applying new ideas to things antique. Malcolm's conflict with Bentinck simplifies a conflict between two ideologies ; one based on tradition and sentiment, the other on reason and reforms. While in one case, the object was to improve so long as it would not interfere, in the other case, the consistent desire was to improve wherever necessary, whatever be the consequences. The first attitude reflects slowness in gauging a situation, the other shows impulsiveness.

28. *Bentinck MSS.* Malcom's Minutes, 4 September 1829. Seeal so *Hansard* 1818, vol. XXV, p. 568. Malcolm refers to the " finest qualities of the Rajputs. "
29. *Bentinck MSS.* Bentinck to Auber, 11 May 1832.
30. *Ibid.*, Bentinck to Malcolm, 26 August 1828.
31. *Ibid.*
32. *Ibid.*
33. *Ibid.*

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As for the perpetuation of the British rule and the progress of its subjects, Malcolm seemed to rely on the ability and competence of traditional rulers, though he did not exclude the employment of common people, especially the peasants; but Bentinck seemed to see a new generation in the making for the regeneration of Indian society. Again, Malcolm lamented over the degeneracy of the higher classes and their disappearance. Bentinck welcomed the rise of the new youth, curious and enthusiastic, who 'displayed proficiency in English literature and are said to dissect animals and particularly to handle the bones of human skeleton '.[34] with the aim to 'regenerate this degraded population.'[35] Besides, 'civilization alone interests me,'[36] reflects the utilitarian devotion to the welfare of human society in clear and precise terms and the conservative and traditional outlook which seemed to have influenced minds since the days of Burke was losing its force in matters political due to the gowth of new ideas based on the Benthamite theories of utility and legislation.

34. *Bentinck MSS.* Dissent, against letter to Supreme Government authorising European British Subjects to hold land in India on a lease of 21 years.

35. *Ibid.*, Bentinck to Lord Grenville, 15 December 1831.

36. *Ibid.*, Bentinck to Metcalfe, 17 July 1831.

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KISHANGARH SUCCESSION, 1841

Dr. Hira Lal Gupta

In the process of the evolution of paramountcy, the right of adoption in the matters of succession came up for discussion whenever a protected prince or a dependent ruler had no lineal descendant. This question cropped up either during the lifetime of a ruling prince or after his death. The correspondence between the Residents or Political Agents and the Governors-General from 1818 to 1856 is replete with various aspects and phases of adoption and their recognition by the Paramount Power. One of the important points that emerged on the death of a ruler without making a provision for succession to his *gaddi* was whether his widow should be allowed the right of adoption. The issue of succession to the Rajput state of Kishangarh in 1841 was an instance of this kind which brought to light the usages that prevailed among the Rajput ruling families of Rajasthan.

Maharaja Mohkam Singh of Kishangarh died of cholera unexpectedly on the morning of 17th May, 1841 without any issue and even without making an adoption.[1] He left behind only a widow and no one else in his family. Lt.-Col. J. Sutherland, Agent to the Governor-General for the states of Rajputana, reported that the nearest kins to the Maharaja were the chiefs of Fatehgarh and Ralaota who were the scions of the senior and junior branches of the ancestors of the ruling house of Kishangarh. Of these two, the former, whose claims were much superior to those of the latter, had a bitter enmity with the reigning family of Kishangarh probably because of its pronounced pretensions to the heirship of the state.[2] This hostility had once occasioned the abdication of Maharaja Kalian Singh in the past and it was chiefly owing to the same cause that the short reign of the late Maharaja was full of troubles and contentions in which some chiefs of his state had played prominent roles.[3] Lieutenant Macnaghten told the Political Agent that when the late Maharaja was on his death-bed he named the Ralaota chief as his

1. A letter from Lt.-Coll. J. Sutherland, Agent to the Governor-General for the states of Rajputana, to T. H. Maddock, Secretary to the Government of India, 21 May 1841.
2. *Ibid.*
3. *Ibid.*

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successor, as he was not favourably inclined towards the Fatehgarh chief.[4] He, therefore, concluded that the ministers and officers of the state might be opposed to the pretensions of the chief of Fatehgarh and might range themselves against him if he advanced his claims. A swinge in his favour or against him by the chiefs of Kishangarh would be swayed by mundane self-interest.[5] In the past also some such complication and trouble had arisen. The son of the late chief of Fatehgarh, about 40 to 50 years of age, had once gone to Calcutta to present the pretensions of his house to the *gaddi* of Kishangarh before Lord Amherst and to seek his support for his family. In the new contingency Sutherland felt that the obvious British interest lay in supporting 'the next heir'.[6] With these remarks he asked for instructions from the Governor-General for his guidance in case of a dispute for succession.

The Governor-General-in-Council did not feel competent to give a categorical decision on the issue as the information in his possession respecting the claims of the probable candidates to the throne of Kishangarh was inadquate and imperfect.[7] However, he stated that if the claims of the Fatehgarh family as next of kin appeared to the Political Agent to be indisputable and superior to those of any other claimant, he would naturally agree with him to support that candidate by formal acknowledgment of his right.[8] Having given this conditional opinion on the issue he asked the Political Agent to state his views whether it would be proper to demand a *nazrana* from the new Maharaja on the occasion of his succession and what would be its value considering the revenues of the state.[9]

About a month after the death of the Maharaja, Sutherland learnt from the *vakil* of that principality and also from other sources that the widow Maharani, being a daughter of the eldest son of the late Maharana Bhim Singh of Udaipur, adopted Sultan Singh, the fifth and the youngest son of the late Maharana, aged three and a half years.[10] This adoption was opposed by the Fatehgarh family, the descendants of the senior branch of Maharana Bagh Singh of Udaipur, as the adopted son descended from the junior branch of the same family.[11] In spite of this opposition, the young boy was placed on the *gaddi* as Maharaja Prithvi Singh, and two *kharitas* were sent in his name to the Political Agent, the one condoling the death of the late Maharaja and the other announcing his accession.

4. *Ibid.*
5. *Ibid.*
6. *Ibid.*
7. A letter from Maddock to Sutherland, 14 June 1841; Extract from a political letter from the Government of India, No. 50, 15 September 1841.
8. *Ibid.*
9. *Ibid.*
10. A letter from Sutherland to Maddock, 18 June 1841.
11. *Ibid.*

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The Political Agent declined to receive those letters as he was not fully convinced of the validity of adoption and was not in possession of the reactions in the state. He also received a letter from the Maharani announcing the death of her husband and the adoption made by her in conformity with his wishes and dying declaration. This adoption was accepted in writing by twenty-two chiefs and seven ministers of the state. Contrary to this, repesentations were received from several persons challenging the right of Sultan Singh to succeed. Two brothers of the Fatehgarh ruling family disputed in writing the adoption made by the Maharani. The third brother had a personal interview with Sutherland. He strongly protested against the adoption of the son of a junior branch in supersession of the superior claims of the senior branch and placed the elaims of his own house for succession to the *gaddi*. Similarly, letters were received from the Ralaota chief who claimed succession to himself on the plea that the late Maharaja wished to nominate him as his successor, although, like Sultan Singh he was also the scion of the junior branch of the ruling family. Besides these, a letter signed by six chiefs of Kishangarh, unconnected with the reigning family indicated that the party in power had its own interest in adopting Sultan Singh.[12]

Sutherland did not think that the right of the Maharani to adopt a son in conformity with the Hindu Law after the death of her husband was at all in dispute. He found no reason to support the contention that the adoption should have been confined to the members of the senior branch of the ruling house. He did not find anything wrong with the course adopted by the Maharani. To him she seemed to be perfectly within her rights to effect nomination. But the acquiescence of the opponents of the party in power in the arrangement made by her was not quite certain, as it was destined to give to the Maharani and her party a long period of minority to govern the state. It was in these circumstances that Sutherland refused to commit himself to anything. He even abstained from participating in the ceremonies of adoption and succession and refrained from giving his opinion on the disputed question without definite guidance from the Governor-General.[13] But, later on, when he was in possession of more information on the matter, he felt convinced that fear of a struggle for succession to the throne of Kishangarh was very remote as the Ralaota chief, who had a personal interview with him, had realized that his claims were too absurd to be maintained. He was quite sure that at least that chief would drop his claims and would cease to be a serious potential rival to the Fatehgarh family whose claims were superior and undoubted, if the Maharani's right to adopt was untenable. Similarly he had no doubts

12. *Ibid.*
13. *Ibid.*

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left in his mind that the Fatehgarh chief would not be too indiscreet to go to the extent of waging war to enforce his claims in defiance of the Paramount Power,[14] if his claims were maintained and the Maharani proved to be intractable. On the contrary, if the right of the Maharani to adopt was found to be valid, there was absolutely no apprehension of any violent irruption. The claimants to the throne, who had been notorious for distrurbing the peace of the realm in the past, had fully realized that the British Power was too strong to allow the breakers of peace to take law in their hands and go scot-free.

The Governor-General entertained grave doubts about the right of the Maharani to adopt according to the customs of the Rajput families, unless it was expressly conferred upon her by her husband. He, therefore, instructed Sutherland to depute one of his assistants to ascertain clearly the prevailing custom in Rajputana, to enquire if the Maharani had permission from the late Maharaja to adopt a son after his death,[15] and to prevent the rival parties from indulging in violence and bloodshed.[16] If, as a result of enquiry, her claim, that she had requisite authority from her husband to exercise the privilege of posthumous adoption, was correct, the Governor-General felt that her right would be morally undoubted and legally unchallenged and the British Government would certainly acknowledge her adopted son as heir to the late Maharaja.[17] He was strongly opposed to leaving the matter to chance, as it was destined to open the embers of struggle for succession among the petty chiefs leading to the revival of habits of license and result in disturbances and break down of law and order in the bordering areas.[18] The main problem, therefore, was to regulate succession by grant of recognition to the best claimant after procuring authentic information on various aspects of the issue including the proposed demand of a *nazrana*.

In accordance with the instructions of the Governor-General, Sutherland deputed W. Strachey to Kishangarh on a fact-finding mission with instruction to investigate into the validity of the Maharani's action and the authenticity of the claims of the rival chiefs and to avert the possibility of an outbreak of violence and breach of peace.[19] He was required to enquire firstly, whether the Maharani had authority from her late husband to adopt a son on his behalf; secondly, whether the usage of the Kishangarh house in matters of succession allowed her the right of adoption without such authority; thirdly, whether the Fatehgarh

14. A letter from Sutherland to Maddock, 25 August 1841.
15. A letter from Maddock to Sutherland, 19 July 1841.
16. Extract from a political letter from India, No. 71, 22 December 1841.
17. *Ibid.*
18. A letter from Maddock to Sutherland, 19 July 1841.
19. A letter from Sutherland to Strachey, 25 August 1841.

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chiefs had a right to succeed as the next of kin to the late Maharaja, even in opposition to the Maharani's right of adoption ; and fourthly ; if the Maharani had an undoubted right to adopt, whether the usages in Rajasthan restricted her freedom to choose and bound her to take the child from the senior branch of the common ancestors and not from the junior one.[20] These instructions issued by Sutherland to Strachey were approved by the Governor-General-in-Council.[21]

By that time the leaders of the rival parties had realized that decision on the disputed question of succession would ultimately lie with the British Government. All of them, therefore, had deputed their representatives to meet Sutherland at Jodhpur and negotiate the matter with him. The six dissenting chiefs of Kishangarh expressed their concurrence in the propriety of the measures adopted by the representative of the imperial overlord.[22] Sutherland, therefore, reiterated his conviction to the Secretary to the Government that there was not even least reason to apprehend that the rival claimants would venture to disturb public peace, if the decision of the British Government would be contrary to the wishes and expectations of some of the parties in the state.[23] Further probe into the case made him convinced of the validity of the Maharani to adopt a son on behalf of her deceased husband in accordance with the real or even the supposed instructions imparted by him during his lifetime. Her right seemed to be in consonance with most of the schools of thought on Hindu Law quoted by Elphinstone in his history of India, but it was not expressly enjoined by Manu. According to certain schools she was authorized to adopt even without an authority from her husband.[24]

The representatives of the rival parties, who had gone to Jodhpur to meet the Political Agent, accompanied his assistant, Mr. Strachey, to Kishangarh. The information elicited by him from them and from so many other sources during the course of his enquiries into the points raised by Sutherland was laid in a very perspicuous report submitted by him.[25] On the first point, no satisfactory evidence could be obtained, as there were two conflicting views in the state and the evidence in favour of it was too inadequate to produce any conviction.[26] While the inmates of the palace asserted that the Maharaja had authorized the Maharani shortly before his death to select a successor in the event of his death without a nomination, many chiefs, who were not

20. *Ibid.*
21. A letter from Maddock to Sutherland, 27 August 1841.
22. A letter from Sutherland to Strachey, 25 August 1841.
23. *Ibid.*
24. *Ibid.*
25. A letter from Strachey to Sutherland, 7 October 1841 ; Extract from a political letter from India, No. 27, 10 August 1842.
26.

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opposed to her right to adopt and who had actually hailed the adoption, doubted the truth of the story.[27] They had accepted the adoption on the grounds other than that of injunction from the late Maharaja to his wife. If the bitter enmity that subsisted for two generations between the ruling house of Kishangarh and the Fatehgarh family from which the heir presumptive could be legitimately drawn was regarded as true, then there was reason to believe that the dying wish of the Maharaja to the alleged effect was authentic.[28] But any embarrassment which might be felt from the doubtful certainty on the first point was obviated by the information elicited on the second point of inquiry. Strachey, therefore, suggested that the validity of the Maharani's act should be judged not so much on the strength of an injunction from her husband as on the testimony of acceptance of adoption by all the parties in the state which was enough to establish the legality of adoption.[29]

As regards the second question, Strachey found nothing to prove that the usages of Kishangarh or of any state of Rajputana with regard to succession were contrary to what was done by the Maharani.[30] It was fully conceded by all shades of opinions that on sudden demise of the ruler of a state the Maharani had a right to become the legitimate head of the government and to continue to act in that capacity till a successor was chosen and seated on the *gaddi* on attaining maturity. The selection of a successor on such occasions used to be made by an assembly of the chiefs of the state and the relatives of the deceased ruler, convened by the Maharani.[31] In the past the choice always fell upon the nearest of kin, but the rights of primogeniture were not invariably observed. On several occasions preferences were given to the younger brothers over the elder ones. Sometimes even the heirs apparent had made way for their younger brothers because of their real or seeming disqualifications. But in all such cases of departure from the rule of primogeniture, Rajput usages never recognized an arbitrary and capricious decree of the Maharani and always required formal ratification of the arrangement by the chiefs and officers of the state.[32] In this case, although technically the Maharani had not made the selection strictly in accordance with the procedure, but for all practical purposes formal ratification by the chiefs was obtained. The enquiries made by Strachey from the chiefs of the state individually about their reactions to the act of the Maharani revealed that most of them had accepted the *bona fides* of the arrangement and, if the matter would be put before them for confirmation, it would go undisputed by all except the Fatehgarh ruling family which was swayed by self-interest

27. A letter from Strachey to Sutherland, 7 October 1841.
28. *Ibid.*
29. *Ibid.*
30. *Ibid.*
31. *Ibid.*
32. *Ibid.*

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to subvert the arrangement.[33] Any reasonable opposition to it could be easily silenced by quoting precedents which affirm the broad principle that the Maharani supported by a large majority of the chiefs of the state could exclude the heir presumptive not being a lineal descendant from the *gaddi* and could disregard the comparatively superior claims in selecting a successor.[34] In Marwar, Devi Singh, son of Raja Ajit Singh, was adopted by the *Thakurani* of Pohkun to the prejudice of several claimants of closer propinquity. The widow of the chief of Ahwa adopted Khushal Singh to the exclusion of his elder brother, Prithvi Singh. Megh Singh, the chief of Diggi, was chosen by his widow in preference to his elder brother, Bishan Singh. Nahar Singh of Deogarh, a kindred of the eleventh degree, was selected to the exclusion of the kindreds of the seventh and eighth degrees. Banswara succession of 1838 was also of the same category. Thus he had good many reasons to believe that all those conditions which were needed for legalizing an adoption in a Rajput state were fulfilled at Kishangarh.[35] The third point of enquiry was, therefore, very weak and the fourth was not likely to affect the act of the Maharani adversely.

When the Fatehgarh party became despondent of getting any support in the state, it argued that the chiefs of Kishangarh were too selfish to be truthful and requested the Assistant Political Agent to decide the case on its own intrinsic merits.[36] Another argument advanced was that the generally accepted principle of selecting a successor from the family lower in descent was violated in the adoption of Sultan Singh. Mohkam Singh, being fourth in descent, could not become father by adoption of Sultan Singh who was only the third in descent from their common ancestor Bahadur Singh.[37] But several precedents proved otherwise. Two of the well-known rulers of Kishangarh were adopted by the widows of their own nephews. The Banswara case was also another perfect parallel, where the second in descent was adopted by Bhawani Singh who was third in descent from the common ancestor Prithivi Singh, although other kindreds were alive in whose selection no objection could have arisen. Such instances of successions retrograding were not few, as in several cases the eligible members of the family were few and the most eligible person could not be slected on very valid political and personal grounds, as it was at Kishangarh.[38]

Another argument, that the disagreement of the two houses should not warrant a sacrifice of the right of primogeniture, was countered by a more convincing logic that the Kishangarh chiefs accepted the pro-

33. *Ibid.*
34. *Ibid.*
35. *Ibid.*
36. *Ibid.*
37. *Ibid.*
38. *Ibid.*

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priety of the measure on the very ground of the family differences on which objections were raised by the interested party, and this almost unanimous verdict could not be disregarded to uphold a weaker principle without harmful results.[39] Notwithstanding all this, if the claims of the Fatehgarh house were to be recognized, the domination of a hostile faction in the royal palace would undoubtedly be outrageous to the feelings, comforts and interests of the widow Maharani. As the Rajputs by temperament were habituated to inherit family feuds, the Maharani was naturally and quite reasonably repugnant to adopt a lad of sixteen, brought up in the atmosphere of open hostility to her late husband and his adherents, and favourable to accept Sultan Singh, whose family was neutral and politically insignificant and whose infantine age promised her an opportunity to manage the state of her husband as Regent.[40]

In elevating the scion of the family of Bhim Singh in supersession of the claims of the family of Chand Singh, the Maharani only conformed to the well-understood disposition of her husband who would never have thought of the latter. Hence, the right of the Maharani to a free and unfettered choice of an heir had an air of propriety.[41] The *Nazir*, to whom the Maharani had entrusted the management of administration, was popular and efficient, but the Fatehgarh family did not like him. By this appointment she vindicated her choice and by her good government she endeared herself to her subjects.[42]

Lt. Coll. Sutherland attached little value to the evidence as to the authority received by the Maharani from her late husband to adopt a particular person as his successor. But he admitted that on the death of a chief of a Rajput state without an issue or heir by adoption the first thing to be done by his widow was to adopt a son and successor so that the entity of the royal house could be maintained. The facts and arguments adduced by Strachey in support of the affirmative side of the second point fully satisfied. Sutherland that an adoption by the Maharani from amongt the nearest, though not the next, of kin to her deceased husband, made with the consent of the chiefs of the state was perfectly valid in the estimation of the Rajput community and it fully deserved confirmation by the Paramount Power. He, therefore, advised the Governor-General to confirm the adoption made by the Maharani and recognise her adopted son as successor of her late husband.

39. *Ibid.*
40. *Ibid.*
41. *Ibid.*
42. *Ibid.*
43. **A letter from Sutherland to Maddock, 19 October 1841.**

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In making this recommendation Sutherland did not pay any heed to the protests of the disgruntled Ralaota chief who questioned the propriety of adoption. He claimed succession to himself on the plea of an alleged declaration made by the late Maharaja in his favour. Although, like the members of the Fatehgarh house, he too did not pretend to deny that the Maharani's act of adoption enjoyed the approval of the chiefs of Kishangarh, but he ascribed it to their proverty, self-interest and helplessness and suggested the following mode of knowing the truth about the fact : 'Take possession of the fort ; take all power out of the hands of those who have the means of bribing and corrupting the chiefs ; and then take their unbiased and honest vote'. However, even this suggestion failed to create any impression upon the Political Agent.[44]

As regards the *nazrana* to be demanded from the new ruler, Sutherland did not consider it advisable to claim it from any of the states of Rajputana. However, it could be demanded if the successor required a *khilat* of investiture to be conferred upon him.[45] But in no case the amount of *nazrana* was to exceed the cost of the *khilat* as it would be against the past practices and quite tantamount to the introduction of a new practice which might be questionable. It might become a source of resentment and for it selfish motives might be imputed to the British Government.[46] Considering the convincing argument given by Strachey in his comprehensive report and declared to be valid by Sutherland, the Governor-General-in-Council recognized the adoption of Sultan Singh and his succession to the *Raj* of Kishangarh under the name of Prithvi Singh.[47]

The most significant point arising out of the British sanction to adoption and succession to the ancient state of Kishangarh was the policy of exacting a money *nazrana* from the ruler of a subordinate state on his accession to the throne. This *nazrana* was charged in token of recognition granted by the Paramount Power to the successor when adoption was made in conformity with the established usages of the Rajputs of Rajputana.[48] Another significant point was the grant of recognition to a successor adopted by the widow of the late ruler of a Rajput state without any proved authority from her deceased husband but with the supposed or real assent of the chiefs and notables of the

44. *Ibid.*

45. A letter from Sutherland to Maddock, 3 July 1841; Extract from a Political letter from India, No. 71, 22 December 1841; A letter from Sutherland to Maddock, 19 October 1841.

46. A letter from Sutherland to Maddock, 19 October 1841.

47. A letter from Maddock to Sutherland, 24 January 1842.

48. *Ibid.*

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state. While communicating this decision, the Governor-General-in-Council explicitly mentioned the benevolent and bountiful nature of the British Paramountcy in scrupulously adhering to the terms of the engagements, indispensably consistent with good faith, and demanding nothing which was not authorized by the treaties, not even exercising its prerogative to annex which the former paramount powers in India were alleged to have habitually enforced on such occasions.[49]

The engagements contracted with the former rulers of Kishangarh neither authorized explicitly nor by implication the demand of *nazrana* as a condition of recognition to adoption. Strictly speaking, it was neither requisite for the new ruler to request for a *khilat* from the Paramount Power nor it was obligatory on the part of the latter to confer it on the former. Such a contingency was not sanctioned by legal principles. If, however, a *khilat* was asked for in accordance with the practice evolved on the basis of Muslim tradition, no claim could justly be preferred on the score of *nazrana* beyond the value of the *khilat.*[50] This practice worked as a indication of the superiority of the *khilat* conferring and *nazrana*-receiving authority. It constituted one of the ways in which the Paramount Power made itself felt at the time of succession in a subordinate state.

49. *Ibid.*
50. *Ibid.*

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MAHARAJA PURANDAR SINGHA

(A 'ROIS FAINANT' OF NINETEENTH-CENTURY ASSAM)

PROF. K. N. DUTT

THE six hundred year's unbroken rule in Assam of the mighty Ahoms came to an end with the invasions of the Burmese in the decade between 1815 and 1825 and final British conquest of the territory in 1826. Great and powerful kings, wise statesmen, astute Ministers, clever diplomats, and brave and loyal Generals had distinguished the rule of the Ahoms in their bright and affluent days, but the last fifty years of their sovereignty in Assam had shown all the signs of a decadent polity and a crumbling political edifice. There were palace intrigues, rise to power of imbecile favourites, rivalry amongst court nobles and secret plots engineered by them to get rid of one another. Civil strife raged within the kingdom egged on by religious and sectarian animosities. The personality of the kings was overshadowed by that of wilful queens or ambitious Ministers.[1]

The last three occupants of the Ahom throne—the blood-thirsty but timid Gaurinath Singha, the over-dominated Kamaleswar Singha, and his brother the young Chandrakanta Singha, were but pitiable onlookers of the rot that had crept into the Ahom polity. The last two were but mere tools in the hands of their Prime Minister, Purnananda Buragohain. With the Burmese invasions the reign of puppets on the Ahom throne received a new lease of life. The Burmese conquerors upheld Chandra Kanta Singha for a time and then set up Jogeswar Singha in his place. But on their departure after the first invasion Purandar Singha, a scion of the Ahom Royal family though not of the direct line, a descendant of king Rajeswar Singha, was enthroned king of the Ahoms in 1819. He had ruled for a year before the Burmese returned to Assam and became thereafter a fugitive in British territory sallying forth now and then with what arms and men he could gather in attempts to recover his lost possession.

1. Queen Phuleswari, wife of king Siba Singha, offended the Moamaria Vaishnavas by inviting them to her Durga Puja ceremony and forcibly putting the blood of immolated animals on their foreheads.

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When finally he returned to Assam after the Burmese had been driven out of Assam by the British, Purandar Singha was but a sheltered prince who looked up to the British deliverers to restore him to his throne in preference to Chandra Kanta Singha the other claimant. Once again, in 1834, under the protection of the British overlords and by virtue of a Treaty with them Purandar Singha became a Maharaja over a tract of his ancient kingdom in Upper Assam excluding the Muttock country. But no prop could save the dynasty he represented on its ancient but tottering throne, and after only five years of not very popular rule he was in utter despair, his attenuated kingdom being taken over by his overlords leaving nothing for him but a royal name. In their newly won eastern frontier the imperial Britishers found no reason to bolster up a Native State which only a few feudal elements strove to maintain with doubtful popular support. Purandar Singha met with a tragic fate showing the tragic end of a reigning house that had for centuries wielded its dominion with valour and renown. The causes and circumstances that led to the final exit of the last of the Ahom kings from the stage of history are to be found in the break-up of the solidarity of the Ahoms as a ruling race, degeneration of their feudal hierarchy and decay of their martial spirit. That Purandar Singha failed to maintain himself on the throne even with British support was as much due to his own misfortunes as to British imperial design which gradually took shape in this quarter. The following account of the condition of Upper Assam and the position of the Raja in 1838, as gleaned from official sources,[2] is interesting in many ways. It shows how Purandar Singha was a victim of circumstances and how the East India Company justified on the pretext of Purandar Singha's default in payment of the tribute, the eventual consolidation of their gains in Assam and the North East Frontier.

As regards physical aspects of the country, we learn from contemporary records that it was nearly equally fertile throughout and of such a variety of levels and surfaces and subsoils as to be capable of a very varied cultivation. It had been very densely populated judging from the extent of the abandoned villages, which were deserted principally during the civil wars of the last reigns of the Ahom Dynasty and the occupation of the country by the Burmose. The population did not then probably exceed 2,50,000 people, and a considerable immigration having of late been constantly going on, the number of inhabitants must have been a good deal less than when the country was transferred to Raja Purandar Singha.

The desertion of his country by the Ryots appeared to be principally occasioned by the following circumstances: (1) by the Raja's

2. Foreign Department, Political Consultants, No. 53, 16 May 1838.

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not giving the remaining Ryots due remission of revenue on account of those who had deserted or were deceased, (2) by the want of military protection against the incursions of the hill tribes, especially of the Duflas and the the Nagas, (3) by the exaction of services for which no due remissions were allowed, (4) by the lightness of the taxation, freedom from harrasing duties and services, and superior protection and immunities enjoyed by the Ryots in the adjoining countries under the administration of the Bor-Senapati and the British Government, and lastly, (5) by the inefficiency of the Civil and Criminal Courts and the malversation of the Raja's principal officers.

Capt. Jenkins, the Commissioner of Assam, believed that the Raja did not directly increase the rates of taxes but the Ryots had more to pay not only from not being allowed the remission they were entitled to but from the greater corruption which prevailed among the native officers. The tax on the cultivating Ryots was Rs. 3/- which was the same as when theBritish held the country immediately after the conquest, but they complained that the Rajah enforced from them the payment of the full amount of revenue of the last settlement making no deduction for the Ryots who had since deserted or died. This the Rajah admitted, and openly gave as his reason that the pressure of the tribute of Rs. 50,000/- demanded by the British Government did not admit of his allowing any remission. The other Ryots, not cultivators, but getting their livelihood by trades such as the brasswokers, fishermen, gold-washers, Weavers, Potters etc. were taxed at the same rates as formerly, but as all these classes were now freed in the British-held districts from all taxation except for the lands they might actually hold or the nets they might employ, they very reluctantly paid their taxes to the Rajah and were quietly emigrating to avoid them, either to the Company's territory or the Bor-Senapati's.

The transit duties were also nominally the same as before but their amount was increased yearly by being put to auction and as the farmers did not confine the levy of duties to any fixed markets or 'hats' but imposed duties on the transit of articles from village to village, the amount of authorised duty in this manner was repeatedly exacted. Duties were likewise then levied on grain which was before exempted, and as by the bartor of grain all other necessaries or luxuries were purchased the duties were in fact doubled. These exactions were now the more intolerable to the people as the inhabitants of Lower Assam under the Company's administration were relieved from all duties whatsoever. The Rajah acknowledged the vexatiousness of the duties and expressed his wish to abolish them altogether but urged that this could not be done without a corresponding deduction from his tribute.

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The next great grievance brought forward by the Ryots was the want of proper military protection against aggressions and robberies of the hill tribes. This was very forcibly brought to the notice of the Commissioner on the north bank while he visited the Rajah's territory early in 1838. Here the Duflas were daily making inroads upon the helpless villagers and carrying off their property, cattle and families. This was due to the fact that the military guards had all been withdrawn by the Rajah. On the Naga Frontier also the Ryots were subjected to nearly similar aggression brought on them by the Raja's want of management. While the people were thus harassed by the hill-men they complained of getting no remissions for the black-mail they were obliged to pay to them.

The Ryots also knew that Pyke services had been abolished in the Company's Districts, felt the constant services they were called upon to perform for the Raja and for all the native nobles and for every description of person holding any kind of office or title to be degrading, and from the severe manner in which these services so unwillingly rendered were commonly exacted, to be intolerable. They compalined, probably with some truth that services were often demanded whenever remissions of revenue were allowed and fines exacted with such severity for accidental and necessary absences as to amount frequently to the full deduction they were entitled to.

The chief causes of complaint appeared however to arise from the mal-administration of the Raja's Court which, the people asserted, afforded no assurance that they would be protected in any rights or obtain redress for any injuries inflicted upon them until they had the means of bribing the officers of the Court. Jenkins believed that there was too much reason to apprehend that the statement was mainly correct and he feared that there had been much irregular interference with the decisions of the courts by the members of the Raja's family. Under such circumstances as related above, it was not to be wondered that there was a considerable emigration of the Ryots and in this respect the district of the North Bank appeared to suffer most severely. In that part of the country east of the river Subansiri the depopulation was most alarming and if not timely arrested, theatened to end in the total desertion of the country and falling off of collections.

A retrospective review of the revenues of Upper Assam from its first settlement under the Company in 1828 showed diminution of the revenue of the Raja but Jenkins believed that his finances were better than they would seem to be from the exposition of the comparative revenue figures. For whereas under the Company the establishments were efficient and their pay in money was heavy and this charge was borne on the net revenue, the Raja had greatly reduced his establish-

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ments and paid them also entirely from the gross revenue by assignments of Pykes and lands and with very little exception the expenses of himself and the members of his family and his household expenses were charged upon the gross revenue so that the collections of net revenue were entirely available for the payment of his tribute. But whatever might be the nominal Jumma it was certain that it required revision and that even according to the existing system of settlement a considerable remission was required as was sufficiently shown by the diminished collections. To Jenkins it also appeared that there was not only required a revision of the settlements but an entire new organisation of the revenue arrangements similar to what had taken place in lower Assam and this change was to be accompanied by a reform of the Raja's Police and courts of Judicature.

Purandar Singha solicited a remission of a part of his tribute under the plea that it was at first fixed at too high an amount and Jenkins believed that the result of the Raja's management had certainly shown that the tribute was too much for him to pay although it could readily have been paid had his administration of the affairs of the country been equally good and strong as that of the Company. The Commissioner held that the failure was largely due to the personal character of the Raja. From the character of the Raja and the impression his rule had made upon the people, Jenkins doubted whether he would be able to institute and effectual reorganisation of his Government in all its branches without which even half the tribute was not sure to come. Jenkins therefore recommended that Government should resume such a portion of the country as might be expected, at no distant period, to yield a surplus revenue under British rule which would be nearly equal to the existing tribute, and free the Raja from any demand upon him so that he would have no excuse for not governing the remaining country properly. For it was on the plea of a want of means and of apprehension that he would not be able to meet the tribute to the suzerain power that, as he alleged, he had not maintained more efficient establishments and had refrained from following up the Company's revenue arrangements in his own territories at least in part.

The Raja was of opinion that the adoption of the system introduced by the Company in Lower Assam altogether was not practicable. The Pyke system had been so long the prevailing system of the country that the Rajah apprehended that its abolition altogether would deprive him of the means of supporting his dignity and living after the manner of his predecessors, that is, being maintained in everything he required by the labours of his different classes of Pykes without the necessity of purchasing a single article and surrounded by all the nobility and gentry and half the population of the country rendering Pyke service in their various professions and labours. It was true that had not the East

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India Company's authorities first set the example, the Rajah could not have broken up the old Khel system of the Assam Rajahs and it would have been difficult, with the feelings he had, to persuade him to do it to any extent now.

Purandar having failed to pay his tribute according to the article of his treaty with the British Government and fallen heavily into arrears stating his inability to go on paying, the Government might set him aside altogether but Jenkins believed that he was entitled to an indulgent consideration on several accounts. The lightness of taxation in the Muttock country in consequence of the Borsenapati having no tribute to pay had certainly been the cause of the Raja's losing many of his Ryots. During the priod when the British held the territory of Purandar Singha the emigration was checked by the Bursenapati being obliged to pay over to the British the personal tax of the deserted Pykes. This the Government did not allow to be continued in favour of the Rajah nor did they authorise a proportionate tribute to be imposed upon the Muttock Chief so that seeing his own interest the latter held out every inducement to the Rajah's Ryots to desert by not only taxing them very lightly but by making them advances and giving them free grants in the first instance.

This immunity from taxation in the Muttock country the Rajah had not foreseen nor had he foreseen the great changes which the Company's administration was about to make in Lower Assam and which had the effect of making things intolerable to his own Ryots and of seducing numbers of them into the Company's districts many of whom were not only made freemen by this removal but altogether relieved from any taxation. Nor was the alleged misrule of the Rajah entirely without excuse. The Government had placed him in unlimited authority over a large population of which the great majority of the Upper Classes were opposed to him individually and the lower classes of which were disinclined to any change. The supreme Government had not consulted the population and knew little of the competency to govern of the person to whom was allowed an indefinite power contrary to the custom of the country.

Capt. Jenkins was of opinion that Purandar Singha was obnoxious to the people generally, without experience and from his long residence in Bengal he had little common feeling with the Assamese. That things therefore did not work smoothly was as much perhaps the Rajah's misfortune as his fault and it was possible that many of the people about him took advantage of his ruling passion, a lust for money, and purposely counselled him wrongly with a view to involve him in difficulties and get rid of his government.

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Although therefore the failure of the Raja in his engagements had given to Government the right to interfere to secure their own interests the Rajah had in Jenkins' opinion a strong claim on their indulgence and so Jenkins recommended that while resuming a portion of the country in lieu of the tribute he be treated with much leniency. Jenkins recommended the resumption of the whole of the north bank, the great island of the Majuli and that tract of country which lay between the rivers Disang and Buri-Dihing and south of the former river and east of its confinement, the Sufri Nudee. The total revenue of these territories was estimated at Rs. 34,000/–, but Jenkins pointed to its extensive area and the possibility of its quick improvement under a stable administration. By this arrangement the Rajah would be left a compact division very conveniently situated round his capital at Jorhat, the net revenue of which was estimated at upwards of Rs. 90,000/–.

The area proposed to be taken over was equal to 2,956 sq. miles whilst the Rajah would be left only 1,492 sq.miles. The former embraced by far the richest tracts in Assam but the latter had great present advantages in a denser population, the extent of its cultivation (of the Salee dhan crop) being about 70,000 poorahs. But it was quite likely that the Rajah's Division would before long be greatly reduced in value for it was by the influx of his Ryots that the other area could be much improved and undoubtedly before the Rajah could do anything to reconcile his rule to the people, there would be a large migration of his people to the British possessions. Other Ryots would be coming here from the Bursenapati's country as well, for many had been driven away from the north bank by the incursions of the Duflas and many by the oppressions of the Khamptis. Jenkins also looked forward to accessions from the hills and to a considerable improvement of the salt farms in this area under better management. He further believed that British occupation of this part of the country would secure great amelioration of a large extent of country if not also of the Rajah's, and this would lead to a proportionate extension of the trade which would benefit the whole province.

In making his proposals Capt. Jenkins also pointed to the great political advantages to be gained by their acceptance. The Rajah's mismanagement of affairs had led to the atrocities of the Duflas which threatened to desolate the whole of the north Bank. The Miris and the Abors had also been incensed by the Rajah's reduction of their black-mail and some of the Naga tribes had been exasperated at the Rajah's dealings with them, and had in consequence inflicted several cruelities upon the unfortunate Ryots in the neighbourhood. The resumption of the proposed territory would bring all these hill tribes under the management of the Company's Government which would result in restoring

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a state of tranquillity in the frontiers. The Rajah would also be prevented from coming in contact with the Borsenapati and the Singphos and would be restrained to a comparatively small district capable of easy management. The occupation of the proposed area would also enable the British authorities to connect Lower Assam with Sadiya by a good practicable road and to open roads for their troops towards the most vulnerable portions of their 'frontiers, the passes to Ava and the Singpho country. The large tract on the north bank east of the river Subansiri which was under the local management of a Khampti chief was in a still worse state so that the continuance of the District between the Disang and the Dihing under the Rajah's Government, being mostly inhabited by hill tribes, threatened to bring dangerous disturbances in that quarter. Thus security of the frontiers, control and management of the border tribes, development of the resources of an extensive tract of country and eventual consolidation of the British power in Assam were the considerations uppermost in the mind of Capt. Jenkins at this time.

Prospects of development of the resources of this fertile and rich province had also weighed greatly with Jenkins. All Upper Assam was then in a measure lost to the traffic of the country from the injudicious taxation and 'barbarous management, of the native princes into whose hands the districts had fallen. The resumption of the proposed area to British rule together with other contemplated measures would have the effect of throwing open the whole country to the unfettered industry and competition of European and native merchants. The iron, the salt, the coal and the tea of the south-eastern districts would alone suffice to enrich a country under the active energy of Europeans. It appeared to Jenkins that under the existing pernicious management these resources would not be rendered available for what they were capable of being made under judicious encouragement. He was also almost convinced that further intervention would be necessary in the affairs of the Rajah who could not be expected to improve his ways even within the restricted dominion now proposed to be left with him. The Government should, therefore, he thought, insist upon all the courts and police being remodelled in his territory as was done at Cooch Bihar, and placed in an efficient state upon the system observed in the British districts and in accordance with the advice of the Political Agent of Upper Assam.

The Supreme Government gave more than due considerations to the proposals of their Agent in the North-East Frontier and very little to the difficulties and disadvantages of Purandar Singha and the very unfavourable circumstances he was placed in. Purandar Singha was but feebly upholding a dying state-craft destined to be obliterated by the new state-craft of the British which was to modernise the face of Assam and her economy slowly but surely. The Court of Directors finally decided that the whole, and not only a part as recommended by Jenkins

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of the territory of Purandar Singha, should be resumed and Purandar Singha should be pensioned off. Accordingly in September, 1838, Purandar Singha was obliged to get down from his 'gadi' in Upper Assam, sorely distressed at the treatment meted out to him by the British authorities.

In rightful indignation Purandar Singha refused to accept the proferred pension of Rs. 1,000/– per month and by memorials and representations to the Agent and to the Supreme Government continued to justify his claims for a restoration to his Raj till his death on 1st October, 1845. After him his son Kameswar Singha and then his grandson Mandarpeswar Singha Saning Raja,[3] similarly refused the pension offered and demanded instead a restoration. The pent-up grievances of this royal family were brought to a heard in 1857 by their Counsellor Maniram Dewan who, in the wake of the Sepoy Mutiny, planned to overthrow the British regime in Assam by an armed revolution. This revolution proved abortive with the result that the Dewan was sent to the gallows and the young Raja made a political prisoner in 1858. There is hardly any doubt that Purandar Singha was not given a "fair trial" before he was removed from the rulership of Upper Assam and he was sacrificed to the needs of imperial defence and consolidation of British rule in Assam.

8. Saring Rajah = heir apparent.

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VIEWS OF A CONTEMPORARY BRITISH OFFICIALS ON CIVIL ADMINISTRATION OF BENGAL AND BIHAR IN 1855

Shri Aditya Prasad Jha

The few years intervening between the passing of the 1853 Charter Act and the outbreak of the 1857 Movement are unusually significant in the history of Modern India, particularly in the administrative history of Bengal and Bihar, which together with Orissa and Assam then formed the Lower Provinces of the Bengal Presidency. The administrative requirements of these provinces had long been neglected on account of their remaining tagged with the overburdened charge of the Governor-General, and the creation of a separate Lieutenant-Governorship for them in 1854 was a move in the direction of reform, which an influential section of civil service[1] had long been pressing for.

This period, as it is well-known, was marked by an almost abrupt widening up of the scope of governmental functions in India caused by the pressure of new capitalistic forces working in England—a pressure which the Company had stubbornly resisted so long as it could, and consequently by formulation and adoption of most ambitious plans regarding Education and Public Works, Roads and Railways, Post and Telegraph, Canals and Steam Navigation, for successful execution of which the existing machinery of government was found miserably inadequate. Thus a re-examination of the whole civil administration, which had been started by Bentinck and Macaulay under similar circumstances in the wake of the 1833 Charter and which had been shelved subsequently on account of wars on the north west frontiers, was vigorously resumed by Dalhousie's Government.[2] This provided a suitable occasion to the leading civil servants for free expression of their views on various problems of civil administration. So far as the Bengal system was concerned, the official and unofficial writings of some more illustrious

1. The term 'civil service' is intended here to include also those military officers who were on civil employ.

2. In Bengal the work was started by Dalhousie in his capacity as the 'Governor of Bengal' and was carried further at his instance by F. J. Halliday, the new Lt.-Governor, but it could not be finalised in Dalhousie's time (*vide* Dalhousie's Minute, 24 April 1854 and Govt. of Bengal Letter, 28 April 1854 to Govt. of India, as also Halliday's Minutes, 23 October 1854 and 1 March 1855).

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of these men, such as F. J. Halliday and J. P. Grant, Cecil Beadon and William Grey, Seton-Karr and George Campbell, are already available to us in print and these contain some finest stuff on the history of British administration in India. But there were others, less fortunate of course, though not necessarily less intelligent, whose views could not receive equal amount of attention either in their own time or in the subsequent period, though they contain equally rich food for the present day historian. To this latter class belonged William Tayler, the Commissioner of Patna Division in 1855, whose removal from that office and subsequent dismissal from civil service form one of the well-known dramas connected with the history of the 1857 Movement.

Tayler had already served Government in different capacities and had acquired a close acquaintance with the people and problems in Bihar on account of his long residence in this province as District and Sessions Judge at Arrah, from which office he had been promoted to the Patna Commissionership. Ablest and most experienced of the civilians then employed in Bihar, he was unreservedly critical of the 'Bengal officialism' and stood far above many of his contemporaries for his fearless expression of views, which, as the subsequent events proved, cost him too dearly. His misfortune is ascribed by many to the enmity of Halliday whom he had infuriated by frequently criticising his measures.

Nature of Government :

In course of the re-examination of the governmental set-up, above alluded to, Tayler was consulted by the Lieutenant-Governor like other officers of his rank. He communicated his views in several official letters addressed to the Government of Bengal, one of which, dated 11th July, 1855,[3] beigns with the following remarks on the system then operating in the Lower Provinces :—'The Government of Bengal has hitherto presented the spectacle of a mighty chain with broken and disconnected links, so that communication between either end has been either partially intercepted or entirely lost. There has consequently been no sympathetic action between the governor and the governed. The wisdom and benevolence of many great and noble schemes have been obscured or lost in the mists of error, misconception and indolence before they have reached the reason or the hearts of those for whose benefit they were devised and the people ignorant of an intention have felt only (*sic*) which has injured or offended them, and the overstrained principles of a too scrupulous civilization have been forced on a Government of which the essential attributes are unshackled energy and close responsibility."

3. *Patna Commissioner's English Correspondence*, 1855-56, vol. 472 (deposited in Central Records Office, Bihar, Patna).

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From his own experience of what he had seen in Bihar, where several new measures of reform, especially in Education, Jails and Law Courts, were being viewed with great indignation often leading to open disturbances, Tayler had come to the conclusion that the Government he was serving had completely lost its touch with the people and worst consequences might follow if the misunderstanding between the ruler and the ruled was allowed to grow. To re-establish this touch, which was essential for the success of every reform, of which he was an ardent advocate, he suggested a close and vigorous administration working on enlightened despotic principles.

Lt.-Governor and Divisional Commissioners:

He, therefore, 'hailed by acclamation' the creation of a separate Lieutenant-Governorship for Bengal, which he regarded as 'the cornerstone of the nation's prosperity', but advocated the extension of the same principle, *viz.*, the concentration of all executive powers in an able hand working under proper supervision, to the Divisional Commissionr's level. It is significant that this sort of concentration, which had been intended by Bentinck at Commissioner's level while creating that office in 1829 and which was subsequently effected at Collector's level after 1859, did nowhere exist in Bengal in 1855 below the Lieutenant-Governor. The Commissionr's office had been fast losing its original significance since the transfer of sessions trial to the District and Additional District Judges in 1831 and 1835 and police powers to the Superintendent of Police in 1837. The abolition of the last named office in 1854 and the consequent reversion of police supervision to the Commissioner marked an opposite trend which Tayler wished to carry to its full length. This trend was, however, strongly opposed by Barnes Peacock, Member of Governor-General's Council, who suggested the abolition of 7 out of 8 Commissionerships (excepting Cuttuck) in the Lower Provinces, 'substituting two or three Divisional Commissioners of Police'[4] in their place. On this question Tayler stated as follows:—

> 'Glancig downwards then along the chain of administration which connects the Lieut.-Governor with the great mass of people —and assuming the absolute encumbrance of the Board[5] as it clearly must be removed—, the first improvement that suggests itself is to enlarge the powers and responsibility of the Divisional Commissioner. After a careful selection of the best man for the office of Commissioner I would place the division in his hand for weal or woe and hold him solely responsible for its welfare and administration. I would demand from him a close acquaintance with every nook and corner of the districts—the character and requirements of the people, the resources of the country, its wants

4. *Vide* Barnes Peacock's Minute, 30 April 1857.
5. Board of Revenue.

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and its wishes. As Superintendent of Police he should be personally acquainted with the character of the entire police force so that not even an *effete chowkeedar* or superincumbent should hold office without the certainty of detection while his information in regard to all the details of crime and classes of criminals should be equally close and practical. As Commissioner of Revenue he should in the like manner be intimately informed on all matters connected with the relative interests of the agricultural community—taking comprehensive view of the entire subject and watching narrowly the effects of the legislative enactments and judicial decisions and all important points such as the rights of enhancement of rents[6] the concealment of tenures, and all matters of a similar nature. Again he should as senior and superintending officer exercise a vigilant supervision over all his local subordinates, stimulating the indolent, instructing the inexperienced—and by strong or gentle means securing the hearty co-operation of all—himself being held responsible for any glaring deficiencies or misconduct of his subordinates if not noticed by him.....

The immediate effect would be to draw at once the really able men and reduce mediocrity, indolence or senility to the proper sphere. Few would udertake (and) none could successfully carry on such an administration unless qualified by zeal, mental acumen and bodily activity.....

Each Commissioner conscious that he would be weighed in the balance with the rest—and that all he did for good or evil would be patent to the Government, would necessarily devote his entire energies of mind and body to the arduous and interesting task, while the Lieut.-Governor in constant, prompt and confidential communication on all points with the Commissioners would know his officers and feel that he had his Government under command.'

Magistrate and Collector:

On the next important subject of the union of the offices of the Magistrate and Collector which had given rise to an irreconciliable controversy, especially between Hallidy and Grant, Tayler suffered from no hallucinations. He pointedly remarked:—'The Magistrates and Collectors[7] would work appropriately under the Commissioners but with much more effect if their functions united.'

6. Here the writing is not clear.

7. These offices had been separated in Bengal by Cornwallis in 1793, but reunited by Bentinck in 1831. The Police Committee of 1836 again recommended their separation and between 1837 and 1845 the two offices were once more disunited in all the districts of Lower Provinces except in the 3 districts of Cuttack and 8 independent Joint-Magistracies of Pubna, Maldah, Bogra, Bullooah, Furreedpore, Bankura, Baraset and Chumparan. The matter stood on the same footing in 1855.

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Deputy Magistrate and Deputy Collector:

On the proposed union of the offices of Deputy Magistrate and Deputy Collector, which were required to play the most important role in the successful working and extension of the Sub-Divisional system, introduced in Bengal in 1845, Tayler's words were equally laconic. He said:—'The Deputy Magistrates and Deputy Collectors which offices are about to be combined will form the next grade but there appears to me to be a change required in the next joint of the chain.' Here he means the Police Darogas, but before we come to them it would be worthwhile to consider his views on the existing police force, which make an interesting reading in the context of what happened in Bihar in 1857.

Police Force:

In his letter[8] to the Government of Bengal, dated 26th August, 1855, Tayler stated:—'The utter weakness of the civil power as the police is at present constituted appears to me the great scandal of our administration. There is not a Magistrate in Bengal who feels that in any dangerous emergency calling for vigour and courage he could rely on his police force or rather who does not feel that he would be left in the lurch by every individual composing it.

With a force numerically enormous the executive Government is absolutely embecile. Half the Chowkeedars and Burkundazes are caricatures of manhood and every stout and stalwart arm is ranged on the side of disorder and disaffection. The result of this is not only that the people (who) cudgel one another live out with impunity (*sic*) the very shadow of the English capital but that in the occasion of any local dispute either in jail, or city, or what is still worse, on any panic however groundless and absurd, —being the special army the residents— a requisition is made for military aid, an exhibition of the helplessness of the civil arm is afforded, a feeling of permanent insecurity is spread abroad, and the minds of all are unsettled and irritated and the breach between the governor and the governed is fatally widened.

There is a native proverb of much significance embodying the essential principles of the rule of the strong arm, *viz.*, "*Jiski lathee ooska Bhaes*". Nothing more pithily denotes the relative position of the two antagonists, the civil power of British India and its pugnacious subjects. The latter have the cudgel and therefore get the Buffalo—and I know nothing that brings to my mind a keener feeling of shame and humiliation than the fact, admitted on all hands and noted significantly by natives of all classes, that club law is *de facto* dominant throughout their

8. *Patna Commissioner's Correspondence*, vol. 472.

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country and that with all our high prestige, sounding titles, our immense police force and numerous establishments—a body of rebellious prisoners, a band of *dacoits*, or a troop of *lathials* might at any time ride rough shod over us unless we could call the soldiery to our sides.

The remedy for this degrading state of things is obviously the organisation of an efficient armed police which would by its pay and privileges bring over the stout arms and the trenchent sticks to the side of order and Government, and enable the executive to deal with turbulence in all its shapes without the very objectionable measure of a resort to military force."

Police Darogas :

Adverting to the Police *Darogas*, whose reform had ever been a taxing problem since their creation by Cornwallis in 1793, Tayler said :— 'The name of *Darogah* is an abomination to the people, and contrary to an old and questionable adage—I believe there is a vast deal in a name —and that the same office by some other name would smell much sweeter than the *Darogah* now does. I think it would be well worthy of consideration whether an officer of lower grade and restricted powers might be appointed under the Deputy Magistrates to be denominated perhaps Assistant Deputy.....Such an officer corresponding in some measure with the Tehsildars in the west, might exercise worthiy in both departments, and with efficient and educated Jemadars at each Thannah—the ill-ardoured *Darogah* might possibly be abolished.

I throw out this idea with great hesitation and deference, but no one who knows the extent to which the *Darogah* is abhorred and feared in the muffussil can fail to feel that the abolition even of the name will be a blessing.'

Village Putwarees :

From Police *Darogahs* Tayler turned to the Village *Putwarees*. Under Mughal Government these latter were official repositories of all revenue accounts in the villages and guardians of ryots' rights against zamindars and farmers. They were at first kept up by Cornwallis in 1793, but Government protection was soon withdrawn from them, and they gradually died out in Bengal proper. In Bihar, where old village institutions survived longer than in Bengal, they, however, continued as zamindars' servants and were still influential in 1855. This survival is accounted for by E. F. Latour, Collector of Tirhut in Tayler's time, as follows:—'We have few *mehals* the proprietary right of which belong to one individual, estates held *putteedari* is the rule, these again are subdivided as families increase, the *Putwaree* or village accountant is therefore a man of no small importance in such a community

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as he keeps the village accounts, makes the collections and as the *kists* are collected it is his duty and business to divide them among the 10 or 100 proprietors as the case may be. The landed tenures of Bengal are entirely different from those of Tirhut. I once heard an officer of very high standing in service remark on the absurdity of the zamindars of this district keeping *Putwarees* remarking that they did not exist in Bengal, but they are of the greatest importance as I have shown.'[9] As a class they were against the new reform measures, as Latour affirms in the same letter, but Tayler wished to revive them and enlist their influence for popularisation of the plans.

He thought that these men 'with very little trouble may even under the existing law be organised into a body of useful and intelligent coadjutors (and) will calculate from their position in society and the nature of their duties to fill up the present gap between the Deputy Magistrate Collector and the people — a gap which is at present occupied by the dreaded myrmidons of the police who form a non-conductive and disjunctive not a connecting link."

He contrasted their position in Bihar from that in the North-West Provinces where they were ' turned to valuable accounts as trustworthy agents of Government, referees on all *Nuthees* of land disputes, and useful mediators between the local authorities and the people.' He continued in the same vein :— ' In these districts they are the hireling creatures of the zamindar's servants or evil paid perjurors. The consequence is that they are a nuisance rather than a benefit. Their name and position gives them certain influence and that influence is in nine cases out of ten exerted against the Ryot whose rights they ought to protect. No papers are under present system filed by them unless specially called for and thus when disputes arise there is no recognised standard of reference.

A zamindar with his suborned witnesses and subservient *putwaree* holds the ryots at his mercy and is only restricted there by the fear of injuring his rental or bringing the formidable *lathees* upon his head.

I beg to urge this subject earnestly upon His Honour's attention as one of immense importance to the welfare of the country and the interests of the agricultural body. The entire subject of rent and the rates fairly payable by the Ryots is one that is fraught with patrol-consequences and the subject appears to me to be less understood than any other.

9. Letter, 15 May, 1857, from Collector of Tirhut to Commissioner of Bhagalpur, *Muzaffarpur Collector's English Correspondence*, 1856-57.

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There are many confusing decisions on record, several anamolous ruled laid down in the precedents of the Sudder and altogether such a passable and unsettled standard, that the poor ryot neither knows nor can know what his privileges and liabilities are.

If the *Putwarees* be brought into a state of efficient organisation and control, they will effectively supply the last connecting link between the Government and the mass of the people. They will be valuable agents for the explanation of all schemes for the amelioration of the people and if properly managed capable of co-operation in carrying them into execution.

Their accounts punctually rendered in a succinct form will consti tute a recognised standard for the decision of all disputes touchin rates of rent, increase of produce (?) or other revenue contravention an a system connecting every link in the chain of administration will thu be fully and permanently established.'

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LIFE IN THE RED FORT 1851-1853

Shri Krishan Lal

In the Miscellaneous Records of the Foreign Political Department of the National Archives of India, there is a volume of 800 pages entitled Precis[1] of Palace Intelligence. It was mainly written for the purpose of reporting the various activities of Bahadur Shah II, the last king of Delhi. It contains weekly reports of three years (6th January 1851 to 1st January 1854). Though its object was mainly political, yet it throws a flood of light on the personal life of the king, the queen, the Princes and the Social and Cultural life of the inmates of the Red Fort, whose number was more than two thousand.[2]

I. Political Activities of Bahadur Shah

The king was devoted to his queen Zeenut Mahal whom he had married[3] in 1840. Under her influence he made repeated attempts to make her son Mirza Jawan Bukht (who was only 11 at that time) heir apparent[4] to the throne of Delhi. Under her influence also he treated his elder sons badly. He reduced the allowance of Mirza Fakhruddeen. The king tried to increase the importance of Mirza Jawan Bakht by sending him as his representative on various occasions.[5] Mirza Hyder Shekoh came from Lucknow and met Bahadur Shah. He gave him the false hopes about the success of his efforts to get the claims of Bahadur Shah recognized[6] through the good offices of Oudh Court. It appears that he circulated in Lucknow the false news that the king was willing to become a Shea. The circulation of this news greatly annoyed[7] the king. He was informed that the king of Delhi had no right to confer titles or khilluts on Government servants like Dr. Chaman Lal.

1. *Political Foreign Miscellaneous Records*, No. 362.
2. *Punjab Govt. Records*, vol. I, p. 431.
3. Delhi Urdu Akhbar, No. 193, 23 November 1840.
4. *Punjab Govt. Records*, vol. I, pp. 475-88.
5. 17th August, 1851.
6. Entry in 6 November, 1853.
7. Entry in 21 December 1853.

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Personal life of the king :

The programme of the king was divided in two parts. One beginning with the early morning and the other about four in the afternoon. Though the king was seventy-six years old, yet he was very energetic and used to go out for hunting everyday except when he was ill. He was not only a good rider but also a great expert in judging[8] horses. He was also a good hunter. The resources of the king were very meagre. He had to depend mostly on the pension received from the British. But in spite of this, he partook in the joys and sufferings of the inhabitants of the Fort. On the occasion of the marriage of the daughter of Koonwur Debee Singh, he sent the bride, the bridal garments. He gave rupees two thousand to Hukeemm Ahsanoollah Khan on the occasion of the marriage of his daughter.[9] On the death of Miza Luteef Buksh, the king ordered rupees 200 to be furnished for his funeral feast and burial.[10] Similarly when a camel sowar had been severely hurt by the bursting of his gun, His Majesty gave him ten rupees and sent him to Dr. Chamman Lal. Begum Zeenut Mahal was the favourite wife of the king. Steadily her influence increased. She attended important meetings sitting behind the purdah. In 1853 the king issued a Hookumnamah[11] to all his officers to submit every petition they had to make through Nawab Zeenut Mahal Begum. For her sake, he took the unusual step by staying outside Red Fort in Lal Kooa in the house of Zeenut Mahal for more than a fortnight.[12] Nawab Taj Mahal Begum and Shurafat Mahal Begum were other wives of the king. The king had kept a number of concubines. The names of the following are referred to : Khrum Baee, Dilrooba,[13] Peeare Baee, Soojan Baee, Islamool Nissa and Aramool Nissa Khanum.

Among the sons of Bahadur Shah, the following are important :— Mirza Jawan Bukht, Mirza Fukhrooddeen,[14] Mirza Moghul and Mirza Abdoola. The king's relations with the Heir Apparent Mirza Fukhroodeen were extremely strained.

The king had a great love for gardens. Shahiabad garden, Bagh Roshanara, Surhundee garden, Koodysa Bagh, Bagh Muhaldar Khan,[15] Mehtab Bagh, Hyat Buksh Garden, Shah Bagh and garden in Shahderah were often visited by the king. He even planted a new garden.[16]

8. 13 June 1851.
9. 23, 10, 20 October 1853.
10. 10 October 1853.
11. 13 November 1853.
12. 3 November 1853.
13. 17 September 1853.
14. 10 January 1853.
15. 9 December 1853.
16. 14 August 1853.

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The king had a high notion of the prestige of the Mughal House. He refused the admission into the fort of Nawab of Bahwalpur unless he would put off his Kulge. He strongly disliked the idea of giving a chair to the Resident and permitting the Commander-in-Chief to enter Diwan-i-Am on a horse back.

Mirza Jawan Bukht's Marriage

Mirza Jawan Bukhts was the favourite son of the king. His marriage was an important event of those days. Preparations for his marriage were started much earlier than the actual date of marriage. The king took a loan [17] of Rupees 95,000 for his marriage. Betrothal, Mehneedee procession and Chowtah ceremonies were celebrated with great pomp and show. Both Zauq and Ghalib composed congratulatory poems on the occasion. Huge sums of money were spent on the fireworks and illuminations. Dancing parties and musical concerts increased the charm of the marriage. The king presented the bride with some gold anklets, a pearl necklace, forehead ornaments and other jewels. Wulee Dad Khan, the father of the bride, gave the following things in marriage dowry.[19] 80 trays of clothings, 2 trays of jewellery, a golden canopy, vessels of silver and copper, 4 thousand rupees in cash, an elephant and 4 horses with embroidered trappings and 2 riding camels, etc.

Influence of Hukeem Ahsanoolla Khan :

This hukeem was not only a great physician of his times but was also the Prime Minister of the king. In all important matters concerning the Court, he was consulted. Mostly he used to write the shooqas of the king and the king used to affix his signet on them.

System of the Administration :

Muhboob Alee Khan remained the Nazir[20] (Chief Administrator) throughout this period. He was responsible for proper distribution of the pension. The pension of the East India Company was the main stay of the inhabitants of the Palace. He had the power of turning out of the Red Fort all undesirable persons, which was considered to be a very shameful thing for a person. The other officers were Kotwal[21] of the Fort, Mooftee, Qazee, Mookhtar, Mootsudee of the jewels office, captain of the Boys' Battalion, Meer Toozak (Maker of ceremonies), Water carriers to put out the Fire, English Clerk, Mr. George[22] to translate

17. 9 January 1852.
18. 16 March 1852.
19. 2 April 1852.
20. 31 December 1851.
21. 5 June 1852.
22. 12 April 1851.

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Persian letters into English and *vice versa*, Darwan of Nagar Khana, Shooqa writers, Chobdars and gardeners, etc. Offices were sold to the highest bidder. The post of the Captain[23] of the Boys' Battalion was sold for Rs. 2,200, while Jankee Das was appointed Mukthiar of Begum Taj Mahal on payment of two thousand rupees. Every officer had to present a nazar on evarious festivals and on very occasion the king passed by his house.

Judicial System:

The king was the head of the Judiciary. All the cases were sent to him for final judgment[24], though Kotwal, Qazee and Mooftee used to assist him. He was a lover of justice. He used to make personal enquiries into everything and favoured compromises. Some of the Sulateens had also started filing suits in the Civil Court of the city, but it was considered very undesirable. Even princes of the royal blood were severely punished and were not spared on any account. Mirza Mohummud Baksh[25] who had flogged his syce Anoo, was confined in jail and also was fined heavily. Mirza Jawan Bakht, the favourite son of the king in old age, was also punished. He had injured the leg of a passer-by ; his gun was snatched and he was ordered to remain at home till the afternoon. Gamblers were very severely punished. They were confined to jail and were fined heavily. Wine-drinking was also forbidden. Thieves were dealt with sever punishment. Every house where there was the least suspicion of the stolen property was thoroughly searched. If any evil-minded man managed to slip into the fort, he was turned out of the fort. Thus it was quite clear that the discipline in the fort was quite severe and all kinds of criminals were severely punished.

Crimes:

Gambling, theft, wine-drinking, setting the houses on fire, abduction and enticing away of women,[26] forgery, corruption, embezzlement of money, beating of the servants, suicide[27] and interfering in the privacy of others were some of the crimes of those days.

II. Social Conditions

Marriage and Divorce:

Most of the princes used to keep concubines and slave girls. Some of the slave girls[28] were released from bondage and were allwed to

23. 5 June 1852.
24. 20 January 1852.
25. 24 August 1851.
26. 1 July 1851.
27. 31 July 1851.
28. 3 June 1851.

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marry whomsoever they liked. Mostly the princes used to marry among their own families and the dowar[29] was usually fixed at 5 lakhs of rupees. Divorce was discouraged. Once a great hue and cry was raised on one divorce and all the police and military of the king was called for controlling the mob. On another occasion, a person who had turned out his wife was turned[30] out of the Palace. Widow remarriage was encouraged.

Diet and Dress:

The inmates of the Palace used to make a great use of spices.[31] Four boxes of which were sent every month by the British Government from Calcutta. Wine-drinking was prohibited in the Palace, but a number of them used to stealthily bring wine into the fort. Fish, Meat, Deer, Pigeons, and Rabbits were generally consumed. Goats and camels were sacrificed on Eed. Sweetmeats were distributed on the festivals. The king was fond of mangoes and oranges. Wells were the main source of drinking water. Various persons used to make search for sweet[33] water. Ice was used in summer.

Some of the Princesses used to wear jewels[34], gold ornaments, and rich clothes. But the ladies observed pardah.

Every prince had to present a nazar on the occasion of his marriage, circumcision, departure from fort for Mecca, Lucknow, Ajmer and other places. The king also used to give monetary aid on such occasions.

Alligators were a great source of nuisance and they used to devour human[35] beings. Therefore special measures had to be adopted for catching them.

Amusements:

Hunting was a popular hobby of the princes. Nujufgurh Jheel,[36] the other bank of the Jumna and gardens around Qutab were popular hunting areas. Dancing (Natuch) and singing were also very common on festive occasions. Bull[37] fights, bufallo-fights, Ram-fights, dogs worrying jackals, cock-fighting, flight of the pigeons and wrestling-matches were

29. 16 October 1851.
30. 23 April 1851.
31. 20 November 1851.
32. 8 November 1851.
33. 15 April 1851.
34. 19 March 1852.
35. 12 May 1851.
36. *Ibid,*
37. 4 October 1851.

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popular pastimes. The game of Chess[38] was also popular. Kite matches were a great source of pleasure to all. Hunting of hares was also a hobby of some of the princes. Some of the youth used to practice archery. Most of the princes spent some months of the year at Qutub.

Medical Facilities:

Hukeem Ahsanoollah Khan, Hukeem Emamooddeen and Hukeem Najaf Khan were the popular Hukeems of the day. Allopathic doctors (like Drs. Ross and Chimman) trained in Western medical science were consulted. The doctors used to charge very heavy fees. (One gold Mohur[39] per visit). There was a dispensary[40] in the Palace for medical aid to the inhabitants of the Fort.

III. Cultural Life

The king was a great lover of art and architecture. Zauq and Ghalib were greatly honoured by him. They were paid regular stipends.[41] The king himself was a good poet and used to recite verses of his own composition in the Court. A collection of his poems had been published. The heir apparent also composed verses. Mushairas or symposiums were often held. There was a royal library[42] in the fort. Some of the princes were good scholars. History of the World, history of England, history of the Pirs and history of the Mughal dynasty were written in Urdu. Portrait painters used to paint quite beautifully. Painter Gholam[43] Ali was the best of all painters. Painter Gholam Ali and Muhboob the singer were the favourites of the Court.

IV. Religious Life

Festivals:

Both Ids, Muharam,[44] Bara Wafat and Akhree Chhar Shamba were the important Muslim festivals. Nowroz, Punkha ka Mela (Procession of the Fans[45]), king's birthday and Ghusul-i-Sehat[46] were the special festivals of the Palace. Hindu festivals were celebrated by the Muslim king in a peculiar manner. On Sulona[47] Raja Bholanath fastened Rakhee on His Majesty's wrist. On Dusserah His Majesty

38. 16 May 1851.
39. 11 October 1851.
40. 12 January 1852.
41. 19 April 1852.
42. 10 November 1851.
43. 24 October 1851.
44. 3 November 1851.
45. 28 August 1851.
46. 29 February 1852.
47. 11 August 1851.

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conferred the customary khilluts on his Hindu servants. On Diwali the king was weighed against seven kinds of grain. On Holee[48], His Majesty bathed himself in the water of seven wells.

Religion of the king :

Bahadur Shah was not an orthodox Musulman. He had kept a number of Hindu servants (Zoorawar Chand and Mukanda Lla) and treated them equally. In fact he followed a policy of religious toleration. Dr. Chimman Lal became a Christian. His action was bitterly criticized by some of the inhabitants of Delhi, but Bahadur Shah rebuked the critics.[49] He also believed in astrology. Sookhanand[50] and Bismillah Beg were the chief astrologers of his court. He used to distribute alms on the occasions of the eclipses. Bahadur Shah II had a great respect for the Pirs. Kaleh Sahib was his chief priest. The King also honoured saints of the past ages. He used to pay homage to the Durgah of Qutub Sahib, Nizamood Deen, Shrine of Shah Murdan, tombs of his ancestors at Qutub and other places. He had also started making his own followers.[51] Like a true Muslim, he had also made up his mind to go to Mecca,[52] but with very great difficulty he was dissuaded by the British Government to give up his intention. Hindus visited various sacred shrines like Poore and brought Ganges water from the river Ganges.

V. Economic Conditions of the Inhabitants of the Fort

Things were very cheap in those days. A very good horse could be obtained for 200 rupees. Even elephants[53] could be purchased for 250 rupees. Elephants used to have silver howdahs.

The main source of income of the princes was the pension given by the East India Company. Out of the pension given to the king, he used to allot a monthly allowance to various princes according to their relations with the king.

Some of the princes and princesses (like Taj Mahal Begum) were extravagant and had to borrow money and were under perpetual debt. Banias used to charge very heavy rate of interest.[54]

48. 6 March 1852.
49. 13 July 1852; also referred by Dr. Spears in *Twilight of the Mughuls*.
50. 20 April 1851.
51. 7 October 1851.
52. 2 December 1851.
53. 2 December 1851.
54. 20 October 1851.

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The means of communications and transport were not good. A visit to Mecca took two years in those days. Carriages and Raths driven by horses were in common use. Elephants and camels were also used as a means of conveyance. The wooden bridge over Jumna was not in a good condition. Once the planks of the bridge of boats gave way and Muhboob Ali Khan and his elephant were severely injured. There was the Rahdaree system and nobody could go out of the fort without the pass.[55] At night the Gates of Delhi city were closed. The Gates of the Fort were likewise closed and commandant of the Palace Guards had to be intimated about the coming back of any party at night.

Thus this document is a mine of information for the study of contemporary life of Delhi in all spheres like political, social, cultural, religious and economic. It is also the most authentic and reliable source of information for this period of the history of Delhi. Every week's diary bears the signature of the Resident of Delhi.

55. 19 January 1851,...

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DALHOUSIE AND THE REFORM OF THE POSTAL SYSTEM

Dr. M. N. Das

Modern postal system was instituted in India during the administration of Lord Dalhousie. The object of this paper is to show, as gathered from the Dalhousie papers preserved in Scottish Record Office at Edinburgh, and official records available in Commonwealth Relations Office at London, how and under what circumstances Lord Dalhousie effected reform in the existing system of postal communication and gave to India the benefits of a uniform half anna postage.

As early as 1766, Lord Clive had introduced into the British conquered territories a type of postal system to carry government letters. This system, more or less, was improved by Warren Hastings and the posts were opened for private communications. But these early arrangements made by the British Government cannot be regarded as a general postal system for the country. From the time of Clive to that of Bentinck, the post office was not regarded as a department of public utility. At several places in the country people maintained private organisations to carry letters. Though some such private systems were quite well organised, yet their scope was very much limited. Cost of sending letters through them was high, and everything else was uncertain and full of risks. It was during the time of Lord William Bentinck that any serious attention was given by the Government to the question of improving postal communication. As a result of this, under Bentinck's successor, the post office Act was passed in 1837. This Act aimed at establishing a general postal system for the whole country. But the Act was full of defects. It could not think of introducing stamps, and so postage was paid in cash. No central authority was instituted to control the system and therefore local arrangements continued in different areas. A uniformity was not suggested and so the rates varied according to weight and distance. The Act was far from being satisfactory and caused a great deal of dissatisfaction among the people. It allowed the system of franking to continue, and also did not abolish bearing. It was therefore pointed out in some quarters that the Act was not only inconvenient to the Postal Department itself, but was in many respects an 'unmitigated nuisance' to the public.[1]

1. *Friend of India* (to be abbreviated as *FI*), 22 June 1848.

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Between 1837 and 1840, Sir Rowland Hill, the inventor of the penny postage in England, brought about far-reaching changes in the postal system of that country. Cheap postage, uniform rate regardless of distance and similar improvements changed the British postal system into what it is in modern times and opened immense possibilities for increase of income for government and convenience to common men. The success of the Hill system in England did not influence the Indian Government or the Home authorities to think of a similar system for India, and for nearly ten years more the post office in this country continued to work in the same defective and inconvenient manner as before. During this period, the poorest man in England, got advantage of communication with anyone in the remotest part of his country only at the cost of a penny, whereas, in India benefit of communication was far beyond the reach of even the well-to-do. Competent authorities like Captain N. Staples while making observations on the Indian Post Office before 1850 saw the charges on letters as 'most oppressive'.[2] The government had given the responsibility of carrying dak to contractors who had their own way of doing things. In areas where roads were not safe, the contractors were in a position to bargain with the people. Even in the most developed part of India, from Calcutta to Benares connected by the Grand Trunk Road, the condition of postal communication was in a deplorable condition. On this line also the government left the conveyance of mails to the contractors whose 'neglect and mismanagement' made the system ridiculous. After several contract systems had worked on the line between 1839 and 1845, W. Tayler, the officiating postmaster general, declared them as 'miserable failures' and proposed their abolition.[3]

While everywhere in India the conveyance of mails remained in an uncertain condition, corruption in the department made the things worse. The Postmaster-General of the North-West Provinces, under whose jurisdiction the line from Benares to Calcutta worked, complained in 1843 that the 'clerks being virtually uncontrolled in collecting postage and rendering accounts of it cannot be made checks on themselves. None but persons identified with them in interest and feeling know how much money they receive or whether the amount of it is truly recorded in the books of the office.'[4] Such corruption could come in because the system of cash payment for letters was maintained instead of payment through stamps. Five years later, the successor of the above postmaster general, H. B. Riddell, complained in still more clear terms that 'the most simple and perfect protection against embezzlement of

2. N. Staples, *Observations on the Indian Post Office* (1850), p. 2.

3. *India Home Consultations* (to be abbreviated as *IHC*), 187, vol. 31, *vide* Report of J. P. Grant, 4 September 1850.

4. *IHC*, 187, vol. 42, *vide* note from Postmaster-General of *NWP*, 14 October 1848.

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the post office collections and also as a great boon to the public I would urge the adoption of a low uniform rate of postage prepared by stamps.'[5] Riddell began to advocate that the government should prohibit the receipt of cash at all post offices.

The cash payment for letters tempted the postal clerks to irregularity and fraud and led the entire department, so it was said, to great inefficiency and untrustworthiness.[6] Innumerable letters, duly paid for, never reached the addressees. Bhanghy parcels, too, suffered same consequences. Such abuses became apparent to many administrators who at all thought of the postal communication in India. In 1845-46, Sir Herbert Maddock, the Deputy Governor of Bengal, thought of a radical improvement in the system, and it was said that he 'resolved to render his administration memorable by a Reform in the Post Office, exceeding the most sanguine expectations of the public.' A plan for establishing an anna post, corresponding with the penny post in England, was drawn up and publicly announced in India, and duly transmitted to the Court of Directors in England. It involved an immediate risk of loss to the exchequer. The Court of Directors refused to concur in so wild and costly a proposition.[7]

Lord Dalhousie landed in India in 1848. He had seen the working of the Hill system in England and was fully aware of the benefit it did to the people. Shortly after his arrival in India, James Thomason, the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Provinces, drew the attention of the Governor-General to the grave abuses of the postal system. Thomason, after much consideration, was himself convinced that 'the substitution of stamps for money payments is the only effectual and practical check on the admitted irregularities to the present system.'[8] He thought it desirable to have a preliminary experiment with a system of uniform postage at Lucknow and asked for Dalhousie's opinion on the proposed trial.

The Governor-General at that time was conducting the Sikh War from his camp near Umballa. From there he informed Thomason on 11 December 1848, 'Personally I am favourable to a system of uniform postage rate,' and agreed on the advantage of Lucknow being the scene of first trial.[9]

5. *Ibid.*

6. Allen, *Indian Mail*, 2 February 1848.

7. *FI*, 14 March 1850.

8. *IHC*, 187, vol. 42, *vide* Letter from Secretary to Government of NWP, 23 October 1848.

9. *Dalhousie Papers* (to be abbreviated as *DP*), Miscellaneous Letters to Persons in India and Europe, vol. I, Dalhousie to Thomason, 11 December 1848.

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The interest of the Governor-General in postal affairs created hope in the mind of interested perons. In March 1849 R. N. C. Hamilton, the resident at Indore, sent a scheme for postal reform for the consideration of Dalhousie. He said, 'Although it may not be expedient at present to reduce the postage levied upon letters sent through the Government Post Offices, still I trust it will be considered desirable to secure to the Government the whole of the payments on account of postage made by the public, and to prevent the revenue being defrauded. These results can only be attained by the adoption of Post office stamps of one, two, four and eight annas value, and by abolishing all cash receipts for letters at any post office.'[10] Various other suggestions were placed before the Governor-General. Newspapers, too, created an opinion in the country and clamoured for reform.

The real difficulty arising out of a defective and ill-organised postal system was felt by the Governor-General after the annexation of the Punjab. The British Empire had reached its final frontier in the North-West. In that quarter of the sub-continent there was no system regarding the dak. Immediately after the conquest the same method which prevailed in other parts of the country was extended into the Punjab, but a good deal of inconvenience was felt from its working. As Dalhousie himself said, 'Nothing can be worse than the condition of the Post office on the frontier,' and he, in his words, 'made it the subject of notice and complaint to the Lieutenant-Governor (Thomason).'[11] Sir Henry Lawrence, one of the administrators in charge of the Punjab, asked for some immediate remedy, and Dalhousie replied to him from Simla in May 1849, 'I should fear that it is not likely to be improved in the new country beyound, unless the screw is put on.' But the Governor-General called for a definite plan for the Punjab, and prepared to discuss the subject with Thomason and the Post Master General, Riddell, both of whom were then at Simla with him.[12]

It was in the Punjab that the first experiment was made on a reduced postage and an efficient government control. The proposal for 'a dimunition of the rate of postage in the new Territory' came from Riddell, and Dalhousie, after well considering it, gave his assent. He issued a minute on the Post office in the Punjab on 12 June 1849. 'Having regard to the peculiar circumstances under which the correspondence is at present carried on with distant stations in the Punjab, I think it reasonable that a reduced rate of postage should be demanded

10. *IHC*, 187, vol. 42, R. N. C. Hamilton to Secretary with Governor-General, 13 March 1849.

11. *DP*, Letters to Lahore, vol. I, Dalhousie to Henry Lawrence, 9 May 1849.

12. *Ibid.*

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by the Government,' said the Governor-General.[13] He approved of Riddell's estimate of the expenses of the establishment in that new territory.

While the experiment was being carried on in the Punjab, elsewhere in India and especially in the south, conditions remained bad. Private contractors who were in charge of carrying daks faced grave dangers. Their ' stables would be burnt, grass ricks fired, riders occasionally beaten and grain depots plundered.'[14] The government gave them no protection, and the public had no faith in them. The dissatisfaction regarding delays, insecurity, and irregularities of the post office became almost universal. Dalhousie saw that too much was expected by those who advocated in favour of an entire change of the system. But he said, ' Without carrying change to an extreme and without undue sacrifice of present income, the system is, in my humble opinion, capable of such improvement as would very greatly add to its speed, its economy and certainty.'[15]

By March 1850 Dalhousie had recommended for an experiment on electric telegraph. Almost simultaneously, he took decision to reform the post. He thought of a ' uniform low rate of postage which has for one time been established in England ' or some other system ' which shall approximate to the English system as closely as the different condition and circumstances of the two countries will allow,' and wanted to make the system applicable to the whole of the British territories in India.

With this motive the Governor-General issued his minute on the post office reform on 15 April 1850. He declared, ' The inferiority of the postal system in India and the unsatisfactory manner in which that department of the public service is found to work in every Presidency, has long been made a subject of complaint by the community, and the justice of their complaints has not been and cannot be, denied by the Government. '[16] As an effective step towards the intended reform, Dalhousie decided to appoint a Commission to examine into the post office system, and to report to the government upon the various defects, and finally to suggest the remedies which might appear to the commissioners to be feasible. He appointed three commissioners for the three presidencies, Cecil Beadon for Bengal, H. Forbes for Madras and W. Courtney for Bombay.

13. *DP*, Governor-General's Minutes, vol. II, 12 June 1849.
14. *IHC*, 187, vol. 30, Memorandum by Capt. Hart, July, 1849.
15. *DP*, Governor-General's Minutes, vol. IV, 15 April 1850.
16. *Ibid.*

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Dalhousie's intention was not merely to imitate the British system, but to derive examples from some other European countries where the modern systems were at work. He called for documentary and other informations regarding postal reform in the Western nations.[17] His experiment drew the attention of Sir Rowland Hill himself who sent a number of pamphlets on the subject with explanations.

The enquiry began simultaneously in Bengal, Bombay and Madras. Cecil Beadon also included North-West Provinces in his jurisdiction at the request of Thomason. The commissioners carried thorough and elaborate investigation. They examined all schemes submitted previously; they took evidence from experienced persons; they called for opinion from post masters in all presidencies; numerous private persons were consulted and examined; persons of different shades and status, all spoke before the commissioners.[18] All who appeared for evidence, beginning from an expert to a lay man, pleaded in favour of a low uniform postage.

The Commissioners divided their subject into eight heads: Postage on letters, Postage on Newspapers, Postage stamps, Prepayment, Franking, General Management, the Bhangy, and District Daks. About the first item, they advocated uniformity of postage, without reference to distance, combined with a low rate of charge. 'It makes the post office what underany other system it can never be, the unrestricted means of diffusing knowledge, extending commerce, and promoting in every way the social and intellectual improvement of the people,' said the commissioners.[19] About postage on newspapers the commissioners with their own arguments did not recommened any reduction in rates. About stamps and prepayment they advocated that the most perfect system of post office management, and the safest both for the public and the department, would be the compulsory pre-payment of all letters by means of stamps. They argued that the privilege of franking was abused, and therefore limited it to a small circle. On the question of general management, they recommended the constitution of the post office throughout India as a distinct department supervisied by an officer styled the Director-Gencral of the Post Office of India, under the immediate control of the Government. The commissioners simplified existing scales of charge on bhanghy parcels and recommended for improvement of district daks. Their report covered 125 foolscap pages, and the appendices made about four times as much. On 1 May 1851, they submitted it before F. J. Halliday, Secretary to the Government of India in the Home Department.

17. *DP*, Miscellaneous letters to various persons in India, vol. II, Dalhousie to Beadon, 8 June 1850.
18. *Report of Commissioners for P.O. Enquiry*, 1851, para 35-56.
19. *Ibid.*, para 34.

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Dalhousie was anxiously waiting at Simla to get the report. A little delay made him to write to Halliday on 16 July, 'You are quite mistaken. I am very anxious to deal with the Post Office Report before I come to Calcutta, so as if possible to get some reply from the Court to whom it must go, before I leave India. So do not let them sit upon it till they addle it in Calcutta."[20] At this time he seriously thought of leaving India and wanted to finalise the matter before his expected departure.

Report of the commissioners raised high hope among people, but there was an apprehension that the Government might not accept the recommedation for a half anna rate which meant an immediate loss of revenue to the extent of nine lakhs of rupees. But to the surprise of all, Dalhousie boldly came forward to run the risk of loss and requested the Court of Directors for permission to introduce a uniform rate of half an anna on everylletter for whatever distance it might be conveyed. To him, if it were wise in England to remove every obstacle to free communication between man and man, wisdom dictated the same liberality in legislation in India.[21] The Governor-General even went further than the commissioners in his recommendations. About newspapers, the commissioners had said that 'at all events not less than two annas be charged on every copy of a certain weight.' Dalhousie rejected this view, and knowing that circulation of newspapers did immense good to India, he recommended a uniform rate of one anna for each copy as the proper charge. On administrative aspect he decided to constitute post office throughout all India into one department under orders of Supreme Government. On its financial aspect he tried to convince the Court that the immediate loss of about nine lakhs of rupees would be made good of by a natural increase of correspondence. His enthusiasm was so great as to lead him to say, 'If I were vested with authority so to do I should at once carry into effect the recommendations of the commissioners notwithstanding the responsibility which such an act would involve.'[22] He noted in his diary: 'I advised the Court to sanction the cheap and uniform rate of postage, including also newspapers, which the Commissioners had excluded; and to permit me to remodel the system as has been suggested. I am firm in my conviction that no ultimate loss of the present revenue would be incurred, while an immeasurable boon would be conferred upon the community in all its interests, social, literary, commercial and political.'[23]

The Court of Directors was neither unaware of the inefficient state of the post office department in India, nor of the complaint for many

20. *DP*, Letters to Presidency, vol. II, Dalhousie to Halliday, 16 July 1851.
21. *DP*, Governor-General's Minutes, vol. IX, 30 December 1851.
22. *Ibid.*
23. *Dalhousie's Diary*, 1852, pt. I, 13 January 1852.

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years, and therefore, thanked Dalhousie for his initiative for reform, but delayed nearly a year to give its decision; and while giving decision it accepted the principle of uniform rate of half an anna for a single letter and certain other recommendations of the Governor-General, but did not agree to reduce the charges on newspapers, and to appoint a Director-General for the whole of India. Dalhousie was sorry for the plight of the journalists and editors, and could not understand how to organise a new all India department without a Director-General for the whole country. He complained to the President of the Board of Control, Sir Charles Wood, 'The Court objects to a Director-General of Posts who shall not be controlled by Madras and Bombay, on the ground that it is different from other departments. But the post office is different from other departments and requires a different machinery. I assure you truly that unless there be one uniform power, at least to introduce the system, it cannot be done. I pray you, therefore, to interfere and to force the Court to let us have what England and America have equally found to be indispensable. At least let us have it for a time.'[24]

For nearly two years the Governor-General had to fight to win his points. On some points the Directors were, according to Sir Charles Wood, 'very obstinate.'[25] Finally, however, they gave consent to the appointment of a Director-General and granted cheap uniform rate for newspapers. Proudly did Dalhousie note in his Diary, 'On the 1st October (1854), after infinite trouble and delay the new Postal System—the uniform rate of postage—was brought into operation throughout India' (Diary, 1854); and proudly proclaimed to Queen Victoria,

> 'Foremost among the measures of internal improvement which the year has produced is the Reform of the Postal System. The change has long been in preparation; but it was not until three days ago that the principle of cheap and uniform postage, which has been so successfully tried in England, was introduced into the Indian Empire. The measure has been applied to all India; and although it must involve some present loss of revenue to the Government, it will be productive of many immediate advantages to the people, and will ultimately reproduce the revenue lost.'[26]

24. *DP*, Letters to Board of Control, Dalhousie to Wood, 5 May 1853.
25. *Wood Papers*, Letter Book, vol. IV, f. 96, Wood to Dalhousie, 24 January 1854.
26. *DP*, No. 897, Letter to Queen Victoria, 4 October 1854.

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BULANDSHAHR IN 1857 RISING

Shri Paresh Nath Mukherjee

H. S. Cunningham has rightly included Bulandshahr among the important and 'great stations of the North-West Provinces' that were affected by the 1857 Rising.[1] Situated in between Delhi and Rohilkhand, bound on the south by Khurja and Aligarh, on the north-west by Delhi, and on the north-east by Rohilkhand, it was almost in the centre of one of the most affected areas. It is, therefore, rather unfortunate that there should be no mention of it in the worthy book of Dr. R. C. Majumdar and only one slight mention of Bulandshahr in the worthy book of Dr. S. N. Sen. The place is also important as it is inhabited by the Jat people who are noted for their bravery and pluck. And finally, one Wulleedad Khan, a near relation of the Emperor belonged to this place and played quite an important role in the 1857 Rising at this place and the near about districts. It is also unfortunate that even in the records of the National Archives there is very limited information to be found on this district. Some information is, of course, to be had from the Meerut Division Narrative. But that is also very scanty. Thus, we have very limited information on this district,—whether in books, or in the official records.

The importance of Bulandshahr was early realised by the Lieutenant-Governor Mr. Colvin who telegraphed to Brigadier Wilson on the 15th May, "if the mutineers leave Delhi in force, it is plain that no wing of a corps, or even a single corps, could stay their march. Therefore a move in strength to Bolundshuhur seems to be the right one." He was right. For the sepoys, if they left Delhi, would surely make a move in a southward direction, and one of the closest stations from where a break through in the south could be prevented was Bulandshahr. But the Brigadier differed from Mr. Colvin, and replied, that a move from Meerut would not be wise, and that he thought that a better and definitely wiser course was to attack Delhi.[2] Thus, Bulandshahr, which was on the brink of becoming one of the most decisive centres in the 1857

1. H. S. Cunningham, *Earl Canning*, p. 100.
2. J. W. Kaye, *A History of the Sepoy War*, vol. II, p. 180.

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Rising was denied that glory. But it must be said that the decision of the Brigadier was wise. Also we should not forget that there was really no difference of opinion between him and Mr. Colvin on the importance of Bulandshahr. Only, Mr. Colvin from a distance thought that a break through of the Delhi sepoys was imminent, whereas Brigadier Wilson, who was on the spot knew better that there was no such possibility and as such he was right to hold that there was no question of leaving Delhi, and as such the contingency of strengthening Bulandshahr as a second line of defence did not arise.

On the 20th May, 1857 Rising on a large-scale broke out in Aligarh, and following that there were many Risings in the bordering districts. On the 20th May, 1857, the 9th Regiment at Bulandshahr looted the Treasury and went off. That is the reason why Colonel Malleson calls it a " no violence " " outbreak. "[3]

But, it is plain that all was not well or quiet at Bulandshahr; for Major-General Hewitt wrote to the Secretary to the Government of India on the 26th May, 1857 : " All Dak communication downwards having been stopped, and telegraphic wire cut by the insurgents at Bulandshahr and Allygurh, I have been unable to keep the Governor-General, as requested, informed of the state of affairs in this district."[4] Again further ahead in the same letter he gives the important information : " but as Bulandshahr is now occupied by the Sirmoor Battalions, with 200 of the Rampore horse,...I trust our communication is by this time restored."[5] So, it is clear that in the period from the 20th to the 26th May, 1857 wide-spread disturbances had taken place in Bulandshahr in which among other things the revolutionaries had cut-off the telegraphic wires to disrupt the speedy transmission of news of their opponents. A similar account, so far as the Sirmur Battalion is concerned is to be found in Kaye's book. Kaye informs us that about 500 soldiers of the Sirmur Battalion under Major Charles Reid occupied this station and left it for Delhi on the 1st of June, 1857.[6]

It is plain, therefore, that about the 26th May these forces had been brought here to establish order at this important station. But it is also equally plain that after the Sirmur Gurkhas left Bulandshahr on the 1st June, 1857 at once the station was lost to the British. This is plain from the official records preserved at the National Archives at New Delhi. The records mentioning one Wulleedad Khan, Nawab of

3. G. B. Malleson, *A History of the Indian Mutiny*, vol. I, p. 3.
4. *Parliamentary Papers*, vol. 30, 17, pp. C. 2264. P. 19. Inclosure No. 17. Letter of Major-General Hewitt to the Secretary to the Government of India. Meerut, 26 May 1857.
5. *Ibid.*
6. Kaye, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 187.

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Malagarh note : " This notorious rebel had a strong mud fort at Malagarh about 4 miles from Bulandshahr. He was a near relation of the ex-King of Delhi with whom he was staying when the outbreak occurred, but returned to Malagarh about the 26th May, deputed by the ex-King as ' Soobah ' of the provinces of Bulandshahr and Aligarh (which fact he himself admitted to Mr. Sapte, the magistrate of Bulandshahr, but excused himself by saying unless he had come out under some such pretence, he would not have been able to escape from Delhi where he had been detained an unwilling guest of the king). About the 10th June he took possession of the station of Bulandshahr, ' in the name of the British Government ' but when the Magistrate in company with Captain Tyrwhitt approached the station the next morning, the rebels opened their guns upon them. From this moment Wulleedad Khan's rebellion became unbounded. His followers spread over the Aligarh, Bulandshahr, and Meerut Districts and many fanatic Mussulmans flocked to his standard.'[7] Thus, his story about coming under a ' pretence ' from out of the clutches of Bahadur Shah at Delhi was all mere concoction, and in his true colours he was a rebel, who, whether he represented Bahadur Shah or not, gave out that he did, and was patently hostile to the British Administration. He had a Fort (even though a mud Fort), and his operations were spread over three districts, which is significant. The fact of his being a near relation of Bahadur Shah was of great help to him in organising the resistance against the British authorities and in paralysing the Government in the district.

At about the same time (exact date not mentioned in the records), his General Ishmael Khan " Attacked the village of Burthona in the Boolandshahr District and was wounded and repulsed by the gallant Jats of that place."[8] This is a rare example where a Muslim General rising against the British rulers was opposed and repulsed by the Hindus. But such instances are rare and as we have seen even English authorities had to admit that in 1857 they could not make the Hindus and the Muslims fight against each other.

It seems that from the beginning of June 1857 upto the end of September, 1857 the town and district of Bulandshahr was lost to the British. On the 24th September Lt.-Colonel Edward Greathed of the 8th Foot marched on Bulandshahr reaching there on the 28th September by way of Hindan with 2790 men (930 Europeans and 1860 Indians). On the 26th he destroyed Dadri as its Gujar inhabitants had looted Sikandrabad. On the 27th he reached Sikandrabad. On the 28th

7. *Foreign Department, Miscellaneous Records,* from Nos. 383, No. 19. Also *Meerut Division Narrative,* paras 246, 258, 269, 295-303, 318-322, 361, 362, 370-386.

8. *Foreign Department, Miscellaneous Records,* from Nos.383, No. 20. Also *Meerut Division Narrative,* paras 302 and 372.

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September the sepoys occupied in force a position in front of the town "where two roads leading to it converge."[9] At the same time on the same day Alfred Lyall (afterwards Sir Alfred Lyall, G.C.I.E., K.C.B., Lt.-Governor of the North-West Provinces and a Member of the India Council) was appointed the Assistant Magistrate of Bulandshahr. Lord Roberts and Norman reached Bulandshahr from Delhi. The sepoys had occupied a strong fortified place which was a walled Serai at the entrance of the town. Greathed set against them four guns of Remington's troops; Bourchier's Battery; and squadrons of the 9th Lancers and of the 5th Punjab Cavalry. Parts of the 2nd Punjab Infantry were pushed through the gardens and houses of the civil station. Remington's guns opened fire on the Serai. Bourchier's troops proceeded on the flanks of the sepoys. They at once yielded and broke up. The 75th Foot dashed against them and captured two 9-pounders. They retreated and were followed by the Cavalry of Drysdale (afterwards General Sir William Drysdale, K.C.B.) of the 9th Lancers. Major Ouvry's Cavalry and Cracklow's guns circled round to the left in spite of severe firing by the sepoys from the Serai. With "heavy loss" to the English the sepoys were completely broken up and defeated. A small group of sepoys even then ventured to attack the English "baggage." Major Turner and Lieutenant Probyn defeated this attack. Augustus Anson got the V.C. for gallantry on this occasion. The English loss amounted to 6 men killed, 6 officers and 35 men wounded, whereas the sepoys lost 300 men.

In the meantime after awaiting the results of this action in all probability, Walidad Khan deserted the Fort of Malagarh, on the same day. Lt. Homes was killed by an explosion in demolishing this fort. It was found that Walidad Khan was planning the manufacture of guns at this place.

The English had to wait for four days here for want of conveyance from Meerut to take the wounded. Mr. Alfred Lyall was left in charge of Bulandshahr to re-establish the British authority. But as the neighbouring district of Rohilkhand to the east remained in the hands of the revolutionaries till the next Spring occasional incursions into the Bulandshahr district continued till the pacification of Rohilkhand. Dr. S. N. Sen is right to point out that "The fall of Delhi had enabled Brigadier Wilson to send out two columns, one of which under the command of Colonel Greathed proceeded to Agra *via* Bulandshahr and Aligarh."[10] Thus in the two different view-points of Mr. Colvin and of Brigadier Wilson whether as early as the 15th of May, 1857 Bulandshahr should have been organised as a strong second line of defence, and in which,

9. Malleson, *op. cit.*, vol. II, pp. 88-90.
10. S. N. Sen, *Eighteen Fiftyseven*, p. 226.

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as we have already seen, Brigadier Wilson strongly held the view that instead of organising Bulandshahr as a stronghold a vigorous offensive should be launched in Delhi,—we find that the Brigadier was right. The real British offensive on Bulandshahr was launched on the 28th September, 1857 after and not before the reconquest of Delhi on the 20th September, 1857. The Brigadier succeeded in preventing a break-through of the Delhi sepoys and thus proved the fears of Mr. Colvin to be baseless. And it must be said in all fairness to the political acumen and military sense of the Brigadier that the political, military, and moral advantages of holding Delhi were far greater than any that could arise by holding Bulandshahr to the loss of Delhi. Once again it must be stressed that neither Mr. Colvin underrated the importance of Delhi nor did the Brigadier underrate the importance of Bulandshahr.

Once again Bulandshahr figures for a while, almost a last flicker, when an invasion of the Doab and of Bulandshahr by Tej Singh (The Raja of Mainpuri) was feared. The British authorities took all possible steps to prevent his invasion, and General Penny moved from Bulandshahr to join Sir Colins in his operations at Rohilkhand, for it was thought that offensive was the best defence for Bulandshahr.[11] Thus, with the pacification of Rohilkhand the pacification of Bulandshahr was assured from May 1858. In passing it must be remarked that the conduct of Walidad Khan, as a relation of the Emperor, cannot be justified. He claimed to be representing the Emperor, made a Fort, offered resistance to the British and even planned the manufacture of guns. At the same time he was extremely vacillating, and a cowardly man who could tell the English authorities that in order to be allowed to escape from Delhi he had to accept the administration of the districts of Bulandshahr and Aligarh, and finally on the approach of the English he ran away almost without offering a fight on the 28th September.

11. Malleson, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 501.

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THE CHARACTER OF THE MOVEMENT OF 1857

PROF. D. TRIPATHI

"DIRECTLY a man assumes the moral attitude of an historian," declared Polybius, " he ought to forget all considerations, such as love of one's friends, hatred of one's enemies." Unfortunately such a dispassionate and impartial attitude expected of an historian have seldom been adopted in the study of the Indian movement of 1857. The majority of the British historians has held the view that it was a simple movement of the Sepoys, probably because such a view is in keeping with their National and Inter-national interests. On the other hand, after the publication of Savarkar's Book " History of the War of Independence," Indian historians are inclined to believe that the aim of the movement was to liberate the country from foreign yoke. The result of this National approach to history has been an unconscious or conscious distortion of facts.

In order to determine the real character of the movement of 1857, it is desirable to be clear about its real causes. Most of the Indian writers have emphasized that the revolt was the result of deep-rooted discontent among the people. Let us see whether such an opinion stands the test of logic.

The movement, as is well-known, began at Meerut with the revolt of a section of the sepoys. In those days it was not something new, earlier also the sepoys had stood against their British Officers on more than one occasion. Two of such revolts in the 19th century stand out prominent. In 1806 the sepoys at Vellore had mutinied because of certain army regulations which interfered with their religious customs. Their old turban was to be replaced by one with a leather cockade, and who knew the origin of the leather? It might be the the skin of pig or cow which the Muslim and Hindu Sepoys would touch at the risk of losing their caste. It was this consideration that drove them to mutiny. It is to be noted in this connection that after the withdrawal of the objectionable regulations, Vellore became as calm as if nothing had happened.

Just 18 years after, troubles again broke out on the Eastern Borders. As the result of the outbreak of Second Burma War in 1824 the Indian

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Soldiers had to be sent to Burma to fight for the British. They had no objection to March through Assam and Arakan and travel over land to Burma but the Hindu would not make a sea voyage as it was contrary to his age-long customs. As necessary transport for journey through land could not be arranged, the Bengal army was ordered to march to Chittagong. But the sepoys suspected that once at Chittagong, they would have to embark. As the sepoys placed religion above discipline they refused to move. This was the prelude to the famous Barrakpur Mutiny.

The immediate cause of the outbreak of 1857 mutiny was also a religious one. Rightly or wrongly the sepoys had come under the spell of this belief that the East India Company aimed at their conversion. As is well-known, this was the time when Enfield Rifles had been introduced in which cartridges greezed with animal fat were used. It was the general impression among the Indian Soldiers that, in these cartridges, fat of cow and pig was used and, of course, such an object was obnoxious to both Hindu and Muslim. There is no denying the fact that the sepoys were not well enough disposed towards the Government because of several factors, *viz.*, frequent engagements in prolonged campaigns in distant lands without any extra-allowance, disparity of emoluments between Indian and British Soldiers, bad behaviour of British Officers with the native sepoys etc. But it is doubtful that the Indian Soldier would bring to his aid the ultimate weapon of violence for the redress of these grievances; probably we cannot credit him with such a high degree of consciousness. But religion held such a prominent place in the Indian life of the 19th Century that they could sacrifice all their interests at its altar. Today due to the spirit of Western education, the caste rules have become so unimportant that we cannot even imagine the rigidity with which they were enforced in the 19th Century. The following account may give an idea of the condition in those days.

At the time of 1st Afghan War, one Sitaram had been sent to fight on the Afghan Soil. He writes, " Great fears were felt by he sepoys at the idea of having to go across the Indus.....because it was out of Hindusthan. This is forbidden in our religion : the very act is loss of caste. In consequence of this, many sepoys obtained their discharge and many deserted."[1] After the Kabul disaster Sitaram fell into enemy hands and when long after he could come back to India, he received a very cruel treatment at the hands of his brethern in service. " I went to the lines of one of the regiments, but when I informed the sepoys as to who I was, they all declared, I was unclean and defiled.....I was treated by the Brahmins as an outcaste.....,but as I had no money I

1. S. N. Sen, *Eighteen Fifty-seven*, p. 6.

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could not regain my caste just then."[2] On reaching home he received no better treatment until " my father paid for my regaining my caste."[3]

It is clear, thus, that the religious practices in the 19th Century were sincerely and strictly observed and it was this fact that made the sepoys to take resort to arms in 1857. It is to be kept in view that before actually beginning the mutiny the sepoys had made it perfectly clear that they were solidly behind the Government; only they would brook no interference in their religion. In this connection the words in which the soldiers at Ambala had expressed their feelings are well worth quoting: " They are all ready to a man to fire when ordered, but they would wish to represent for the paternal considerations of His Excellency the social consequence of military obedience to themselves. They become outcastes for ever not only in their corps but also in their families and their homes. Their devotion to the service and submission to the military authorities would inflict on them the direct and most terrible punishment they can undergo in this world."[4] On an earlier occasion in 1855, the rebel soldiers at Bolarum who had mutined on religious grounds had told their British Officers that " they were the servants of the State and would lay down their lives for the Government but that their religion was dearer to them than their lives."[5] Do these words sound like those of a community upsurged with the feelings of revolt and seeking for a pretext to begin the catastrophe or like those of faithful subjects requesting for the redressal of their grievances with all the humility at their command ?

The above discussion makes it perfectly clear that the causes of the principal three revolts of Indian soldiers in the 19th Century lay in their religious discontent. Now, what were the circumstances that drew the other sections of the population under the banner of the rebels in 1857 whereas the other two rebellions were restricted to the military camps ? Those, who hold the view that discontent of people was responsible for such an eventuality, have missed this pertinent fact that the conditions in 1806 and 1824 were no better than those existing in 1857. As early as 1817, Sir Thomas Munro, writing to the Governor-General Lord Hastings, after pointing out the advantages of the British Rule said: " But these advantages are dearly bought. They are purchased by the sacrifice of Independence, of national character and of whatever renders a people respectable...there is perhaps no example of any conquest in which the natives have been so completely excluded from all shares of the Government of their country as in British India."[6] A year later he

2. *Ibid.*, p. 6.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 6.
4. Care Browne, *The Punjab and Delhi in* 1857, vol. I, p. 45.
5. Sen, *op. cit.*, p. 14.
6. J. Nehru, *Discovery of India*, p. 301.

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wrote again, " foreign conquerers have treated the natives with violence, and often with great cruelty but none has treated them with so much scorn as we : none has stigmatized the whole people as unworthy of trust, as incapable of honesty and as fit to be employed only when we cannot do without them."[7] Such circumstances must have been accumulating for several years past and therefore in 1806 also condition of the people, it may be suggested, would have been the same as in 1818, 1824 or 1857 and if it was the discontent prevailing among the masses that spread the flame of movement in 1857 to the other sections of the community, the mutinies in 1806 and 1824 ought to have been somewhat affected by it. But it was not so and therefore to suggest that the movement of 1857 was the result of the acute discontent of the people would be going against historical facts. It is true that the people were not satisfied with the administration, but that this drove them to the support of the rebels does not appear to be true in the light of the facts mentioned above. From a purely logical point of view the causes of the support that the movement of 1857 undoubtedly received from other sections of the community must lay in certain circumstances that did not exist in 1806 or in 1824.

These new circumstances were created by the imperialist policy of Dalhousie that resulted in the expropriation of many native kings and landlords. Right from the day, the English first stepped on the Indian soil, it had been their policy to create a British Indian Empire on the ashes of the native states. This aim had been, to a considerable degree, achieved as the result of the subtle policy persuaded by the previous Governor General. But up to 1848 the British policy in India was so cautious that it seldom did any offence to the feelings of the Indian kings. This policy was all of a sudden reversed with the arrival of Dalhousie who would not tolerate even that precarious type of independence that certain states were even then enjoying. Under this doctrine of lapse or Escheat he grabbed many states namely Satara, Nagpur, Jhanshi, Oudh, Berar, Tanjore, Carnatic and discontinued pensions and some other privileges of some individuals including Nana Sahib the adopted son of Ex-Peshwa Bajirao second. Kuwarsingh the Rajput Chief of Jagdishpur in Bihar had been deprived of his Estates by the Board of Revenue and the descendents of the great Moghuls were to be removed from their ancestors' palace to the Qutb near Dehli. All this naturally gave rise to the feeling of revenge in the heart of those whose privileges had been taken away. But conscious as they were of their own weakness, they could not raise their arms against the mighty Company Government just then. They perhaps at that time could not even imagine that the Indian army could ever stand against the British Rule, otherwise they would have made some joint plan of action. But as has been conclusively

7. *Ibid.*, p. 301.

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proved by Dr. R. C. Mazumdar and S. N. Sen "Nowhere did the sepoys' conduct conform to a common pattern and the obvious inference is that they had no pre-concerted plan to follow."[8]

The revolt at Meerut offered these disgruntled elements a golden opportunity to avenge the harm done to them by the British and, if posible, to undo the arrangements that had resulted in the loss of their privileges. Thus the revolt that originated due to the religious grievances of the sepoys took a somewhat political colour. The rebel declared decrepit Bahadur Shah as their Emperor and both the Hindu and the Muslim united against the British. Much significance has been attached to this unity of the two principal communities of India. But it is incredible to the highest degree that those native rulers who had once not only welcomed the British but had also on several occasions come to the side of the foreigners against their own counterparts in other states, were, all of a sudden promoted by the feelings of Independence. The only explanation of their unity in 1857 lies in the saying, "Adversity makes strange bed-fellows." It was a negative unity against a common oppressor and we have examples of many such unities in history, one of the most important being the one during the World War II. It is to be noted that Nana Sahib at one stage had even asked his soldiers not to march to Delhi to fight under the Moghul emperor. What more does one require to show the real nature of the unity of 1857 ?

After they reached Delhi, the rebels tried to win the co-operation of people. They called the rebellion as the war of Independence. Bahadur Shah, who had accepted their leadership though not without difficulty, issued a proclamation promising many concessions to the people on the successful conclusion of the "War of Independence." An Advisory Council was also set up to conduct the administration. But it appears that the people were absolutely uneffected by all this. Bahadur Shah sought financial assistance from the people and "under great pressure from the king only one lakh could be raised, and on later occasions, what to talk of contributions, even the loans were refused whereas Jyotiprasad, a contractor of Agra had advanced Rs. 33,000/- to the English.[9] The Delhi merchants continued their trade with those part of the city which were under the possession of the British, in spite of express orders of the emperor to the contrary. The army was not under the control of emperor and the soldiers indiscriminately looted the people.[10] The old emperor received number of complaints against the unseemly behaviour of the soldiers and his kinsmen but what more than ineffective remonstrances could be expected of a man who was a prisoner in the

8. Sen, *op. cit.*, p. 402.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 76.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 91.

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hands of his own followers. The people at Delhi were so much vexed by the soldiers that, as Munshi Jawlal, a contemporary of Delhi has left it on record, they prayed to God for the failure of the rebels.[11] The conditions at other places were no better and we find similar accounts of some other places as well.[12] Important British officers could travel over long distances with only a handful of body-guards. The educated people of Bengal and Madras had openly denounced the conduct of the rebels and a loyal address was presented by the Maharaja of Berdban and 25,000 other signatories recounting the benefits of British Rule.[13] Tantya Tope, one of the important leaders of the movement, could get no shelter after he crossed the Nerbuda[14] and the Peshwa got but little support in his home province of Maharashtra.[15]

On the basis of above discussions, it is quite clear that in spite of their best efforts, the rebels could not get the desired co-operation of people. Though in certain parts like Oudh and Sahabad the people had certainly backed the movement but, " they were not champions of freedom." They wanted to revive the old order, they were really trying to stage a counter revolution. There is no denying the fact that a number of people had swelled the ranks of rebels but as pointed out by a contemporary, Durgadas Bandyophadya, the recruits were attracted by the prospects of employment. Thousands had flocked to the British Camp for the same reason and as Medley has pointed out, " In fact for every white man in camp, there were certainly 20 black ones."[16] Some people had joined the rebel army for prospects of loot. In no case the notorious dacoit Mahimaji Wadi who had joined Tantya Tope troops and Belsera a Maharastrian Brahamin who had left for north in quest of wealth, could be credited with the feelings of national love.

But even in the absence of active support of the large number of people, the movement could have been called a war of independence had it won the general sympathy of the people, for "so long as the substantial majority sympathises with the main object of the movement, it can claim a national status, though universal active support may be wanting. Outside Oudh and Sahabad there is no evidence of that general sympathy which would invest the mutiny with the dignity of the national war."[17] As the matter of fact the words of Dr. Alexander Duff for the Bengali

11. R. C. Majumdar, " Revolt in East U. P. " *A. B. Patrika* (Alld.), 10 May 1957.
12. Majumdar refers to a statement of one Durgadas Bandyopadhyaya of Bareily in his above article.
13. Sen, *op. cit.*, p. 408.
14. Maulana Azad in his Introduction to Sen's book.
15. Sen, *op. cit.*, pp. 412-13.
16. Quoted by Sen, p. 413.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 411.

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population are applicable to the people throughout the country: "Numbers of our Bengali population still continue to view the whole business with something like unreasoning indifference. They can scarcely be said to be either loyal or disloyal, while discontent lurks deeply in the hearts of millions. Many, it cannot be doubted, are at the same time well enough disposed towards our rule; though to talk of attachment would only tend to mislead."[18]

There may be three possible causes of this indifference of people. First, in the whole course of Indian history we find absolutely no example of the peoples' participation in political activities like war or movement and it is no wonder that with such a historical background they attached no importance to the movement of 1857. Secondly, at no stage the movement assumed the character of a war of national liberation; the soldiers who began it were actuated by religious considerations and the native kings never rose above their selfish interests. The kings during their happier days had treated the people no better than the British were doing. What difference would it make for the people if the rule of the British was replaced by that of the Indian Rulers; it would be the replacement of an alien oppression by a native one. Why should they in that case bother about something that would bring absolutely no chage in their material conditions. Thirdly, in 1857 there was no idea of nationalism and none can think of a war of independence without the idea of a natoinalism as its deriving force.

In estimating the popularity of the movement of 1857 two significant facts have so far not received the due attention of scholars. First, almost all popular political movements in history have left their marks on contemporary and later literature. What then was the influence of the movement of 1857 on Hindi Literature? For, as Dr. Ramvilas Sharma, a noted Hindi critic, has rightly pointed out, the theatre of the movement was mainly the Hindi-speaking area of the country. Bharandu Harishchandra (1850-1935) has praised the benefits of British Rule in an unembiguious language. Without mincing matters he says plainly that the British Rule has provided all the amenities of life. Another famous poet of the age, Rasraj Babu Biharising, after describing the facilities provided by the British Rule, has prayed for a long life to Queen Victoria. A very famous poet of Hindi, Pt. Pratap Narayan Mishra (1856-1894), has written—

सन् सत्तावन माँहि जबै कळु सेना बिगरी
तब राजा दिसि ही रही, सुदृढ़ है, परज़ा सिगरी।

18. Duff, *The Indian Rebellion, its Causes and Results*, p. 180.

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(in 1857 when a section of the army revolted the people solidly sided with the company government). Again he has described the attitude of the people towards the movement in the following words :

दुष्ट समुझि अपने भाइन को साथ न दीन्हों,
भोजन बिन विद्रोहिन कर दल निरबल कीन्हों,
ठौर ठोर निज घर लुटवर अरु कुंकवाए,
प्रान खोय बहु ब्रिटिश प्रजा के प्रान बचाए।

(The people thought that their own brethern had gone astray and therefore did not co-operate with them. They weakened the ranks of the soldiers by withholding the food supply. Besides they lost their houses and lives in their efforts to save the people of British origin). The following lines of Upadhaya Badrinath Choudhri " Premghana " (1855-1922) are also significant :

देसो मूढ़ सिणाह कहुक लै कुटिल प्रजा सग,
कियों अमिल उत्पात रच्चो निज नासन के ढंग,
बद्यों देस में दुःख बनि गई प्रजा अति कातर,
फेंत्यो तव तुम दया दीठ भारत के ऊपर।

(Some foolish soldiers and faithless and cunning section of Indian popul lation created much disturbance and thereby paved the way for their annihilation. As a consequence of the misdeeds of the rebels the people became the victim of untold misery and suffering and then O Lord, you showered your kindness on India).

These lines of the contemporary Hindi poets who had undoubtedly given a national turn to Hindi Poetry, tell their own stories. The folk-songs of the time do not paint a better picture. The following folk songs in which a lady regrets the lack of experience in the art of looting on the part of her husband is still popular in the regions around Saharanpur

लोगों नें लूटे शाल दुशाले मेरे प्यारे नें लूटे समाल
मेरठ का सदर बाजार है, मेरे सैंयाँ लूटें न जानें।

(In the cantonment market of Meerut other people looted valuable property but unfortunately my husband looted only handkerchiefs. He is ignorant of the technique of looting). These lines vividly represent the atmosphere of fear and loot as referred to by Munshi Jiwanlal.

Thus the above passages of the contemporary Hindi Literature amply reveal that even after the suppression of Mutiny the people at large considered the movement as an act of utter folly. It may be suggested that the people were living under an atmosphere of repression and therefore could not have given vent to their real feelings but, had it been so, they should have preferred silence to praising their own enemies.

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The second factor that should have received proper attention is that the movement of 1857 left absolutely no mark on the later movement for Indian Independence. Between 1857 and 1885 we find no evidence of revolutionary feelings among the people and it is significant that it was an Englishman who had founded the Indian National Congress in 1885. The Congress in the beginning was actuated by no revolutionary feelings and it remained a passive organisation up to 1905 when the emergence of Tilak on Indian Political scene gave a new turn to its activities and philosophy. Even then it took years to decide that the final goal of the fight was complete independence of the country. Should we call the movement of 1857 as a war of Independence how to explain this passive attitude of the country for decades following the movements, history has provided so many examples of the facts that failure cannot extinguish the urge for independence once it is created in the heart of a people.

Thus on the basis of the above discussion, it is clear that the movement of 1857 was not a national movement in the true sense of the term, it was not a war of Independence. The movement had begun to force the hands of Government to redress the religious grievances of the soldiers, there was absolutely no political demand behind it. And those who were responsible for the spread of movement " did so for personal reasons. They did not rise against the British till their personal interest had been damaged. Even after the revolt had begun Nana Sahib declared that if Dalhousie's decisions were reversed and his own demands met he would be willing to come to terms." As a matter of fact the soldiers throughout fought only under the impression that they were fighting for their religion. They were not against English Race as such but only against the ruling section which had unwarrantedly interfered and was likely to interfere in future also with their religion. This is why after the famous declaration of Queen Victoria granting freedom for religious practices, the movement completely died out, because the main demand had been fulfilled. Thereafter the Queen could claim sincere love and fidelity of the people.

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THE POLITICAL BACKGROUND OF THE DRAMATIC PERFORMANCES CONTROL ACT OF 1876

Dr. R. K. Das Gupta

On March 20, 1876, two distinguished judges of the Calcutta High Court disposed of an appeal case in which the defendants were the Director and the Manager of a popular theatre house of the city. Their lordships acquitted Upendranath Das and Amritalal Bose whom the lower court had given a month's imprisonment on a charge of staging an obscene play at the National Threatre.

It was a historic case indeed if only for the reason that on all showing the Dramatic Performances Control Act of 1876 which is still in force was mostly conceived as an executive precaution against such sheer justice. And in colonial Governments an upright judiciary brings in too many laws.

In this trial the two judges were upright to a degree and they were distinguished scholars too. Sir William Markby was a Fellow of All Souls and Balliol, Vice-Chancellor of Calcutta University and became, after retirement, Reader in Indian Law at Oxford. And Sir John Phear was a Wrangler of Cambridge where he was a Fellow and Lecturer of Clare College. No less eminent were the lawyers on the defence side-Mr. Branson, Monomohun Ghosh, Taraknath Palit and above all W. C. Bonnerjee, who barely ten years after presided over the first session of the Indian National Congress. The judgment which freed the defendants made the Government feel very uneasy.

Surendra-Binodini Natak, and that is the name of the play in question, annoyed the Government because it was an intensely political piece of writing and was seditious in purport. The charge of obscenity was nothing more than an administrative ruse for avoiding public criticism. The Government pretended to act as guardian of public morality while its real intention was to suppress a play which was an assault on the foreign bureaucracy. It was as though the Royalists were to chase a Roundhead because his features were ugly or a Jocobin was to be hanged for unchristian ideas. The play was free from any obscenity and the High Court saw its innocence that way.

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The Dramatic Performances Control Act of 1876 (Act XIX) was passed on December 16 as a measure against a growing national stage and its political repertoire. It was indeed a prelude to the Vernacular Press Act of 1878 (March 14) through which Lord Lytton wanted to suppress all Indian opinion against the British Raj—the first shot in this direction having been the inclusion of an antisedition clause (November 25, 1870) in the Indian Penal Code. The seventies in fact are a very significant period in the history of our political struggle. Within the rather short span of ten years the Government introduced four repressive measures—the amendment of the Indian Penal Code, the Dramatic Performances Control Act, the Vernacular Press Act and the Arms Act as a timely answer to the rise of Indian nationalism. Then the Government suspected the people and the people suspected the Government.

England was nervous about Russian ambitions in the East : in a possible fulfilment of that ambition quite a large section of political India rested great hope. Bengali newspapers in Calcutta gloated over England's harassments in Europe and were not happy about either the treaty of San Stefano (March 1878) or the Peace of Berlin (June 1878). While they shed tears over the fall of Plevna they would yet love to see Russian sails in the Black Sea and the Bosphorus as a challenge to the increasing power of the masters of their lands.

Lord Beaconsfield's search for what he called a " scientific frontier " in the North-West of India was yet another instance of expansionist diplomacy and when it resulted in a new Afghan war there was an understandable bitterness of feeling in political circles in Calcutta. It was looked upon as an utterly unnecessary war, a bad assault of Afghan sovereignty and a heavy drain on Indian finance. The new taxations were indeed the consequences of Disraeli's aggressive policy supported by a wilful Indian Secretary and an overbearing Viceroy.

The British Government, on the other hand, was exasperated by what it construed to be the seditious tone of the Indian language Press and was determined to be on its guard. In 1875 Lord Salisbury, the Secretary of State, wrote to the Government of India that he had seen articles " in the native Press which are not only calculated to bring the Government into contempt, but which palliate, if they do not absolutely justify, the assassination of British officers."

The assassinations of Justice Norman (20 September, 1871) and of Lord Mayo (8 February 1872) had no political significance. But they were yet enough to make the Government restive. When Gaikwar Malhar Rao's alleged attempt at poisoning Col. Phayre led to his exile the Calcutta Press was resentful. The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* took

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courage to write (23 January, 1875) : " To emasculate a nation, that the Government may rule without trouble: Surely to poison an obscure colonel is by far a lighter crime."

The Government had reason to be worried and afraid. The people had reason to be critical and resentful. And so far as we can judge at this distance of time there were not a few in Calcutta who were happy about Sher Ali's refusal to receive Sir Neville Chamberlain, who felt bitterly about the treaty of Gandamuk and were not particularly sorry for the murder of Cavagnari and his men.

The economic situation in Bengal was bad enough to promote political unrest. The Bengal-Bihar famine of 1873-74 was a major disaster. Lord Mayo had increased the income-tax from 1 to 3½ per cent. Sir George Campbell's road cess (19 July, 1871) was a sore point. And although there was a protective duty on Lancashire cotton goods people knew of Lord Salisbury's insistence on the abolition of all tariff.

The political significance of the Bengali play and of the legislation it provoked has to be studied against this political background of the seventies. The songs of the Hindu Mela, a national festival started in 1867, were patriotic but seldom violently anti-British. The first political play *Bharatmata* (1873) was not seditious in the least. It was nevertheless obvious that the Government was not happy about the growth of a national stage and the patriotic drama. Far from patriotism to sedition was but one step. And the Bengali stage was in fact taking that step. If plays like Jyotirindranath Tagore's *Purubikram* (1874) and *Sarojini* (1875) fostered the sentiment of patriotism, Upendranath Das's *Surendra Binodini Natak* promoted the spirit of sedition.

Another play which provoked the Government immensely was Dakshinacharan Chattopadhyaya's *Chakar Darpan Natak* (Mirror of Tea-planters, January 1875) which revived the spirit of Dinabandhu Mitra's *Nil Darpan* (1860). And an assault on the European planters was nothing less than an assault on the Government. *Chakar-Darpan* was never staged and yet it frightened the Government and an English translation of it made for official use is still to be found among the papers relating to the Dramatic Performances Control Act.

The circumstances that precipitated the passing of the Act make an interesting story. The three most offensive plays in the eye of the Government were *Chakar Darpan Gaekwar Natak* (1875) and *Surendra-Binodini Natak* (10 August, 1875). The first was never staged, the second was first staged on May 22, 1875, and the third was first staged on August 14.

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In the first week of January 1876, the Prince of Wales (Edward VII), then on a visit to India, was received in the house of Jagadananda Mukherjee, a Government pleader, who introduced his guest to the women-folk of his house. The appearance of Hindu ladies in the presence of an Englishman and a member of the ruling class at that showed an excess of loyalty which many condemned and many more ridiculed till it came to be the scandal of the day. Hemchandra Banerjee lampooned the loyal vakil in a fairly powerful satire which was published in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* on 20 January 1876, and about a month later (19 February) the Great National Theatre burlesqued the whole episode in a farce called *Gajadananda and Raj Kumar*.

To the Calcutta police it was indeed a form of disloyalty publicly to ridicule a loyal citizen and they asked the theatre not to repeat the performance. On 23 Feburary, however, the play was produced again though with a different name. And on 26 Feburary, it was acted for the third time with the still more comic name of *Hanuman Charitra*.

This angered the Government who found it difficult to deal with recalcitrant and tricky theatre with existing laws. As an emergency measure Lord Northbrook issued an ordinance on 29th Feburary "empowering the Government of Bengal to prohibit certain dramatic performances which were scandalous, defamatory, seditious, obscene or otherwise prejudicial to the public interest." The Great National Theatre answered by producing on March 1, 1876 an improvised burlesque called *The Police of Pig and Sheep*, parodying the Police Commissioner, Mr. Hogg, and the Superintendent of Police, Mr. Lamb, with utmost levity. And the serious drama presented that day was none other than *Surendra-Binodini Natak* in which prisoners break open the iron gates and kill a British magistrate. Three days later (March 4) the police arrested Upendra Nath Das, Amritalal Bose and eight others of the Great National Theatre and charged them with having acted an immoral drama. Mr. Dickens found Upendranath and Amritalal guilty under Sections 292 and 294 of the Indian Penal Code and galve them a month's simple imprisonment. The rest were acquitted. From what two distinguished judges of the High Court said about the play it appears that Mr. Dickens punished its anti-British spirit rather than its obscenity.

Dickens gave his judgment on March 8. The next day the accused appealed to the High Court where Justice Markeby and Justice Phear acquitted them on March 20. The judgment pleased the public but exasperated the Government who then proceeded to pit a measure of British bureaucracy against any possible recurrence of British justice. The Dramatic Performances Control Act was indeed an executive precaution against judicial honesty. Such honesty in those days of rising nationalism was a source of much worry to the Government.

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The Act provided " that whenever the Government was of opinion that any dramatic performance was scandalous or defamatory or likely to excite feelings of dissatisfaction towards the Government or likely to cause pain to any private party in its performance, or was otherwise prejudicial to the interest of the public, Government might prohibit such a performance." And still more arbitrary is the section which empowers any magistrate or police officer " to enter with such assistance as may be requisite by night or by day and by force if necessary to enter any such house, room or place and take into custody all persons whom he finds there for the said purpose.

This was authorizing the police to do whatever they liked and as a piece of legislation it was no less obnoxious than the Vernacular Press Act of 1878. And it is significant that both the Acts were passed when Disraeli was the Prime Minister, Lord Salisbury the Secretary of State and Lytton the Viceroy.

As we look back to those days and see their link with our later toils for freedom we realize that repressive measures such as these only strengthened the new nationalism. For in a subject country nothing could be more dangerous than good government. And if Gladstone's honest Ripon had done anything great for the country it was not his repeal of the Vernacular Press Act but his withdrawal of the Ilbert Bill.

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RUSSO-AFGHAN FRONTIER DELIMITATION, 1885-87

Dr. Dilip Kumar Ghose

After the Panjdeh issue[1] had been submitted to arbitration,[2] negotiations were begun in London[3] between the British and Russian Governments for the demarcation of the northern frontier of Afghanistan. Sir Peter Lumsden, the leader of the British Boundary Commission in Afghanistan, was ordered to return to England leaving Colonel Ridgway in charge of the Commission. Pursuant to traditional British policy Gladstone sought by practical means to arrest Russian aggression in Central Asia, and to set up the Kingdom of Afghanistan as a bulwark against Russia in Central Asia. To strengthen the hands of the Amir in Afghanistan Dufferin granted him further assistance in money and munitions,[4] and Kimberley and Granville pressed hard upon the Russian Government to demarcate the northern frontier of Afghanistan.[5] Panjdeh was neutralised, and both the Afghans and the Russians were prohibited from entering into that territory.[6]

The discussions in London were based upon a general agreement that Panjdeh should be exchanged for Zulfiqar.[7] But the country was so little known that no common meaning could be attached to the name "Zulfiqar." Neither Government was able to accept the line proposed by the other to carry this agreement into effect. A controversy arose out of a wrong entry in the English map of Central Asia drawn by General Walker in which the name "Zulfiqar" was given to a point on the left bank of the Heri Rud which happened to be outside the territory which later on became the subject of communications between the Russian and the English Governments.[8] In accordance with this map, M. de Giers, while agreeing to the general principle of exchange of

1. For a critical estimate of the Panjdeh issue refer to Ghose, D. K., "Highlights on Panjdeh," *Calcutta Review*, Nov. and Dec. 1954, and January, 1955.
2. The King of Denmark was invited to undertake this task. *For. Dept., Secret F*, October 1885, *Cons.*, 532-37.
3. PP, 1885, *Central Asia*, No. 5, (C. 4418), pp. 40-41.
4. *For. Dept., Secret F*, July 1885, *Cons.*, 475, also *For. Dept., Secret F*, October 1885, *Cons.*, 679.
5. *PP*, 1885, *Central Asia*, No. 4, (C. 4389), p. 5.
6. *For. Dept., Secret F*, July 1885, *Cons.*, 318.
7. *PP*, 1885, *Central Asia*, No. 4, (C. 4389), p. 6.
8. *For. Dept., Secret F*, October 1885, *Cons.*, 554.

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Panjdeh for Zulfiqar, laid down a line of demarcation on the 16th April, 1885.[9] This was afterwards fully elaborated in a Memorandum communicated to the Earl of Granville on the 21st May.[10]

But the British Government objected to the Russian proposal on the ground that it would deprive the Amir of the Pass of Zulfiqar which the Viceroy of India had guaranteed him.[11] To the Russian project they demanded certain modifications,[12] one of the objects of which, among others, was to secure complete control by the Afghans over the pass in question. These were however turned down by the Government of St. Petersburgh as, they pointed out, the English line would cut-off one of the main roads—the Ak-Robat Road[13]—of communication on their side of the frontier.

In this difficulty, however, the two Governments agreed to leave the task of settling the disputed points to the Boundary Commission. But the plan itself was well-nigh impossible of execution so long as the two Governments did not agree to meet each other half way. For, while Russia contended that the integrity of Russian communications should not be subordinated to the Afghan requirements in respect of the Zulfiqar Pass.[14] Granville agreed to the meeting of the Boundary

9. *PP*, 1885, *Central Asia*, No. 4, (C. 4389), p. 6.

10. *Ibid.*, pp. 33-34.

In this Memorandum the Russian line was thus laid down :—The frontier would start from the Heri Rud a little to the north of the point marked " Zulfikar Pass " on the English Map, would follow the crests of the heights which border the valley of the Heri Rud in an easterly and southerly direction, and would then pass between Ak-Robat and Souma Karez, and run to Islim, where it would pass to the right bank of the Egri Goek, leaving Islim outside Afghan territory. From thence it would follow the crests of the hills which border the right bank of the Egri Goek, and leaving Chaman-i-Bid outside the Afghan frontier, it would follow in the same manner the crests of the hills bordering the right bank of the Kushk as far as Hauzi-Khan, from whence it would run to a point situated to the north of Maruchak in such a way as to comprise as much as possible within Russian territory the lands cultivated by the Saryk Turkomans, and their pastures. Applying this same principle, the frontier to the east of the Murghab would be traced in a zone between the heights shown on Russian Map and bordering to the north and west the valleys of the Kaisor and of the Sangalak, and the limits of the cultivated lands of Maimana and Andkhoi, forming part of the Afghan territory, and would end at Khoja Saleh. Should the Cabinet of London, continued the Memorandum, desire an extension of the Afghan pastures near Maimana and Andkhoi, as well as of the limits of Zulfiqar, the Russian Government agreed to give their consent to it on condition that Maruchak should be ceded to them, and the frontier fixed to the north of Bala Murghab.

11. *For. Dept., Secret F*, July 1885, Cons., 345, and October 1885, Cons., 679.

12. *PP*, 1885, *Central Asia*, No. 4, (C. 4389), pp. 35-37.

To the Russian project the British Government demanded the following modifications :—

That the line should so follow the crests of the heights bordering the Zulfiqar that the Afghans might get command of both ends of the pass in question ; that Maruchak, Maimana and Andkhoi should remain under the Afghans in accordance with the Russian proposal of the 16th January, 1885, and the Agreement of 1872-73.

13. *PP*, 1885, *Central Asia*, No. 4, (C. 4389), p. 40.

14. *For. Dept., Secret F*, July 1885, *Cons.*, 500.

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Commission explicitly on condition that the basis of the agreement between the two Governments should be that of April 16, 1885[15] by which Russia had agreed to exchange Panjdeh for Zulfiqar.

It was at this critical juncture of the negotiations that the Gladstone Ministry fell from power and the Conservatives assumed the task of governance in England. On the accession of the new Ministry to power de Giers hoped that the boundary negotiations would be continued from the point where they had been left by the late Government.[16] But so long as the two Governments refused to recede from their respective contentions as to Zulfiqar, no acceptable basis could be found for the settlement of the boundary question.[17] Lord Salisbury, strengthened by the opinion of the Viceroy and his Council[18] as well as by that of Colonel Ridgway'[19] the man on the spot, sought earnestly to vindicate the loss of Panjdeh by the retention of Zulfiqar and Ak-Robat. But Russia declined to alter the conditions laid down by her with regard to the delimitation of the Pass of Zulfiqar, unless investigations made on the spot should show the possibility of extending the limits of the pass without prejudice to the Russian communications.[20]

A deadlock was thus again reached in the boundary negotiations and for a time it appeared as though a failure to reach a settlement might result in the outbreak of a war between the two Powers. Colonel Trench, Military Attache to the English Embassy at St. Petersburg, reported on the 15th July, 1885, " that the defensive works at Sebastopol " were " in a very forward state " and that, in fact, the Russian Government, anticipating " an entire change of policy on the part of the British Cabinet " as a result of the accession of the new Ministry to power, had begun military preparations. Russia, he reported, was planning to join Krasnovodsk Bay with Michaelovak Bay, terminus of the Trans-CaspianRailway. " The object of the project " was " to facilitate the conveyance of Russian troops from Europe to Central Asia."[21]

The British Government, on their part, aticipating that peace might be broken, hastened to inform the Amir that " on no account " should the military preparations begun by him since the time of the Panjdeh crisis be relaxed, and that he should take every measure for "pushing on the fortifications of Herat."[22] Ridgway was instructed to

15. *PP*, 1885, *Central Asia*, No. 4, (C. 4389), p. 45.
16. *Ibid.*, pp. 48-49.
17. *For. Dept.*, *Secret F*, October 1885, *Cons.*, 515.
18. *Ibid.*, July 1885, *Cons.*, 498.
19. *Ibid.*, August 1885, *Cons.*, 209.
20. *Ibid.*, October 1885, *Cons.*, 479.
21. *Ibid.*, October 1885, *Cons.*, 552.
22. *Ibid.*, August 1885, *Cons.*, 289.

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co-operate with the Afghans in the defence of Herat.[23] The Viceroy was given full liberty of action in case of emergency,[24] and he was assured that the Home Government would give the " utmost possible support to whatever policy," in his opinion, " would best provide for Indian interests."[25] The British Cabinet decided that any attempt by Russia on Herat should be regarded as a *casus belli*.[26]

If war cloud was thus gathering, there was still a silver lining in the cloud. On the 15th July M. Staal called upon the Marquis of Salisbury to express " his regret at the apparent deadlock in the negotiations for the settlement of the Afghan frontier." Salisbury, while refusing to accept the Russian proposal of submitting the question of demarcation to the Boundary Commission without a previous understanding on the Zulfiqar issue, suggested to the Russian Ambassador that he had no objection to the Russian Government's desire to survey the debatable land for the purpose of finding a way out of the tangled situation. And he further assured the Russian Ambassador that similar surveys, if necessary, would be done by the British Officers on the spot, though they would work separately and not conjointly with the Russians.[27] It was this provision which eventually paved the path for an amicable settlement between the two Governments.

Animated by the desire for an amicable settlement the Government of St. Petersburg promised to leave that part of the Zulfiqar Pass which crossed " the first range of the heights bordering the Heri Rud." M. de Giers further assured the British Government that if necessary Russia would not even " refuse to push still further eastwards the limit of the territory to be ceded to the Afghans."[28]

On this basis a fresh proposal was made by Russia towards the end of August. The British Foreign Office agreed to accept the new proposal on condition that the frontier line should nowhere approach the heights bordering the Zulfiqar Pass nearer than 1000 yards.[29] Russia accepted this modification[30] and a protocol as accordingly signed between the two Governments on the 10th September, 1885.[31]

In accordance with the conditions of the September Protocol the Boundary Commissiners, Colonel Ridgway on behalf of England and Colonel Kuhlberg on behalf of Russia, met at Zulfiqar on the 10th

23. *Ibid.*, 1885, *Cons.*, 259.
24. *Ibid.*
25. *Ibid.*, *Cons.*, 301-02.
26. *Ibid.*
27. *Ibid.*, October 1885, *Cons.*, 515.
28. *Ibid.*, *Cons.*, 554.
29. *PP.*, 1885, *Central Asia*, No. 4, (C. 4389), p. 69.
30. *Ibid.*, July 1886, *Cons.*, 552.
31. *Ibid.*, January 1886, *Cons.*, 85.

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November, 1885. For a few months the demarcation of the Afghan frontier proceeded smoothly, but in March, 1886, a certain misunderstanding[32] grew up with regard to the definition of 'Khoja Saleh' of the agreement of 1872-73. In that agreement this place had been referred to as "the post of Khoja Saleh," and the British Government agreed that nothing below this post on the left bank of the Oxus would be claimed for the Amir of Afghanistan, as against the rights of the Amir of Bukhara. Russia accepted the British definition of the Amir's boundaries which held the field till the territory in question came under examination thirteen years later. It was then found that the Afghan boundary with Bukhara had been demarcated by Afghan and Bukharan officials some ten years earlier, that it did not correspond with the British definition, and that there was no such post as Khoja Saleh.[33] To make matters worse, the question at issue was complicated by the fact that "Khoja Saleh" was indifferently termed a ford, a ferry, a village or villages, a post and a point, in the correspondence that terminated with the Agreement of 1872-73.[34]

Thanks, however, to the conciliatory efforrts of M. de Giers and the Earl of Rosebery,[35] the negotiations did not come to a deadlock. Inspite of the difference in opinions of the English and Russian commissioners the task of delimitation was carried on, and the boundary between the Heri Rud and Dukchi was amicably settled. Yet, the work of delimitation up to Dukchi was often interrupted by the Amir's officials whose arrogance and threats placed the British Commission in a humiliating position. And, since at the time there was a possibility of a rebellious outbreak in Afghanistan in which case a retreat through that country of the British Commission would have been impossible, the British Government, at the suggestion of Colonel Ridgway, neogtiated through Sir Robert Morier, the British Ambassador at St. Petersburg, an arrangement with the Russian Government that the Boundary Commission should be dissolved, and that the line of frontier between Dukchi and the Oxus should be settled on a Governmental level.[36] The British Commission left the Oxus on the 15th September, and after halting for some time at Kabul and Peshawar, Colonel Ridgway returned to London.

Correspondence then ensued between the British and Russian Governments as to whether the negotiations should be resumed at London or at St. Petersburg. In accordance with the desire of the Russian

32. *PP.*, 1887, *Central Asia*, No. 2, (C. 5235), p. 37.
33. *Ibid.*, February 1887, *Cons.*, 341A.
34. *PP.*, 1887, *Central Asia*, No. 2, (C. 5235), p. 44.
35. *Ibid.*, p. 55.
36. *For. Dept., Secret F*, July 1886, *Cons.*, 624; and *For. Dept., Secret E*, October, 1887, *Cons.* 107.

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Government,[37] however, preference was given to the latter city, and Colonel Sir West Ridgway reached St. Petersburg with his staff on the 11th April, 1887.[38]

Meanwhile, the Khoja Saleh question had again come up for the consideration of the two Governments. Both Dufferin[39] and Ridgway[40] strongly supported the Amir's claims upon Khamiab[41] which were at one time admitted,[42] and at another rejected, by the Russian Government.[43] The question that required a settlement was whether the frontier between Dukchi and the Oxus should run to Khamiab or to Islam or the shrine of Khoja Saleh, the latter two being respectively 14 and 21 miles higher up the river than Khamiab.[44] Differences occurred between the British and Russian Commissioners as to the meaning of the word "Khoja Saleh" of the agreement of 1872-73. Investigations on the Oxus led the Commissioners to different conclusions, Russia claiming that Khoja Saleh referred to a "Ziarat" or tomb, while England asserted that the post was situated at a place called Islam. The question was further complicated when Russia demanded that the post referred to a building called the Robat of Tahir Muhammad Khan, situated a few miles lower down the river Oxus.[45]

When the negotiations were resumed at St. Petersburg, the controversy actually centred round the following point. By the London Protocol of the 10th September, 1885, the right of Russia to the Panjdeh Valley was affirmed, but it was not then known that the Saryks had extended their cultivation into the side valleys of the Kushk and Kashan, where, though they continued to reside in the Panjdeh Valley, they had opened canals and reclaimed lands. The protocol accordingly defined the frontier between the Heri Rud and Murghab rivers in such a manner as to deprive the Saryks of these lands. When, therefore, negotiations were resumed Russia claimed these lands for the Saryks in lieu of the Khamiab territory which the Afghans had claimed for themselves.[46]

37. *For. Dept., Secret F*, June 1887, Cons., 468.
38. *Ibid., Cons.*, 463.
39. *Ibid.*, July 1885, *Cons.*, 602.
40. *Ibid., Cons.*, 570.
41. *Ibid., Cons.*, 571, 586A and 686.
42. *P.P.*, 1887, *Central Asia*, No. 2, (C. 5235), p. 103.
43. *Ibid.*, p. 145.
44. *For. Dept., Secret. F*, February 1887, *Cons.*, 341A.
45. *PP*, 1887, *Central Asia*, No. 2, (C. 5235), pp. 103 and 145; also *For. Dept., Secret F*, October 1887, *Cons.*, 107; also August 1887, *Cons.*, 4.
The question was still further complicated by the findings of Captain Peacocke of the British Commission. His evidence tends to prove that when the negotiations of 1868-73 began the Khoja Saleh ferry was at Islam, but when the agreement of 1872-73 was concluded the ferry had been moved upto a point near the "Ziarat." (*PP*, 1887, *Central Asia*, No. 2, (C. 5235), pp. 252-53.
46. *Ibid.*, pp. 71 and 75; also *For. Dept., Secret F*, October 1887 *Cons.*, 107.

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The instructions[47] with which Ridgway left for St. Petersburg were first, to resist any attempt to call in question the frontier line demarcated upto Dukchi except where it might be right to make allowance for slight errors of surveying, or where some moderate concessions would facilitate as favourable settlement in regard to Khamiab. Secondly, as regards the remaining part of the frontier, he was to insist on the inclusion of Khamiab within the territories of Afghanistan.

Himself being convinced that concessions on the Kushk, Kashan and Murghab rivers as against complete possession of Khamiab by the Afghans would help an early settlement of the boundary question,[48] Colonel Ridgway began negotiations on that line. But there could not be any agreement between him and Zinoview[49] as to the extent and nature of these concessions. The latter demanded a rectification of the frontier which required that Chahil Dukhteran and Maruchak should be outside Afghan territory.[50] As Ridgway complained, Russia thus claimed about 1100 square miles of land while he was prepared to allow her to have only about eight square miles.[51] Ridgway thereupon tried to induce Zinoview to abate his demands, but failing to do that he referred the matter to the Home Government.[52]

Fortunately, however, just at the time when the negotiations seemed to be heading towards a crisis the Czar[53] showed very sincere inclinations of coming to an understanding with England. The result was that in another meeting of the delegates Zinoview agreed to a contraction of the Russian demands if only the British Government should sympathetically consider the question of granting lands to the Saryks.

Upon this Ridgway suggested a compromise which was telegraphed to London[54] for the sanction of the Home Government. Pending, however, a consultation with the Viceroy, Salisbury refused to give his opinion. On the other hand, he asked Ridgway to come back to London for further discussions about the boundary negotiations.[55]

Meanwhile, things had very much changed in Afghanistan. There was a rebellion against the Amir, and his prospects against the rebels appeared rather gloomy. This state of things rendered the necessity of an early settlement imperative. Ridgway was, therefore, sent back to St. Petersburg with instructions to come to an agreement with the Russian

47. *For. Dept., Secret F*, June 1887, *Cons.*, 450 ; also *vide* Feb. 1887, *Cons.*, 314-43.
48. *Ibid.*, August 1887, *Cons.*, 1-32, k.w. 2.
49. He was the Russian delegate in the St. Petersburg meetings.
50. *PP*, 1887, *Central Asia*, No. 2, (C. 5235), pp. 341-42.
51. *For. Dept., Secret F*, August 1887, *Cons.*, 4.
52. *PP*, 1887, *Central Asia*, No. 2, (C. 5235), p. 337.
53. Ridgway had an interview with the Czar on the 13th May 1887, *For Dept., Secret F*, October 1887, *Cons.*, 107.
54. On May 24, 1887, *PP*, 1887, *Central Asia*, No. 2, (C. 5235), p. 362.
55. *Ibid.*, p. 362.

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Government. He was required, first, to try an understanding on the basis of concessions on the Kushk, Kashan and Murghab without alienating Chahil Dukhteran. Failing to secure it he should allow some moderate concessions to Russia on the Oxus. Should this measure also fail Ridgway was to state plainly that the British Government was willing to refer the matter to arbitration of a friendly and impartial power.[56]

But none of the alternatives was accepted so that another deadlock seemed imminent. This was, however, averted by Ridgway who suggested another compromise on the basis that the Afghan colonies at Kara Tapa and Chahil Dukhteran should not be removed from their possession.[57] After some deliberation Russia gave way, and the frontier on the Murghab was settled.

As regards the frontier on the Oxus, however, differences again cropped up between the delegates of the two Governments. Russia demanded certain concessions which practically amounted to depriving Khamiab of its important riverain pastures as well as all the important wells between Dukchi and the Oxus. The difficulty was, however, solved by the interferences of Sir Robert Morier who impressed upon de Giers the necessity of an early and amicable settlement. He pointed out that England had already made reasonable concessions in the Kushk and Kashan Valleys so that it was now Russia's turn to agree to a fair and reasonable frontier on the Oxus.[58] The wise counsel of the British Ambassador prevailed, and Russia agreed to allow the Afghans to retain the riverain pastures of Khamiab, and all the wells which were necessary for pasturage along the Afghan frontier. In return England agreed to leave the Imam Nazar well to Russia's possession,[59] and a settlement was made on July 22, 1887.[60]

Commenting upon the settlement Ridgway observed that the frontier demarcated was "not a good frontier either strategically, politically or ethnographically."[61] This is true. Yet none better could perhaps have been acquired under the circumstances in which the work of delimitation was carried out. Ridgway himself admitted that the Amir gained lands which were never before in his possession, and that as a result of the demarcation of the northern frontier of Afghanistan he did not lose a single "penny of revenue, a single subject or an acre of land which was occupied or cultivated by any Afghan subject."[62]

56. *For. Dept., Secret F*, August 1887, *Cons.*, 1-32, k.w. 2; also July 1887, *Cons.*, 25.
57. *PP*, 1887, *Central Asia*, No. 2, (C. 5235), p. 365; also *For. Dept., Secret F*, October 1887, *Cons.*, 107.
58. *Ibid., Cons.*, 107.
59. *PP*, 1887, *Central Asia*, No. 2, (C. 5235), p. 367.
60. *Ibid.*, pp. 370-73.
61. *For. Dept., Secret. F*, October, 1887, *Cons.*, 107.
62. *Ibid.*

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MR. CHARLES BRADLAUGH, M.P. AND THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

Shri Kasim Ali Sajunlal

Charles Bradlaugh has rendered meritorious services to the National Congress. He associated himself with the aspiration of the Indian people. Whether in India or England, he served India with unflagging zeal. In one of his speeches delivered on India, " How we obtained it, how we have ruled it, and how it should be ruled," he pertinently put in a question—' I ask you of whatever party you are, of whatever religion you are—have you the right to be indifferent to the happiness or misery of 254 million people whose destinies you control without appeal ? Your judgment being final upon it, I ask, are you not bound to consider every question that arises, and to influence the decisions that may come to ?'[1] Proceeding further he said, 'The past we cannot change, but we may redeem it. The shame of yesterday exists, but we may make the glory of tomorrow so great that the people may forget the iniquity which preceded it. We cannot make glory by dominance. That is a brute doctrine, the doctrine of the days when men cased themselves in armour and pierced their way with steel. It is the school, *the lessons of equal justice, interest, and love that will win today.*'[2]

The Congress from its inception wanted to have reforms and the Act of 1861 was still on the statute book. The Congress wanted to replace it—by reforming and enlarging the Council—removing inequity—simultaneous examination for I.C.S. in India and England—fighting the age bar, etc.

It is under these circumstances, Charles Bradlaugh, took up the cause of the Congress demand for reforms and spared no energy to push it through. He had already espoused the Ilbert Bill. Now he took up the reforms question which the Congress again and again reiterated in its first two sessions.

1. Charles Bradlaugh, *Speeches* (annotated by John M. Robertson), p. 52.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 52. Italics are mine.

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He circulated the Draft Bill for "Reforming the Supreme and Provincial Legislative Councils of India." He addressed letters to the editors of newspapers in India. One such letter appears in the Hyderabad Record.[3] For the interested readers I quote the letter and the accompanying Draft Bill :—

"London N. W.,
20, Circus Road,
11th Oct. 1889.

"To

The Editor,

Hyderabad Record.

Sir,

I have pleasure in forwarding you in print of the Draft Bill which I propose to ask leave to introduce next session, for carrying out the proposals of the Indian National Congress regarding the enlargement (in number of members and in powers) of the various Legislative Councils in India, and for the provision of Council's where such do not exist. An explanatory Memorandum accompanies the Draft Notice of my intention to introduce such a measure, as indicated, has been placed by me on the Order Book of the House of Commons.

I am anxious that the terms of the Bill should be thoroughly discussed in India and I shall be indebted to you, if you will publish the Draft in your paper, make it the subject of your own criticism and permit correspondence (should any of your readers wish to express an opinion on the Draft Bill as a whole, or on any of its provisions). Your criticism, whether for, or, against the measure, will be of exceeding value in guiding me. I venture to ask your most careful consideration of the Draft, I have the honour to lay before you.

I shall be obliged if you will send copies of your issues containing any reference to the measure and if desired I will remit the value of papers and postage."[4]

Your obedient servant,

Charles Bradlaugh.

3. For the description of this valuable newspapers, read my article, "The Hyderabad Record," *Journal of Deccan History and Culture*, July 1956, pp. 85-97.

4. Referring to the Draft Bill, Dr. Pattabi Sitaramayya writes that, "it embodied the views of the Congress as expressed till then and the Congress in accordance with the wishes drafted certain proposals embodying the mature opinion of the Indian people on the subject, *vide*, P. Sitaramayya, *The History of the Congress*, p. 133.

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Memorandum accompanying Draft of a Bill for Reforming the Supreme and Provincial Legislative Councils of India.[5]

(1) I have, for some time, felt that further steps should be taken towards the realisation of the Congress programme respecting the reform of the Supreme and Provincial Legislative Councils. This important matter should no longer be subject to mere notice of motion, or of the moving of a resolution, but the proposals for reform should be embodied in a Bill, upon which the judgment of Parliament should be sought. I have, therefore, prepared the accompanying Draft, and forward it to the General Secretary of the Congress, to the various Congress.

It is, of course, not to be expected that this Draft covers all the circumstances of the case, or that the language employed is exactly that which will be determined upon when the final views of the Congress are received in this country, and a Bill for presentation to Parliament is prepared. I trust, however, that it will be useful in guiding discussion, and in calling forth comments which are certain to be of great use to the friends of the measure.

It may be explained that it was at one time intended to make of this measure what is known in Parliamentary language as an Omnibus Bill and to include sections providing for the amendment of the law relating to the examinations held in England for admission into the various civil departments of the public service. The object of such sections would have been to ensure that, henceforth, in accordance with the views of the India Office Committee of 1860, examinations should "be held simultaneously, one in England and one in India, both being as far as practicable identical in their nature, those who compete in both countries being finally classified in one list according to merit," and that the successful candidates in India should be sent to England for further study, and subjected there to such further examinations as may seem needful. Further, that all other first appointments (excluding peonships) and the like should be filled by competitive examinations held in India, under conditions calculated to secure such intellectual, moral, and physical qualifications as may be decided by Government to be necessary, (Resolution IV, Congress Session, Bombay, 1885). It has, however, been thought that it would be better that this should be done by a separate Bill; and it is hoped the Congress, during its Session in Bombay, will come to a further unanimous opinion upon this most important subject so that any such measure may have the advantage of the Congress support to comment it to the favourable consideration of Parliament and the people of England.

5. *Hyderabad Record*, 30 October 1889.

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(2) I now proceed to a description of the Draft enclosed.

(3) The preamble sets out in some detail the objects of the Bill.

(4) Sections 1 and 2 deal simply with the Acts and parts of Acts to be amended. Seven clauses of chap. 67 of the twenty fourth and twenty-fifth years of Queen Victoria, relating to the appointment of certain members of the Governor-General's Council are left intact. Such Council, it is proposed, shall be known as the Governor-General's Executive Council, and its members will be ex-officio members of the Supreme Legislative Council.

(5) Section 3 establishes the Supreme Legislative Council on the plan, so far as membership is concerned, proposed by the Congress in their Resolution of 1886 and reaffirmed in subsequent years.

(6) Sections 4, 5 and 7 provide for the Supreme Council being elected for a period of three years only ; for the regular Session of this Council being held in Calcutta and commencing at a definite period in each year, provision is also made for the summoning of the Council by the Governor-General when occasions of importance and great urgency have arisen : the mode of election and the qualifications of membership are also set forth.

(7) Sections 8, 9, 10 11, 12 and 13, arrange for various details, the nature of which will be gathered from the explanatory heading to each section. They do not being consequential clauses call for comment at this moment.

(8) Section 14 consists of a statement of business to be transacted, and of the power of veto to be given to the Governor-General, with the option of a final appeal to a Standing Committee of the House of Commons as provided for in the Congress Resolutions already refereed to.

In sub-section (*a*) line 3, *et. seq.*, however, certain words are used which, it is suggested, better carry out the intentions of the Congress. It is recommended that they be accepted. (For the words in the Congress Resolutions " new or enhanced taxation " are inserted these words " the imposition of new taxes, the abolition, reduction, or increase of existing taxes, or the more equitable adjustment of present taxation." Other slight alterations have been made).

(9) Sections 15 and 16 call for no special mention. One is taken from the Act proposed to be amended, and the other is based on the Congress proposals.

At this point the Draft deals with the constitution of Provincial councils.

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(10) Section 17 provides for the establishment of a Legislative Council for Madras. Except in the needful wording of the Section, the Congress proposals have been strictly followed. I shall be glad if the Congress will state the number of members in its opinion desirable for each Council, and would further suggest that the principle adopted be a numerical one, say, one elected member for each million of population.

(11) Sections 18, 19, 20, 21 and 22 make like provision for the establishment of Councils in Bombay, Bengal, the North West Provinces and Oudh, the Punjab, and the Central Provinces.

(12) Section 23, and Sub-sections (*a*) and (b) are precisely the same as those contained in Section 20, Sub-sections (*a*) and (*b*). From this Section it will be seen that precisely the same powers are arranged for the Supreme and the Provincial Councils. Being guided by the expressed views of the Congress as they were before me, I did not feel at present justified in making any difference between the two classes of Council but would respectfully ask the Congress to consider whether it is not possible, and if possible advisable, to enhance the dignity and enlarge the powers of the Supreme Council in comparison with the Provincial Councils, without, in any way, lessening the importance of the latter.

(13) Section 24 requires, probably, some lengthened explanation. Clause 2 of Resolution IV of the Calcutta Congress, 1886, runs thus :-

"(2) The right to elect Members to the Provincial Councils to be conferred only on those classes and members of the community, *prima facie*, capable of exercising it wisely and independently. In Bengal and Bombay the Councillors may be elected by the Members of municipalities, District Boards, Chambers of Commerce and the Universities, or an electorate may be constituted of all persons possessing such qualifications educational and pecuniary, as may be deemed necessary. In Madras, the Councillors may be elected either by District Boards, Municipalities, Chambers of Commerce, and the University, or by Electoral Colleges composed of Members partly elected by these bodies and partly nominted by Government. In the North-West Provinces and Oudh, and in the Punjab, Councillors may be elected by an Electoral College composed of Members elected by Municipal and District Boards, and nominated, to an extent not exceeding one-sixth of the total number, by Government, it being understood that the same elective system now in force where Municipal Boards are concerned will be applied to District Boards, and the right of electing Members to these latter extended to the cultivating class. But whatever system be adopted (and the details must be worked out separately for each province) care must be taken that all sections of the community, and all great interests, are adequately represented."

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With this Clause before them the Madras Congress Committee fully considered the whole question, and issued a valuable Memorandum, which has been officially placed in my hands ; in this Memorandum it is suggested that the electing body should be an Electoral College for such Presidency and Province. For convenience I may quote the main proposals made by the Madras Committee as follows :—

" One College should be established in each of the Presidencies, Provinces, or Commissionerships of India, and should be constituted in the following manner :—

" (*a*) Any British subject, born or naturalized, resident in the Presidency or Province of 21 years of age and upwards, shall be eligible thereon for election and service, without distinction of race, creed, colour, or caste, provided that he shall not, within the previous ten years, have been in jail under conviction, not subsequently reversed, of a non-bailable offence ; that he shall be able to read and write in the English language, or in one of the vernaculars of India and who either pays yearly revenue or rent of not less than Rs. 50 to the Government, or to some superior holder, on account of land or premises, or for yearly direct taxes (imperial, provincial, or local), in the aggregate of not less than Rs. 20, or shall be a graduate of some University,

" (*b*) That any member of the Electoral College be eligible for election therefrom into the Legislative Council of the Governor-General, or the Legislative Council of the Governor or Leutenant-Governor of the Presidency or Province in which the College is situated ; and any member so elected shall not vacate his seat upon the College,

" (*c*) That the Electoral College be elected territorially every three years, and hold its sessions in the city which is the seat of Government in each Presidency or Province, and that its membership be at the rate of 20 per million inhabitants of its respective Presidency or Province,

" (*d*) That all elections shall be conduted by ballot,

" (*e*) That each territorial member thereon shall sit for some specified division, or the specified portion of some division as provided for in shedule A annexed hereto,

" (*f*) That vacancies caused thereon, within the period of the Session of the Electoral College, whether by death, by resignation, or by whatever other cause, be as speedily as possible filled up by a territorial election in that particular division, or portion of division, of the Presidency for which the member causing such vacancy was originally elected,

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"(*g*) That every member newly elected to fill any such vacancy as above enumerated shall fill it only for such unexpired portion of time as may remain to the whole Electoral College before its dissolution as a body,

"(*h*) That a vacancy caused for any of the above reasons amongst the co-opted members shall be filled up by co-option, and such members so elected shall sit for the period defined in the immediately preceding paragraph,

"(*i*) That no member of the Electoral College receive any salary, or remuneration, in virtue of, or in connection with, such membership; but every member shall be entitled to receive his travelling expenses in connection therewith from the Government.

"With a view to the protection of the interests of minorities the elections to the respective Electoral Colleges should be as follows :—

"(*a*) That four-fifths of the College be elected territorially.

"(*b*) That the remaining one-fifth be elected by co-option by the elected four-fifths; provided always that this co-option be so exercised as to ensure upon the total strength of the College a minimum representation of (say) one-tenth Mahomedan, one-twentieth European, and one-twentieth Eurasian.

"(*Example* :— "If the total strength of the College be, say 500 then there shall be elected territorially four-fifths, or ... 400
Who shall elect by co-option one-fifth, or 100–500

"Supposing that among the 400 already elected there are only 30 Mahomedans, 20 Europeans, and 7 Eurasians, then by co-option there shall be elected at least 20 Mahomedans, at least 5 Europeans, and at least 18 Eurasians. This limitation on co-option would only exist when the fixed minimum number of Europeans, Mahomedans, and Eurasians has not been, respectively, elected territorially.)"

Judging from material placed before me, it has seemed to me that it would be wiser, in drafting this measure, in view of the Clause of the Resolution of 1886, quoted above, to provide for the electing body for Provincial Councils being composed of members of the various public bodies set out in the Section, (2) now under consideration.. One reason for that, is that, in introducing *qnasi* representative institutions into India you would, by this course, be proceeding along the line of least resistance and be preserving a continuity of the policy introduced by Lord Mayo and continued by each of his successors in the Governor-

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Generalship. Public opinion in India, too, so far as I have been able to gather it from the newspapers, seems to me to be more in favour of the public bodies becoming the constituency than of the Electoral Colleges, Should the Congress approve the latter system I shall, of course, draft the Bill accordingly.

Sub-section of this Section provides that elected members shall be named for some division or part of a division of a Presidency or Province.

(13) Section 25 makes provision for the necessary arrangments for the (moth-eaten) calling together of the Councils after they will have received the sanction of the Queen Victoria, and on that sanction being (moth-eaten) in India.

(14) Certain schedules will be rejected and as they will be based upon the provision of the Bill, they cannot, at present, be indicated even in skeleton form."[6]

Charles Bradlaugh, attended the Fifth Session of the National Congress in December, 1889 and took part in its deliberations.[7] The National Congress adopted the following skeleton scheme for the reform and reconstitution of the Council of the Governor-General for making Laws and Regulations, and the Provincial Legislative Councils. It also requested, " that the President of this Congress do submit the same to Charles Bradlaugh, Esq., M.P., with the respectful request of the Congress that he may be pleased to cause a Bill to be drafted on the lines indicated in this skeleton scheme and introduce the same in the British House of Commons."[8]

" (1) The Imperial and Provincial Legislative Councils to consist espectively of members, not less than one-half of whom are to be elected not more than one-fourth to sit *exofficio* and the rest to be nominated by Government.

(2) Revenue districts to constitute ordinarily territorial units for electoral purposes.

(3) All male British subjects above 21 years of age possessing certain qualifications and not subject to certain disqualifications (both of which will be settled later) to be voters.

6. *The Hyderabad Record*, 30 October 1889. *Note* : As far a I know, this draft Bill has not been published in any book.

7. Bradlaugh, *op. cit.*, pp. 185-190.

8. Nateson, *National Congress, Fifth Sessioa*, Poona, 1889, Part B. pp. 17 and 21.

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(4) Voters in each district to elect representatives to one or more electoral bodies, according to local circumstances at the rate of 12 per million of the total population of the district, such representatives to possess qualifications and not to be subject to certain disqualifications, both of which will be settled later.

(5) All the representatives thus elected by all the districts included in the jurisdiction of each electoral body, to elect members to the Impetrial Legislature at the rate of 1 per every five million of the total populations of the electoral jurisdiction, and to their own Provincial Legislature at the rate of 1 per million of the said total population, in such wise that whenever the Parsees, Christians, Mahomedans or Hindus are in a minority, the total number of Parsees, Christians, Mahomedans or Hindus, as the case may be, elected to the Provincial Legislature, shall not, so far as may be possible, bear a less proportion to the total number of members elected thereto, than the total number of Parsees, Christians, Hindus or Mahomedans, as the case may be, in such electoral jurisdiction, bear to its total populations. Members of both Legislatures to possess certain qualifications and not to be subject to certain disqualifications, both of which will be settled later.

(6) All elections to be by ballot."[9]

It also said that " an address be presented to Mr. Charles Bradlaugh, M.P. on behalf of this Congress here assembled and that Messrs. Adam, Pheroz Shah Mehta and W. C. Bannerjee are appointed a Committee to settle the wording of the said address."[10]

The Congress considered the draft Bill " recently introduced into the Parliament by Mr. Charles Bradlaugh entitled, an Act to amend the Indian Council Act of 1861 " and approved the same as calculated to secure a substantial instalment in that reform, in the administration of India, for which it has been agitating and humbly prays the House of Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland to ass the same into law ; and further that its President, Mr. Pheroz Shah Mehta, is hereby empowered to draw up and sign, on behalf of this assembly, a petition to the House of Commons to the foregoing effect and to transmit the same to Mr. Charles Bradlaugh for presentation thereto in due course.[11]

In his speech delivered in the session of the Congress, Bradlaugh said, ' it will be my duty, as it is my right, to present to Parliament directly I get back on the very first day of its opening, the claim you

9. Nateson, *op. cit.* pp. 17, 21.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 23.
11. *Ibid.*

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make to have a Bill considered (Cheers). On the second day the Bill will be introduced '.[12]

Referring to the growth of the Congress,he expressed, " It is said there are many who stood aloof from this movement. But on looking at you my wonder is that in its infancy so many have joined it (Laughter and Cheers). It is said that there are influential men of this party or that who have not yet come in but the sun's rays grow as the sun rises (Cheers). *You are the dawn.*[13] I see the day and do not count the rays which are yet below the horizon. I count that the gliding of the clouds...[14]

In view of the discussion of this Bill by the Parliament on 16th April, 1889, one of the correspondents of the Pall Mall Gazette called upon Bradlaugh at his apartment in St. John's Wood ; and found him fresh and genial, in spite of the fact that Bradlaugh had been engaged at St. Stephen's till the early hours of morning.[15]

The interview is as interesting and important, as it throws much light on the Bill. At the same time it speaks volumes on Bradlaugh's devotion to the Indian cause. Hence we quote it *in extenso* for the interest of our readers :—

" What is the state of affairs Mr. Bradlaugh, with regard to your resolution ?"

" Well, I am rather glad that you have called this morning, because I made a considerable modification in the notice I placed on the order-book about India. I obtained the other day first place in the ballot for Tuesday, April 16, and gave notice, in the terms of my motion of last session for an inquiry ; but, after consultation with the friends of India in London, it has been deemed advisable to present to the House some clear issues which, we think, it may fairly decide without waiting for an inquiry which would, of course, have delayed the matter for a year, at any rate. My motion therefore stands as follows " :—

" East India (Grievances of Natives) :—To call attention to certain grievances of the native population of India ; and to move that, in the opinion of this House, the time has come for another step to be taken in the policy of extending self-government in India, whereby natives of India of capacity, of influence, of education, shall be able to take a still wider share in the administration of the public affairs of their own country."

12. Bradlaugh, *op. cit.*, p. 188.
13. Italics are mine. Mark the prophetic words.
14. Bradlaugh, *op. cit.*, p. 187.
15. *Vide, The Hyderabad Record,* 1 May 1889.

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"That, to secure this end, it is desirable that the Supreme and Legislative Councils should be enlarged in numbers and reformed as to procedure.

"That a moiety of the members of such Council should be elected by constituencies which shall include Indians of positions of specified educational attainments of members of municipal and other bodies, of European and Indian Chambers of Commerce, and the like."

"That to the enlarged Councils be given the right of questioning the authorities on matters of public interest, the discussion of the respective Budgets, and the initiation of such legislation as shall not first deal with the foreign policy, or, second, affect the finances of the Empire."

"And there being a general agreement among Europeans, both official and non-official, and Indians of all classes, as to the reforms which should be granted that the Secretary of State for India should take such steps as will enable the House to consider a measure embodying their opinions."

"This avoids the objections," Mr. Bradlaugh continued, "which I believed are entertained by eminent politicians on both sides of the House to the appointment of a Royal Commission, which they think might be taken as clashing with or superseding, or at any rate embarrassing the exercises of the viceregal authority. My motion will be seconded by Mr. W. B. McLaren, M.P., for the crew division; and several members have intimated their intention to speak upon it."

"But is not the 16th of April dangerously close to Easter, Mr. Bradlaugh."

"Your observation is a fair one, and the night is awkward; as the House usually adjourns for the Easter holidays on Tuesday; but even with my luck it is not easy to choose first places; and if the advocates of Women Suffrage are accurate in their supposition that Mr. Smith will not adjourn unitl the second reading of the Parliamentary Franchise (Extension to Women) Bill, which stands first for second reading of the following day, has been discussed, that the Indian motion is perfectly safe."

"Why have you adopted the particular propositions contained in your motion?"

"I have," replied Mr. Bradlaugh, with a twinkling eye which suggested that he knew more than he cared to say, "I have every reason to believe that in the first and second paragraphs of my resolution there

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is practically a concurrence of the highest opinion in its favour. Sir W. Hunter and Sir Richard Garth have distinctly expressed themselves in print to this effect. Judging from the public utterances of the Marquis of Ripon, he is likely to strongly support it. The authorised report of Lord Dufferin's speech at Calcutta—I don't mean the mangled version of it which was telegraphed to the *Times*—shows that the late Viceroy must have submitted some such scheme to Lord Cross. There will be more difficulty probably on the question of whether a moiety of the members of the Council shall be elected; but no reform would be satisfactory which did not concede this to the natives of India."

"What is meant, Mr. Bradlaugh, by Supreme and Provincial Legislative Councils?"

"The Supreme Legislative Council would mean the Legislative Council of the Governor-General of India, and there are now five Provincial Legislative Councils—the last one which was created"—here. Mr. Bradlaugh sought and referred to a Blue-book—"in January, 1887, being for the North-Western Provinces and Oudh."

"Do you move in this matter with any authority from the natives of India?"

"On that I can give you the easiest answer by referring you to the speech of Mr. Bannerjee, one of the most eminent amongst Indian reformers, who, speaking at the Great Indian National Congress at Allahabad, made the following reference to myself; 'I know I speak the sense of this vast assembly when I saw that we are unfeignedly grateful to Mr. Bradlaugh for his masterly and able advocacy of our cause (cheers), and we hope that he will be pleased to help us in the future in the investigation of the resolution which I have submitted to you. (Cheers)'. That is from the *Hindu* of January 9, 1889; and in November last Mr. Eardley Norton, speaking at a public meeting over which Raja Rama Raw presided, said, 'I am proud of Mr. Bradlaugh's co-operation, because I am proud to associate with an honest and fearless man. (Loud cheers). I am proud to work, no matter how humbly with one who has never served a hair's breath from allegiance to the people's cause (cheers)".

"Does the cause of reform in India arouse much public interest in this country?"

***Note*: Read also "William Digby's interview with Gladstone" and his elucidations on the Draft Bill, *Vide, The Hyderabad Record*, 14 June 1889.**

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"Well, I can assure you that very strong feeling is manifested in the country on the Indian question as is fairly shown by the great meeting at Newcastle-on-Tyne, where, without any attraction of great names, I addressed the largest meeting which has yet gathered in the Tyneside Theatre, every person paying for admission. The subject was, 'Our Empire in India how we govern the natives, and how we ought to govern them'. I may add that Indians are excessively fortunate in their present agency in this country, Mr. William Digby, C.I.E. being thoroughly earnest and remarkably well-informed."

It goes to the credit of Charles Bradlaugh and the Congress that their efforts paved the way for the passing of the Council Act of 1892, though it fell far short of their expectation.

The untimely death of Charles Bradlaugh came as a shock to the people of India. The Congress passed a resolution of condolence, recounting his magnificent services to India. A copy of the resolution signed by the President of the Congress was sent to Mrs. Charles Bradlaugh.[16]

16. *Vide*, Nateson, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

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LORD CURZON'S DESPATCH OF JANUARY 8, 1903 : ITS IMPACT ON HIS TIBETAN POLICY

Dr. P. L. Mehra

1. *Introductory :*

In the evolution of his policy towards Tibet which culminated in the well-known Younghusband Expedition, and the conclusion of the Lhasa Convention,[1] Lord Curzon's despatch of January 8, 1903, marks a crucial turning-point. For here, in forceful language, the Viceroy puts forth his major objectives and maps out his plans to accomplish them. While, on surface, he swears loyalty to his political masters in England he does not hesitate to throw broad enough hints that he would defy the Home authorities, if the interests of the Government of India were imperilled seriously ! In so doing, the Indian potentate lays bare the true motives and motivations that inspired his policy—and not towards Tibet alone—and the methods that he invariably employed to coax and cajole Whitehall into accepting his dictates. The despatch of January 8, ttherefore, has its import not only in that it affords a clearer definition of the policy towards Lhasa, but as typical of Lord Curzon's general approach to problems in which his views were at variance with the authorities in London.

Another important fact that emerges is that the despatch reveals, in embryonic form it is true, the outlines which were to assume their ultimate consummation in an armed expedition wending its way to the seat of the Dalai's Government, to dictate terms of peace under the shadow of the golden Potala. For through its closely reasoned pages, and in no uncertain terms, the Viceroy impressed upon the Home authorities the urgency of seizing upon the gains which had accrued from the earlier ' mission ' of John Claude White, the then Political Officer in Sikkim, his fears that rumours of a Russo-Chinese deal on Tibet had some solid substance and his conviction that " some sort " of a relationship existed between Russia and Tibet. Hence the immediate necessity for a ' conference ' with the Chinese—but the venue

1. For the entire period see the author's *The Younghusband Expedition, an interpretation,* a doctoral dissertation presented to the John Hopkins University, in Baltimore (Md. in 1954 ; a part summary appeared under the same title, in the *JIH*, vol. XXXIII, pp. 201-28.

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was to be Lhasa, and a representative of the Tibetan Government was to be associated with the discussions! And, as he conceived it, the negotiations were to be confined not merely to frontier disputes, grazing rights or commercial relations, but the entire gambit, as Lord Curzon puts it, of 'our future political relations' with Tibet (and China) and the degree to which the influence of another great Power (Czarist Russia) could be allowed, 'for the first time', in the affairs of Imperial India's weak, insignificant and lama-ridden neighbour![2]

2. *The Background:*

By the close of 1902 the British position *vis-a-vis* Tibet was tending to stiffen, and despite earlier protestations, HMG had come round to accept Lord Curzon's proposal that the Political Officer in Sikkim should tour that "protected" state's common border with Tibet. The tour, conducted with an armed escort, was designed to "assert our rights in respect of the boundary," to demarcate it, and to remove "all Tibetan guards and officials" from this side of the frontier.[3] This "assertion of authority" was deemed necessary by the Viceroy who had been left singularly unimpressed by Russian or Chinese protestations that there was no secret deal on Tibet.[4] Even Count Lamsdorff's assurances that the Buriat Dorjieff's "missions" were the most innocuous—his interests being described as religious or even geographic—had not carried conviction with him.[5] And as for the China of the immediate post-Boxer Rebellion period, her final collapse appeared to be so imminent that flat denials of the "sale" of Tibet to the Colossus from the North seemed only to confirm the suspicions aroused.

Another development in 1902 whose import for Tibet was not inconsiderable, though indirect, was the conclusion of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance. With Europe neatly lined up in its Triple and Dual Alliances, the British had for sometime felt their "splendid isolation" increasingly impracticable. One need only recall the episode of the

2. For Russian activities in Tibet, during this period, see the author's "Tibet and Russian Intrigue," *Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society* (London, vol. XLV, pt. 1 (Jan. 1958), pp. 28-42.

3. Among other duties assigned to Mr. J. Claude White, the Political Officer, were these: to make, as far as possible, a scientific survey of the frontier on both sides, to take a complete set of photographs, and "to add to our present knowledge of the natural history of the region". *Tibet Papers*, Cd. 1920, Annexure 3, Enclo. 16, in No. 66, pp. 170-72. For White's Report see *Ibid.*, Annexure 2, pp. 167-172.

4. The "apocryphal" text of the published Agreement, the Chinese Minister in St. Petersburg assured Sir C. Scott (the British Ambassador), indeed "its very form and wording" showed that it could not be of Chinese origin, *Ibid.*, No. 57, p. 145.

5. *Ibid.*, Nos. 35 and 36, pp. 116-117, on one occasion Lamsdorff had described Dorjieff as "a member of the Russian Geographical Society," while on another he had pointed out that the Geographical Society "took an interest in his visit."

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Kruger telegram to show how difficult the position could become.[6] The sigificance of the new alignment, however, lay not only in that it was between a Western and an Asian nation but that " it arose out of the abortive attempts to procure an understanding between England and Germany on the one hand, and between Russia and Japan on the other."[7] Hailed as an historic event which marked a milestone in the development of Japan as a World Power, it also put England " in a better position " to watch her Indian frontiers.[8] Again, this alliance by making a Russo-Japanese conflict well-nigh inevitable severely limited Russia's ability to influence events in that direction.

Meantime the Wai-Wu-Pai, the Chinese Foreign Office, was showing a keener interest in settling the Tibetan problem. The appointment of a new Chinese Resident in Lhasa was announced early in December, 1902, and he was instructed to proceed post-haste to negotiate, " in an amicable spirit," with Mr. White. Yu T'ai, the new incumbent, was considered " especially suitable," owing to his previous experience in Mongolia, for dealing with the Tibetans.[9] The Secretary of State for India, who viewed this appointment as indicative of the fact that China thus " implicitly " accepted responsibility for the affairs of Tibet, had asked the Viceroy for his views as to whether " trade and general relations " should be included among the subjects for negotiation, and whether a Tibetan representative should be associated with these discussions.[10] It was in response to this query from London that the Viceroy penned his despatch of January 8, 1903, outlining in considerable detail, his analysis of the Tibetan situation. This long and laboured despatch—running into more than six pages of close print, with 23 enclosures and 19 annexures—rather well-known, marks the opening of a new phase in the Tibetan question, and is deserving of close scrutiny.

6. The Boer War was making serious drains on the British fighting forces. Besides, it provided France, Germany and Russia with a focal point against the " perfidious Albion." The British Cabinet feared lest Lord Curzon's policies in Tibet, or in the Persian Gulf, should afford these powers another opportunity of " coming together. " See Ronaldshay, *Life of Lord Curzon* (London, 1927), vol. II, p. 207 and William L. Langer, *Diplomacy of Imperialism*, (New York, 1935, vol, II.

7. The words are of the Swedish geopolitician Kjellen, quoted in A. F. Pribram, *England and the International Policy of the European Great Powers*, 1871-1914 (Oxford, 1931), p. 67. For the Anglo-Japanese Alliance see Harold M. Vinacke, *A History of the Far East in Modern Times* (New York, 1950,), pp. 175-82.

8. " By co-operating with Japan to protect her rights in China, (England) was in a better position to watch her Indian frontiers, " Wei Kuo Lee, *Tibet in Modern World Politics*, 1774-1922 (New York, 1931), p. 28.

9. For Yu T'ai's appointment see Tibet papers, *op. cit.*, no. 59, p. 146, for his instructions, *Ibid.*, no. 60, pp. 146-47. Yu T'ai, who was the brother of Shens Tai, the Chinese negotiator of the 1890 Convention regarding Tibet, very much looked toward to completing his brother's work. For his " plans " see *Ibid.*, no. 67, p. 177.

10. *Ibid.*, no. 61, p. 148.

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3. *The Despatch of January* 8, 1903[11]:

Lord Curzon began by reviewing the situation from the middle of 1901, when he had reported his twice-repeated failure—the third attempt was then being made—to get into personal touch with the Dalai Lama, and had suggested "more practical measures." The Secretary of State had, however, over-ruled him and sounded a warning against "any precipitate action." The next move was the Governor-General's proposal that the Political Officer, accompanied by an armed escort, should conduct a tour along the frontier. This "local action" had been agreed to and Mr. White[12] had, indeed, conducted his mission in the previous summer, with "expedition and success." The Tibetans on this side of Giaogong had been asked to withdraw, and the discovery was made that the grazing rights (of the Tibetans) on the Sikkim side were "balanced by similar rights" which the Sikkimese enjoyed across the border.

Apart from these "successes," Mr. White's visit, the Viceroy continued, had caused a flutter in the Tibetan and Chinese dovecots. Some Tibetan officials, from the Tashi Lhunpo Monastery had, in fact, called on the Political Officer volunteering to show him the boundary.[13] More important, the Imperial Amban at Lhasa had written to the Viceroy inquiring "the object and reason" of these "proceedings,"[14] and a certain Mr. Ho Kuang-hsi, a Chinese Prefect, was dispatched to the border to meet Mr. White, along with a Captain Parr who was the (Chinese) Customs Commissioner at Yatung. The projected meeting never took place for Mr. Ho was first taken ill and later recalled to Lhasa, for "important special business," or, as idle tongues wagged, owing to a difference of opinion between the Amban and his associates.[15] And now had come the news of the Chinese sending a new Amban for talks on the frontier problems. What was to be the British attitude?

Before charting his new course of action the Viceroy wanted to remind the Secretary of two aspects of the question which needed emphasis.

Firstly, though White's mission was crowned with "entire success," and he had obtained "useful information," the result had not been "materially" to improve "our position" on the border, or to effect

11. *Ibid.*, No. 66, pp. 150-56. The enclosures and annexures accompanying the despatch cover pp. 157-77.

12. For Mr. White's report see *Ibid.*, Annexure 2, pp. 167-72.

13. *Ibid.*, Annexure in Encl. 3, in no. 66, p. 158.

14. The Imperial Amban Yu's letter to the Viceroy was dated July 8, 1902. See *Ibid.*, Annexure in Encl. 5, pp. 159-60; for the Viceroy's reply, Annexure in Encl. 11, pp. 162-63.

15. For Parr's and Ho's letters see *Ibid.*, Annexures 3 and 4 in Encl. 7, p. 161. and Annexure 2 in Encl. 22, pp. 176-77.

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anything more than a timely assertion of British authority. The main advantage, the Viceroy thought, had been in the fear inspired among the Tibetans that this was only a prelude to some further movement. It was necessary that this advantage should not be sacrificed, and this could be done only if " we are prepared to assume a minatory tone and to threaten Tibet with a further advance," unless indeed she revised her policy of " obstinate inaction."

Secondly, persistent rumours of a Russo-Chinese deal on Tibet and his fear that "some sort of relation" existed between Russia and Tibet.[16] This, in the Viceroy's opinion, was bound to invest the forthcoming negotiations with considerable importance, for they would involve not only " the question of our entire future political relations " with Tibet, but also " the degree to which we can permit the influence of another great Power " to be exercised, for the first time in that country's history. For Tibet's relations, in the past, had always been with China, the " suzerain Power," Nepal, or the British in India and Tibetan exclusion had been tolerated because it had carried with it " no element of political or military danger."

Taking these factors into consideration the Viceroy proposed that the Chinese invitation to a conference should be accepted subject to two over-riding proviso : that the meeting be held at Lhasa and that a representative of the Tibetan Government should be associated with the discussions.[17] This was the only way, he felt, whereby " the wall of Tibetan impassivity and obstruction " will be broken.

The rest of this closely reasoned despatch is concerned with convincing the Home authorities that there was " nothing revolutionary " about his proposals. Lord Curzon indeed sought to show, by digging up a British Minister Wade's correspondence, that a similar proposal had been made as early as 1874[18] and that his present suggestion was no more

16. It may be recalled here that the British attitude towards Tibet was that while that country was subordinate to China and her foreign relations were conducted by the latter, she yet was a recognisable entity in her own right. Lord Curzon's policy to deal directly with Tibet had been endorsed by HMG only after the inordinate delay and difficulty of getting anything done through China became apparent. The distincton between Chinese suzerainty, and not sovereignty, in Tibet had not yet crystallised.

17. The Despatch refers to " circumstantial evidence " derived from a variety of quarters, and all " pointing in the same direction, " which he had submitted to HMG. Printed records do not substantiate this reference.

18. Mr. (later Sir) T. Wade was British Minister in China. In a despatch, dated July 14, 1874, to Earl Granville, then Foreign Secretary, Mr. Wade said, " If the trade (*i.e.* between India and Tibet) be worth the effort, I think it might possibly be opened were a mixed official and commercial mission pushed forward without reference it the Court of Peking...and if that Mission were authorised in the first instance to spend money rather freely." Tibet Papers, *op. cit.*, No. 66, p. 154.

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than the " revival " of the policy underlying the abandoned Colman Macaulay Mission of the mid-eighties.[19] Nor indeed should the bogey of Chinese suzerainty deter them,

> " We regard the so-called suzerainty of China over Tibet as constitutional fiction—a political affectation which has only been maintained because of its convenience to both parties. China is always ready to break down the barriers of ignorance and obstruction and to open Tibet to the civilizing influence of trade, but her pious wishes are defeated by the short-sighted stupidity of the Lamas. In the same way Tibet is only too anxious to meet our advances, but she is prevented from doing so by the despotic veto of the suzerain. This solemn farce has been re-enacted with a frequence that seems never to deprive it of its attractions or its power to impose."

The Viceroy closed by elaborating some parts of his proposal and by holding out threats ! He explained that the British Commercial Mission to Lhasa, that he was suggesting, must be accompanied by an armed escort : " to overawe opposition " on the way and to ensure its safety while in Lhasa ; that assurances could be held out to the Chinese and the Tibetans that our only objective was to establish "those amicable and friendly relations and means of commerce " that ought to subsist between adjacent and friendly powers ;[20] that a policy of the closest collaboration with Nepal should be followed for she also frelt endangered in much the same way as the Government of India, and her ruler was very well disposed to co-operation.[21] As for his threats he reminded the Home authorities that any Government, or country in the Empire, had a right to protect its own interests and that if these were imperilled seriously, " as we hold ours to be," the Government of India, by the fundamental law of survival, " would have to take steps to avert these dangers." In questions of this nature, he had no doubt, the opinions of the Government of India " are entitled to carry weight " with HMG. And if his warning was not heeded now, the dangerous situation might " attain to menacing dimensions."

19. "……we regard it as a grave misfortune " that the Macaulay Mission was abandoned, " by the exigencies of political considerations that had not the remotest connection with Tibet. " *Loc. cit.*

20. Sir Francis Younghusband, *India and Tibet*, (London, 1910), p. 3, later maintained that the object of his Mission was " to regularise and humanise " pacific intercourse between India and Tibet, and put their relationship " upon a business-like and permanently satisfactory footing."

21. Encl. 23 in No. 66, p. 177, is the text of a letter from the Nepalese Prime Minister who curiously ends by hoping to " realise all those expectations which the association with a power like that of England may naturally raise in our minds. " Expectations !

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4. *Conclusion* :

Critics have charged Lord Curzon with inconsistency and rhetoric.[22] It has been held that his gibe at China, being unable to exercise her boasted rights of suzerainty was really unnecessary, for Tibet had never been too anxious to meet the British demands for trade rights anyway. Curzon's language was indeed strong, hence perhaps rhetorical, but that he was inconsistent would not seem to hold water. In referring to China his purpose was not to demonstrate, as Dr. Lee would have us believe, that she was the real foe of British trade, but to point out " the solemn farce " which, with Tibet as a partner, she had enacted with such annoying frequency. The real foe to British trade was neither China nor Tibet singly, but the vicious halo which surrounded the land of the Lamas, a halo which the Tibetans would not break and which the Chinese were either unwilling, or unable to. The halo had deepened and the mystery darkened with the webs woven by Dorjieff's flirtations and the persistent rumous of a Russo-Chinese deal. And Curzon seemed to ask himself repeatedly, had Russia, China and Tibet joined hands behind his back ?

The real " accusation " against Curzon is not one of rhetoric, or inconsistency, but the brazen-facedness and ill-concealed contempt with which he seemed to treat both China and Tibet. And there indeed, why should the Baron of Kedleston alone be condemned ? For, however strong one's feelings may be, and however loud the protestations about the equal rights of " Small " and " Great " Powers, one often wonders if the fifty odd years that separate these events from our own day have changed matters in any appreciable degree. Did not Tibet enjoy the privilege of being bordered by a " Great " and " Civilized " Power ? Had she not proved stupidly obstinate in refusing that Power's hand for " amicable and friendly relations—and means of commerce ? " Indeed, once we accept Lord Curzon's premise, his whole case stands thoroughly irrefutable.

It is interesting to recall that one of the Powers which, later, was to protest against Curzon's description of Chinese sovereignty over Tibet, being no more than " a constitutional fiction and a political affectation," was the United States. Its Ambassador to the Court of St. James was to remind HMG that thrice in recent years—in the Chefoo Convention of 1876, in the Peking Convention of 1886 and in the Calcutta Convention of 1890—they had recognised Chinese sovereignty by negotiating with the Chinese Government on questions relating to Tibet and that since then the Chinese had waived none of those rights.[23]

22. Lee *op. cit.*, pp. 35-6.

23. *Department of State Archives*, Great Britain Instructions, vol. 34, pp. 631-39, No. 1455, Hay to Choate, June 3, 1904.

It is worth noting that at the end of World War II, when the Nationalist Government of China showed again some brief spurts of activity in Tibet, the United States reaffirmed its view that Tibet was a part of China. This was to tie Washington's hands when, later, the Tibetans appealed for support against the Chinese Reds.

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HOW THE FIRST SPLIT CAME IN THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

Dr. Nanda Lal Chatterji

"Blow up, if everything else fails." That is said to have been the hisoric telegram which the Calcutta headquarters of the Congress Extremist Party sent to is delegates on their way to Surat on the eve of the twenty-third session of the Indian National Congress held in that city in 1907. The message heralded the most regrettable episode in the history of the Congress, the first parting of ways among the Congress leaders at Surat amidst scenes of tumultuous and unedifying violence and disorder. One can hardly realise today that the Congress was nearly doomed to death at this ill-fated session, but the Congress was fated not to die, and so, far from being its grave, Surat marked a new milestone in the evolution of India's national movement. At this great hour of the fulfilment of the Congress movement, the story of the fateful Surat imbroglio over which historians so far thought it best to throw a pall needs recapitulation only to bring home to the present-day reader its implications, no less than its momentous consequences to India's national struggle.

For a full understanding of the genesis of the Surat split, it is necessary to review the circumstances which brought a Left Wing into existence inside the Congress. The first few years of the Congress were uneventful, and its sessions were held in peace and amity. The Congress leaders were at first unanimous in their unswerving faith in British liberalism, and they gave expression to this year after year with a patienc and moderation which might appear pathetice today. They proclaimed in no uncertain terms that they were loyal to the backbone, and that they harboured no notions of subverting the British power in India. This angelic patience was, however, slightly shaken when Charles Bradlaugh failed on behalf of the Congress to secure in 1890 the Parliament's sanction to his proposed measure of liberal reforms for India. The Act of 1892 was a sham, both in form and in content, and it naturally failed to reinforce the waning confidence of some of the Congress leaders in the sense of British justice. And, so far as the other demands of the Congress were concerned, not even a formal notice was taken of any one of them by the Government. The Congress was officially referred to as a

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"microscopic minority." A feeling thus naturally grew up that Britain, despite her promises and assurances, was not really inclined to grant any substantial power to the Indian people.

The apathy and contempt with which the Government treated the Congress became more and more pronounced, and official spite could scarcely be concealed during the weak rule of Lord Elgin, when the bureaucracy openly showed its opposition to the slightest modification of its vested rights and privileges. When Lord Elgin was succeeded by Lord Curzon, the position of the Congress became all the more untenable, and Lord Curzon's reactionary policy drove discontent underground. The Calcutta Corporation Act, the Official Secrets Act, the Indian Universities Act, and last of all the Partition of Bengal came one after another as so many hammer-blows at the Congress, and the bulk of its younger adherents lost all faith in its present "Mendicant Policy."

The inevitable result of discontent inside the Congress was, the division of the movement into two camps, the so-called Moderates and the so-called Extremists. This bifurcation could be felt for the first time at the Benares session of 1905, but it assumed the proportions of an open cleavage in the stormy Calcutta session of 1906, when a small body of these Extremist finding themselves powerless against the majority walked out of the Pandal in a spirit of exasperation, and as a protest against the begging spirit of the Moderates. An open split was, however, temporarily averted by the tact and moderation of the President Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, the Grand Old Man of India. Four important resolutions which marked the spirit of the times, and yet sought to restrict the Congress agitation within constitutional limits,, were passed on self-government on the colonial lines, National education Swadeshi and Boycott of foreign goods. Even the word Swaraj was for the first time used by the President in his address as a discreet concession to the extremist sentiment.

The Extremist, however, were not satisfied and they continued all through 1907 a country-wide agitation against the present Congress policy from the press and the platform, and preached the "utter futility" of all co-operation with the British Government. The next Congress session was to have been held at Nagpur, but as there were some serious local disputes, the All-India Congress Committee decided to hold the session at Surat. In the month of November it was rumoured that the four new resolutions of the preceding session might be excluded in the Surat session. This rumour kept circulating till the 25th December when the Congress delegates were already assembled at Surat. This made the Extremists under the leadership of Mr. Tilak highly excited, and they prepared for a trial of strength. It was indeed true that many senior Moderate leaders regarded their position

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as somewhat compromised by these resolutions, and they also were waiting for an opportunity for having the goal and technique of the Congress movement revised.

The Bombay Moderates headed by Sir Pherozeshah Mehta had already succeeded in removing the items of Boycott and National Education from the programme of the Bombay Provincial Conference held at Surat in April last. The Extremist had therefore reason to suspect that the same thing might happen in the Congress session as well. The Reception Committee was composed mostly of Sir Pherozeshah's followers, and Mr. Gokhale, another Moderate stalwart, had no difficulty in persuading the Committee to nominate Dr. Rashbehari Ghosh, a Moderate again, to the office of the President, and reject the proposal for the nomination of Lala Lajpat Rai, an Extremist, on the ground that "we cannot afford to flout the Government at this stage, for the authorities would throttle our movement in no time." This was considered to be an insult to the Extremist section and Dr. Ghosh is stated to have received numerous telegrams from different parts of the country asking him to relinquish the honour in favour of Lala Lajpat Rai. But, Dr. Ghosh was not allowed by the Moderates to retire, and Lala Lajpat Rai publicly declined the honour in order to get out of an extremely awkward honour for himself. Having secured a President of their own choice, the Moderates had won the first round of the fight, and so the Extremists came to Surat in full strength ready for a final showdown.

For the first time in Congress history, the Extremists set up a separate camp of their own away from the main Congress camp where the Moderates congregated. Here the Extremist leaders like Tilak, Khaparde and Aurobindo Ghosh daily harangued their followers about the suspicious move of the Moderates, and thereby stirred up their feelings against the autocracy of the Moderate High Command. They became a pledge-bound party to vote against the Moderates in all matters of policy. The Moderates alleged that among the Extremist delegates were gymnastic teachers, athletes, and sturdy labourers from factories, who went about with heavy stikes. The Moderate high-brows evidently did not like the presence of uneducated and burly factory workers as fellow delegates. The Extremist delegates numbered over500, while the total number of the delegates was about 1200. Thus, the moderates had a substantial majority—a fact which further exasperated the Extremists.

If the extremists were well organised, the Moderates were no less so. While the conduct of the Extremists was certainly impetuous, the attitude of the Moderates was equally provocative. If the Extremists had brought some people armed with lathis, the Reception Committee

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too imported Bohra Muslim goondas in and around the Pandal, and these, it may be added, were all armed with heavy sticks. The police also seems to have been long ready under requisition. Inflammatory leaflets in Gujarati asking the Gujarati people to teach a lesson to the leader from Maharashtra, Mr. Tilak, were widely distributed in the city, and even inside the Pandal. The connivances of the Moderates was not unjustly suspected.

The most objectionable thing which the Moderates did was the withholding of the draft resolutions from the Extremists till the actual session. No copy was given to the Extremists, even though a Bombay paper published the resolutions on the 26th. That showed that the withholding of a copy from Mr. Tilak could hardly have been unpremeditated. The draft resolutions were also so worded as to show that the Moderates wished to go back from the position taken in the Calcutta session. The contention of the Moderates that the changes were more verbal than real was unconvincing. A summary list which was alone published a few days before the session did not mention Self-Government, Boycott and National Education. The omission appeared to be significant. The Extremists took exception to another move on the part of the Moderates. A Draft Constitution of the Congress, prepared by Mr. Gokhale, and published a day or two earlier, showed that the Moderates were planning to oust all those from the Congress who did not see eye to eye with them in matters of policy. Even this Draft was allowed to reach Mr. Tilak only on the morning of 25th. The goal of the Congress was stated therein : " The Indian National Congress has for its ultimate goal the attainment by India of self-government similar to that enjoyed by the other members of the British Empire." Mr. Tilak, at once announced that the proposed constitution was a sinister attempt to tamper with the goal of self-government on the lines of self-governing colonies, as settled at Calcutta, and to shut out the Extremists from the Congress by making the acceptance of this new creed a condition of Congress membership.

On the 24th, the Extremists held a conference of their own under the presidentship of Mr. Aurobindo Ghosh, and decided that their party should frustrate the imminent retrogression of the Congress by all constitutional means, even by opposing the election of the President, if necessary. On the morning of 26th, the Extremists led by Messrs. Tilak, Khaparde, and Aurobindo Ghosh made the last attempt to obtain from the Moderates an assurance that the *status quo* would be maintained, but the attempt proved abortive. The response from Mr. Surendra Nath Banerji was non-commital, and Mr. Malviya Chairman of the Reception Committee, managed to avoid all contacts with the Extremist deputationists. It was clear that the Moderates wanted no compromise, for they were confident of their majority. It looked as if a fight was

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inevitable, and the fight came the same afternoon when the twenty-third Congress session opened in the old historic French Garden of Surat.

The Pandal, with seating capacity for over 7,000, was packed when the proceedings commenced amidst a scene of excitement. The excitement grew when the President-elect, Dr. Ghosh, was welcomed with cheering, mingled with the shouts of "Shame" from the Extremist ranks. The address of Mr. Malviya, roused the fire of the Extremists who raised cries of "No, No," and frequently interrupted him, whenever they heard him talk about moderation. When Dewan Bahadur Ambalal proposed Dr. Ghosh as President, there were again cries of "No, No." And, when the old veteran of the Congress Mr. Surendra Nath Banerji, rose to second, hooting became more intense. Mr. Banerjea's eloquence proved to be of no effect, and even though he made repeated attempts to raise his powerful voice not a word could be audible above the noisy uproar. The Chairman had then to suspend the session for the day. It is strange that no reconciliation was seriously attempted after the adjournment, and when on the next morning Mr. Tilak sought an honourable compromise, the negotiations again proved abortive.

The Congress met again next day. But, before the proceedings commenced, Mr. Tilak sent a message to the Chairman asking for permission to move an adjournment after the election of the President was seconded, but received no reply even after repeated reminders. The refusal to take notice of Mr. Tilak's request was not only discourteous, but was also unconstitutional. The adjournment motion could have been put before the house, and could also have been rejected by the majority. Even if the Chairman wanted to overrule the motion, he should have done so publicly. There was no need to sit tight over Mr. Tilak's request and ignore it without reason. After Mr. Banerjea had finished his speech without the least disturbance, Mr. Tilak who thought he was allotted a seat on the platform rose to go up the platform steps. He was held back by a volunteer, but he rushed his way up, and repeatedly insisted on his right of addressing the delegates. By this time there was a general disorder. Some of the Moderates wanted Mr. Tilak to be bodily removed, and the over zealous Secretary of the Committee actually touched Mr. Tilak's person to carry out the Chairman's order. If under these circumstances, Mr. Tilak was excited and he pushed the Secretary aside, his conduct, indiscreet as it was, was hardly unjustified. The provocation offered to him and his numerous admirers was no doubt very grave, and the subsequent disorder was due as much to the obstinate behaviour of the Moderates as to the defiance of the Extremists. During the confusion a shoe hurled on to the platform struck Sir Pherozeshah on the side of the face after touching Mr. Banerjea, both of whom sat within a yard of Mr. Tilak. And when, chairs were thrown at the platform, some extremists rushed to the rescue

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of Mr. Tilak. The confusion became still more serious, when sticks were brandished and hurled at the platform, and disorderly blows were exchanged. No one was, however, seriously hurt. The police promptly came in, made some arrests and cleared the Pandal. Thus ended under the most painful circumstances the twenty-third session of the Congress.

The heavy Maratha chappal which hit Sir Pherozeshah and Mr. Banerjea was a symbol marking the unpleasant transition of Indian nationalism from a loyalist and upper class agitation to an extremist, middle class movement. Even in the unseemly rowdyism one can trace the birth-pangs of a new phase in Indian history—the dawn of a real nationalist movement and the rise of a revolutionary party outside the Congress. A yawning gulf separated the Moderates and the neo-nationalists whose paths lay wide apart. A split was bound to come, even if the Surat incident had not occurred. The split was norrowly averted at the Calcutta session, and it could not long have been post-poned. The Anglo-Indian Press and the bureaucracy gloated over the seeming collapse of the Congress movement, and cited the Surat fiasco as a proof of the unfitness of Indians for self-government, conveniently ignoring the fact that worse incidents had been witnessed even in the British House of Commons.

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GENESIS OF THE PARTITION OF BENGAL (1905)

Dr. P. C. Chakravarti

Was the partition of Bengal in 1905 motivated by administrative considerations or by political reasons? Was it just a "measure of administrative redistribution," as Valentine Chirol[2] asserted, or was it a sinister design to curb the growing political consciousness of Bengal?

Opinions have widely differed on this question. By and large, British historians and publicists have maintained the view that the partition of Bengal was conceived and carried through to promote administrative efficiency. By and large, Indian politicians and publicists have held the contrary opinion that the motive behind the partition was political rather than administrative—that what Lord Curzon and the British Government really wanted to achieve was to weaken and break the political life of Bengal under the cover of administrative improvement.

It is true that official discussion was going on since 1892 for some sort of administrative redistribution between Bengal and Assam. A proposal was mooted in that year to transfer to Assam the South Lushai hills and the Chittagong division "as soon as the settlement questions there had been completed." There was not much of difference of opinion regarding the transfer of the Lushai hills, but on the question of the transfer of the Chittagong division official views seemed to be sharply divided.

In January, 1896, the Government of India referred the question to the Governments of Bengal and Assam for opinion'[1] The Government of Bengal sent its reply on the 13th of August, but along with the reply it forwarded a number of memorials, addressed to the Viceroy and Governor-General of India by the residents of Chittagong, Noakhali and Tipperah, and by the British Indian Association, the Indian Association and the East Bengal Association protesting against the proposed change.

1. *Home Department*, letter dated 18 January 1896.

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In January, 1897, Mr. (later Sir) Henry Cotton, who had succeeded Sir William Ward as the Chief Commissioner of Assam for two months, was asked to give his opinion on this debated question; and in one of the ablest minutes ever written on the subject, Cotton expressed himself unequivocally and unreservedly against the proposed transfer of the Chittagong division to Assam. 'He maintained that the administration in Assam was not so advanced as in Bengal; that the constitutional privileges exercised in Bengal are unknown in Assam; that self-government was not on the same footing in Assam as in Bengal; that the deprivation of the franchise for the election of a member in the Bengal Council would be a serious matter, and afford a just cause for complaint on the past of the electing public; that the loss of supervision of the Board of Revenue and the High Court would be a retrograde and mischievous departure; and that the work of the Bengal Government would not be seriously lightened by the transfer of Chittagong, whose capital was in every sense Calcutta, and which would, therefore, lose by its transfer to Assam, with which it was not homogeneous'.

Sir James Westland, who had served in Bengal and been for a short time Chief Commissioner of Assam, also opposed the proposal to transfer "the settled territory of Eastern Bengal" to Assam. In his view such a measure would be contrary to the natural and proper course of the development of Indian administration. He testified to the accuracy of Mr. Cotton's statement about the very elementary way in which administration was carried on in Assam and stated that the continuation of such a system of administration, suitable for "a backward province of limited area," would become impossible if Assam were brought into real intimate contact with the outer world by having added to it the interests of such districts as Chittagong or Dacca.

Other highly placed officials such as Sir Edin Collen also expressed themselves more or less on the same lines. They considered the question entirely from the administrative point of view, and were quite clear in their mind that administratively it would be an impolitic step to link up the more 'advanced' districts of Eastern Bengal with the comparatively 'backward' province of Assam. Faced with this solid volume of opinion, the Government of India determined, by the Council Order of 29 April, 1897, that the South Lushai hills should be transferred to Assam, but not the Chittagong Division.

And here the matter rested till it was revived in 1903 by Sir Andrew Fraser, the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, in collaboration with Lord Curzon, the Viceroy. The revived proposal, however, took a somewhat different form than the old one; it was not merely the Chittagong division which was to be transferred to Assam, but Dacca and Mymensingh to boot. And the reasons advanced were much the same as before.

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Bengal with an area of 189,000 square miles and a population of 78,493,000 inhabitants was too heavy a burden for a Lieutenant-Governor. Administrative efficiency demanded a redistribution of its boundaries.

But was that the sole or real reason for the proposed redistribution? In one of his minutes on the subject, Lord Curzon writes :[2] "Sir Andrew Fraser is very strongly in favour of the transfer. He has discussed the matter with me, and his feeling is that the influence of Eastern Bengal in the politics of the Province is out of all proportion to its real political importance, in so much that the Bengali altogether overshadows the Bihari, who is in everything save the use (or abuse) of language immeasurably his superior. Sir Andrew regards it as an object of great political and administrative importance to diminish this influence by separating one of its great centres from others. I understood Mr. Bourdillon, who took part in the discussion, to admit Sir Andrew's premises, but that he was inclined to think that the links between Calcutta and Dacca were so strong, the influence of Dacca so powerful, and the certain opposition so intense that it was doubtful whether separation was practically possible. Mr. Fuller also hesitates; but his hesitation arises from a different consideration. If Sir Andrew Fraser thinks that Dacca is too powerful to be allowed to remain a portion of Bengal, Mr. Fuller wonders whether it is not too powerful to become a portion of Assam. He realises what is probably the fact, that the enlarged transfer would mean that Assam would be annexed to Eastern Bengal rather than Eastern Bengal to Assam....."

In course of another note on the same subject, Lord Curzon approvingly refers to the reasons which actuated Sir Andrew Fraser in advocating the partition of Bengal. "There remains," he says, "an argument to which the incoming Lieutenant-Governor, Sir A. Fraser, attaches the utmost weight, and which cannot be absent from our consideration. He has represented to me that the advantage of severing these eastern districts of Bengal, which are a hot-bed of the purely Bengali movement, unfriendly if not seditious in character, and dominating the whole tone of Bengal administration, will immeasurably outweigh any possible drawbacks."

That political motives were dominant when the question of partition was revived in 1903 will also be apparent from the following note, dated 19-6-03, of A.T.A. (Arundel), a member of the Viceroy's Council. "I fully concur with the proposal," he writes, "to transfer Chittagong to Assam. It is a change which is essential to the proper development of the Assam Province. The reasons for transferring Mymensingh and Dacca are not so conclusive as in the case of Chittagong as regards

2. *Home Department Procs.*, December 1903, Nos. 149-160.

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development, *but I am impressed with the political reasons for severance* which are similar to those which assign Berar to the Central Provinces and which lead me to demur to the political union of the Uriyas."

When the plan for the partition was virtually decided upon, H. H. Risley, Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, was called upon to formally communicate it to the Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal. Risley prepared the draft of that communication on the basis of Lord Curzon's own minute; but the Viceroy was taken aback when it was put up before him for approval. "I regret to say," he wrote, "that if the letter to Bengal were published in its present form, it would create aboslute consternation.....When I wrote my minute for the confidential information of my colleagues, it never occurred to me for a moment that its contents could be or would be practically reproduced to be dissected by every newspaper scribe. English or native, in Bengal. What I could safely say in the privacy of the Council Chamber is not necessarily suitable for proclamation on the house-tops."

"Secretary, in his anxiety to respect the form as well as the substance of what I wrote," he added, "has produced a draft which even my knowledge of Bengal—so much leas than his—is sufficient to tell me would be disastrous. I have therefore, revised it from beginning to end."

"Neither do I propose," he concluded, "to send a copy of my minute home.....It will be sufficient to send a copy privately to the Secretary of State to explain *the inner meaning of that it has not found altogether advisable to say in the letter to Bengal.*"[3]

Why this hush-hush? Why this secretiveness? Why this inordinate anxiety to keep back from the public facts regarding the partition scheme mentioned in the original draft of the letter to Bengal as prepared by the Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, on the basis of Lord Curson's own minute? Obviously these facts were such—and Lord Curzon himself admits it—as could not be permitted to see the light of the day. Obviously, there was something fishy, something sinister about the scheme which could not be given out.

The leaders of Bengal were not, therefore, wide off the mark when they interpreted the partition scheme "as a subtle attack upon the growing solidarity of Bengali nationalism." The planners of the partition conceived of a two-pronged *modus operandi* to stem the rising tide of political consciousness in Bengal. First, break the solidarity of

3. Quoted from Lord Curzon's minute dated 10-11-03. *Home Department Procs.*, December 1903, Nos. 149-160.

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the Bengali Hindus, who constituted the vanguard of the national movement, by dividing them into two provinces, and secondly, widen the gulf between Hindus and Musalmans by holding up before the latter prospects of special advantage and domination in the new province of Eastern Bengal and Assam. Regarding this second prong, there could be no hide-and-seek, for Mussalmans could not be won over unless the new prospects were forcefully placed before them. Hence the famous peroration of Lord Curzon on February 18, 1904, about the old glory of Muslim Dacca and the new glory that she was likely to achieve if the partition plan was carried through.

"Will any one pretend," Lord Curzon thundered, "that Dacca is anything but a shadow of its former self?" When the new proposal for partition is through, he assured, "it would make Dacca the centre and possibly the capital of a new and self-sufficing administration which must give to the people of these districts by reason of their numerical strength and their superior culture the preponderating voice in the province so created, which would invest the Muhammadans in Eastern Bengal with a unity which they have not enjoyed since the days of the old Mussulman Viceroys and Kings, and which would go far to revive the traditions which the historical students assure us attached to the kingdom of Eastern Bengal."[4]

4. For the speech delivered by Lord Curzon at Dacca see *All about Partition* edited by P. Mukherjee (Calcutta, 1906).

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AN INTERCEPTED LETTER OF KEIR HARDIE TO BAL GANGADHAR TILAK

Dr. Sukumar Bhattacharya

(A proposal to hold a session of the Indian National Congress in London)

While the Indian National Congress was trying to educate the Indian people about the supreme necessity of having their self-government, a group of men in Great Britain who were friendly to India felt the importance of educating the public opinion in that country in favour of the movement for the political emancipation of India. Foremost among them was Sir William Wedderburn, one of the architects of the Indian National Congress and twice the President of that august body.[1] Presiding over the Allahabad session of the Congress in 1910, Wedderburn said, " Let me remind you of the twofold character of the Congress work. There is first the work in India : the political education of the people, having for its first object to create solidarity of the Indian public opinion, founded on the widest experience and wisest counsel available. This part of the work has been in great part accomplished .....What is now wanted is a vigorous propaganda in England, in order to bring the appeal effectively before the High Court of the British nation. The work to be done is of a missionary kind and must be mainly directed to influencing the British people in whom the ultimate power is vested.....What is wanted is a systematic, continuous and sustained effort to bring before the English public the Indian view of Indian affairs.[2]

The idea of Wedderburn found a staunch advocate in the late James Keir Hardie,[3] the first Socialist member to be elected to the British House of Commons and the first Chairman of the Parliamentary Labour Party. Keir Hardie came to India in 1907-08, and in the course of an extensive tour in this country he gathered personal knowledge of the men and affairs in India. A man of the people. Keir Hardie could easily realize the role of the Indian leaders in the political movement. He acquired great respect for the Indian patriot Bal Gangadhar

1. Bombay Session, 1899, and Allahabad Session, 1910.
2. *Indian National Congress*, (G. A. Natesan, Madras, 1917), pp. 1005-06.
3. J. Keir Hardie (1856-1915), M. P. from 1900 till his death.

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Tilak, who in the words of Lord Minto, the Viceroy and Governor-General of India (1905-1910) "was recognised throughout India as the leader of sedition."[4] Impressed by the personality of Tilak and the influence he exercised over the Indian National Congress, Keir Hardie in 1911 wrote from England to Tilak about the importance of educating British public opinion about India and her aims and aspirations.

But the letter never reached the great Indian leader. In 1908 Tilak was sentenced to imprisonment for six years on a charge of publication of seditious articles, and in March 1911 when the letter was addressed to him, Tilak was serving his sentence at the Mandalay jail in the far-off Burma. The letter was intercepted on its arrival at Bombay and as the result of a triangular corrspondence between the Government of Bombay the Government of India and the Government of Burma it was decided not to deliver the letter to the "convict." The Government of India read into the letter more than what was written. In their opinion Keir Hardie must have anticipated the interception of the letter and Lord Hardinge,[5] the then Governor-General, and his Council came to the conclusion that the letter was "probably written so as to create a grievance over its being intercepted."[6]

Almost half a century has passed by since the letter was written. Many events have happened since then. Both Tilak and Keir Hardie as also Lord Minto and Lord Hardinge are no longer in the land of the living. None of them were destined to see the emergence of an independent India, for which Tilak lived and died and which the friends of India like Keir Hardie might have visualized. The fact remains that the British public opinion and particularly the Labour Party, of which Keir Hardie was the first representative in the House of Commons, played a large part in the enactment of the Indian Independence Act of 1947 which transferred power over India from the people of Great Britain to those of India and Pakistan.

The letter of Keir Hardie to Tilak which so long lay hidden in a dark corner of the Archives of the Government of India may speak for itself about the emphasis put by Keir Hardie on the importance of holding a session of the Indian National Congress in London to educate

4. *India Minto and Morley*, 1905-1910, Mary, Countess of Minto, p. 247.

5. Baron Hardinge of Penshurst (1858-1944) Viceroy and Governor-General of India, 1910-1916.

6. *Home : Poll-B : Proceedings*, July 1911, No. 17-19.

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public opinion of Britain on Indian questions. The following is the text of the letter :—

House of Commons
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March 31st, 1911

My dear Mr. Tilak,

I have many times intended writing to you but somehow one's good intentions often get pushed aside by the pressure of necessities of the moment. I have been hearing of you indirectly through our mutual friend Mr. G. S. Khaparde.[7] I expect you are finding the time hang heavily on your hands, unless you are allowed a good deal of latitude in the way of doing some useful studies.

You have of course heard of the result of the General Election and how the Labour Party was returned two stronger than it was in the last Parliament. We are now 42 members in the House of Commons. Some of these are beginning to take quite an intelligent interest in India and its problems. I never miss an opportunity of driving home the point that the only solution for the difficulties of the situation in India is such a measure of self-government as will make the people of India masters in their own households. I am quite aware, as you know, that this state could not be attained immediately, but that is the real goal towards which every friend of India should be diligently striving. Every extension of power has justified the belief that the more these powers are extended the greater will be the proof of the fitness of the people to attend to their own affairs and the greater also the disproof of the carefully nurtured fallacy that India needs a strong controlling hand to keep its different sects and races from cutting each other's throats.

I have been strongly urging upon the heads of the Indian Congress Movement the advisability and importance of holding their next Congress here in London. The presence of men like yourself and your colleagues in Conference assembled would go far to break down prejudice, and were the Congress followed by a series of big demonstrations in our most important industrial centres the effect could not fail to be excellent. I do not know how far you agree with me that next to the education of the people of India concerning their political rights and duties the next important thing is the education of the people of this country concerning India and her aims and aspirations. There is no reason why the two things should not go on side by side and the Congress and the meetings would aid both objects.

7. A Congress leader of Amraoti, Berar and a Co-worker of Tilak.

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I do not know if there is anything else I can add except that whether the Congress be held here or not, I trust that after your release you may be able to come here upon a visit. Should that happen I should be greatly delighted to renew the acquaintance in which I found so much to respect and admire, and with all good wishes for your health and well-being I beg to remain,

Yours sincerely,

J. KEIR HARDIE[8]

B. G. Tilak, Esq.

8. *Home : Poll-B : Proceedings*, July 1911, No. 17-19.
Interception of a letter addressed by Mr. J. Keir Hardie, M. P. to Bal Gangadhar Tilak.

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NATHDWĀRĀ PAINTINGS FROM THE 17TH TO 20TH CENTURY A.D.

Dr. G. N. Sharma

A vigorous style of painting, termed as Nāthdwārā painting is associated with Nāthdwārā, a walled town situated on the right bank of the *Banās* river, in 24·56 'N and 73·49'E, about thirty miles north by north-east of Udaipur City. The town possesses one of the most famous *Vaishnava* shrine in India, in which is an image of Shrināthjī, popularly said to date from the twelfth century A.D. This image was placed by Vallabhāchārya in a small temple of Mathurā in 1495 and was moved to Goverdhan in 1519. About 150 years later, when Aurangzeb endeavoured to root out the worship of Krishna, the descendants of Vallabhāchārya left Mathurā District with respective images and wandered about Rājputānā till 1671, when Rānā Rājsingh invited three of them to Mewār. First of all the image of Shri Nāthjī was kept at Ghasār, a village in the hills of *Girvā*, and then it was removed to Sinhār. The same village was set apart for the worship of the image. There in due course a temple was erected. Around the temple gradually a town grew up which was called Nāthdwārā, the portal of the God.[1]

Very soon, on account of religious prestige commanded by the cult and chivalrous act of the Rānā Nāthdwārā became a centre of interest by the closing of the seventeenth century A.D. Pilgrims[2] particularly from Rājasthān and Malwā and generally from Gujarāt began to visit the Shrine and take with them the effigies of Shrināthjī for domestic worship. This popular demand must have attracted first a group of painters from Chāwand, Udaipur, Chitor and then from Jaipur, Jodpur, Alwar and Delhi to migrate to Nāthdwārā to earn their living by executing effigies of the newly installed God.

The next subject of their paintings was rightly the legend of God Shrināthjī appearing to Goswāmi in a dream and commanding him to find his burried image near Gowardhan hill where tracks of cows offered milk from their udders to the image. Along with this menifestation

1. MS. *Shrināthji ni Prāgatyavārtā* (Udaipur MS); Rajputāna Gazetteers, vol. II-A, p. 120.

2. *Sthāi Dafter* files of pilgrims, Nāthdwārā.

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must also have been associated the reception of the image by the Rānā and the Ranis. Such paintings of pictorial representation of legendary and historical events naturally commenced the tradition of Nāthdwārā school.

Prof. O. C. Gangoly designates this school as Udaipur School.[3] Using Udaipur school as synonym for Nathdwārā appears to me misleading. In the first place the Udaipur School came into existence after the treaty of 1615 A.D., when Udaipur was finally established as the Capital of Mewār ; while Nathdwārā School dates sufficiently late after V.S. 1728, (1671 A.D.) when the image of Shrī Nāthjī was removed to Sinhād[4] under the patronage of Rānā Rāj Singh[5] by Goswāmijī Dāmodarjī during the days of persecutions of Aurangzeb. Moreover, the original manifestation of Shrī Nāthjī[6] in early paintings with the burried image and the offering of the milk, Shri Vallabha in the act of the establishing the image of Shrī Nāthjī in a shrine, Rājput prince and princess is quite peculiar and different idea from Udaipur school of the same period.

With the growing importance of Sinhād as a centre of pilgrims other painters from Jaipur, Jodhpur, Alwar and Delhi also flocked to this place by the beginning of the 18th century A.D. This group of painters[7] coming from different localities followed the same theme of manifestation of Shrī Nāthjī along with other religious and secular themes of their original places with which they were acquainted. Some of the illustrations which would be cited in the following pages would clear the point that Nāthdwārā paintings have tinge of various '*Kalams*'. Thus many new characteristic qualities and circumstances under which the school developed at Nāthdwārā or Sinhad[8] (more accurately), call for new nomenclature different from Udaipur. The profusion of execution of pictorial art in the late 18th and 19th centuries gave it an authenticity and individuality which fitly justified it as a school by itself. But,

3. A group of Vallabhā Chārya of Nāthdwārā paintings and their relatives—*Bulletin of the Baroda State Museum and Picture Gallery*, vol. I, pt. II ,p. 31.

4. Ojha, *Udaipur Rājka-itihās*, vol. I, p. 35, vol. II, p. 547.

5. O. C. Gangoly has wrongly called him Rānā Rām Singh p. 34 of his same article.

6. Two copper-plate grants of old deposited records of Udaipur dated V.S 1792 and 1793 (1735-36 A. D.) designate the idol as Goverdhannāthji, God of Goverdhan hill.

7. Several painters of Nāthdwārā still distinguish them by three classes—Gor, Jangid and Purbia. The 1st class traces its origin from Udaipur, the 2nd from Jaipur and Jodhpur and the 3rd from Alwar or Delhi.

8. Various copper plates grants of 18th and 17th centuries *Pattas* in *Sthai-Daftar* of Nathdwārā and local songs preserve the name of the place as Sinhād. It was the official and local name of the place. Nāthdwārā is the later nomenclature used by pilgrims denoting devotional significance.

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however, it may be pointed out that Nathdwārā school cannot be disaffiliated from the main stem of Mewāri School due to the fact that it flourished within the territorial limits of Mewār, the first group of painters were from Mewār and it received ample protection and facility for its execution under the governing hands of the Rānās.

It is very difficult to give some illustrations of the earlier paintings of his school of Nāthdwārā (Sinhād) of the 17th century because most of the valuable treasures have been either sold to foreign markets or have likewise been lost or destroyed in the course of constant warfare which marks the history of Mewār. However, the next stage in the growth of school is fortunately provided in a set of Nāthdwārā painings, preserved in the collection of Baroda State museum, critically analysed by Prof. O. C. Gangoly.[9] These paintings are very interesting series of cloth paintings (pats) devoted to various phases of the life of Shri Krishna, Vallabhāchārya, effigies of Srināthji, *Janamastmi* festival, Rās-mandal, etc. The learned writer has tried to fix the date of the series as 1750 A.D. on the basis of certain paintings of Jaipur *Pothī Khānā*[10] though H. Goetz fixes the date for the same series as 1830 A.D.[11] It is unconvincing as to how Shri H. Goetz arrives at the accurate date of 1830. In pictures where there is no definite inscription or evidence we should go not by years but by early or late centuries only.

The most important characteristic feature of these paintings as analysed by the learned writer are that they are painted not on paper but on cotton cloth, probably with glue medium. A peculiar mannerism is to be observed in the pose of hands, one of which is held up in a sharp right-angle, the other hand being placed in freer pose by *Gopis*. In the group of *Gopis* there is a considerable depth of feeling and conviction in the nervous animation and liveliness of the composition. The landscape background has been formed by various groups of trees, plantain, *Deodar* and *Kadamba* trees. Decorative border of wide open flowers altering with conventionally arranged leaves is the striking feature of this series. In some pictures there are also ornamental borders. The celestial Cars at the top of the picture carrying the *devās* who rain down flowers on the mystic dance below, are all of the same type, decorated with the effigies of peacocks, except one with the head of a bull, suggesting that its inmate may be Siva. In the group of Gopies there is no attempt made to differentiate individual features of faces, a convention persistently followed in Rājasthānī as well as Kangra paintings. This identity of type is emphsised in the peculiar physiognomy of the profile faces, with oblique eye-brows and a fantastic

9. *BBSM*, vol. I, pt. II. 1944, pp. 31-39.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 93.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 93.

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shape of eye—with its end lines running up to meet the termination of the eyebrow. The acquiline nose, short firm lips and thedescending tresses of locks of heir ending in peculiar curls and the diaphanous robe through which the shape of the limbs can be seen, contribute to the building up of a stereotyped pattern.[12]

Some of the traits of this set favourably compare with the elements of composition and features in the *Rāsamandal* paintings of the Jaipur *Pothikhānū*.[13]. The comparable component exists in the series of Celestial Chariots, serial *Vimānās*. There also exists a similarity in the treatment of trees of this set. The three concentric circles of *Rāsa* of Jaipur *Pothikhānā* adequately compare with two concentric circles of the Barodā Series.

Recently I have been able to discover some of the exquisite paintings of Shri Nāthji and Vithal Nāthji in the collection of Shri Chunni Lāl of Nāthdwārā. They have been prepared by Ram Chandra, the ancestor of the owner who lived in the late 18th century. The family of the owner originally belonged to Jaipur. Though the theme of the pictures is *Vaishnavite* the characteristic features of Jaipur *Kalam* are easily distinguishable. In technique these are nearest to the Barodā series.

In one of the pictures (5″ × 3″) Vithal Nāthjī, the Goswami is seated on a raised platform with fine landscape of blue sky, conventional trees, distant hills and water and lotus in foreground. In another painting (9″ × 7″) Krishna is swinging with crossed feet attended by Gopies and cows. Similarly the pictures of Hanumān and a *Sardār* have all the bearings of portraiture painting of the late 18th century. In another picture Rāma is seated in the *Virāsan* on the throne with '*Pithika*' behind. In front he has Lakshman with a fan. At his feet sits Hanumān in adoration. The colour scheme is simple consisting of green, yellow, red and bright and brown.

From the point of view of style and character and use of colour scheme the collection of Sri Chunni Lāl classes with Barodā set as far as treatment of Vaishnavite subjects like Vithal Nāthjī and Shri Nāthji in original manifestation goes. In the same way it also goes with Jaipur painting as far as the features, poses borders and other details are concerned. The painting of Krishna attended by cows and Gopies exactly resemble the painting published by Coomarswamy in his Rājput painting, Plate No. XI. The foreground of water and lotus exactly go with the Plate XII-B (Coomarswamy Rājput painting, vol. II).

12. Dummarised from ' A group of Vallabhacharya, or Nāthdwārā paintings and their relatives by O. C. Gangoly, Bulletion of *BBSM*, vol. I, pt. II, 1944, pp. 86-89.

13. Gangoly, Masterpiece of Rajput paintings, Plate X, N. C. Mehta : studies in Indian Paintings, Plate II.

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Thus from the survey of the features of Barodā Collection and Sri Chunni Lal's collection and collection of Jaipur *Pothī Khānā* we conclude rightly that the Nāthdwārā school had also adopted in it the technique and style as it was prevalent in Jaipur, though major themes of the subject remained Vaishnavite.

Similarly in picture of Rīdhā and Krishna, belonging to late 18th century, in the possession of Shri Udai Ram who claims his descent from Jodhpur, we find several traits of Jodhpur art, as robust feature of Krishna, big curling hairs and *Sārī* and *lenga* after Jodhpur fashion. The *Kirīt* of Shri Krishna has an enormous erections of the Jodhpuri turban. These features and techniques can adequately be compared with the style adopted in the paintings of *Dhola Maru*,[14] *Ramayan*[15] *Nāth Charitra*[16] and *Suraj Prakāsh*[17] in the collection of Jodhpur *Durbār*.

Then in the *Moti Mahal* palaces of Nāthdwārā we find some fine specimen of the late 18th century A.D., framed on walls of the balcony and other adjoining rooms.

In one of them Krishna is shown playing on the bank of *Jamunā*. Here the *Jamunā* has been drawn after the impression that the painter had of the neighbouring *Banās* rushing down from its mountains retreats and whirling in swift turns through scenes of verdant glory. Krishna and Gopies have been attired in '*Dhoti*' and '*Dupattā*' of yellow colour with red edges. In another picture we find Krishna and Rādhā strolling in grove of *Kadamba* trees with bees and clamouring birds around.

In another picture we find Krishna riding over the *Hindolā*, attended by various *Sakhis*. Here the trees of *Kadambās* and Mangoes with their overspreading branches furnish the canopy of green foliage. The natural colour of the peacock and sky colour is suggestive of the days of the advent of rainy season. The entire treatment of the landscape is original.

The figures of this Kalam are of round faces. Their extending hands have thin fingers. Women wear ornaments of Mewāri style and coloured cloths. Krishna with all ornaments usually worn by the Rānās and *Sardārs* appear only in yellow '*Dhotī*' with a '*Kirit*' composed of pearls and peacock feathers.

14. MS. *Dhola Maru* V.S. 1860.
15. MS. *Ramayan*, V.S. 1860.
16. MS. *Nath Charitra*, V.S. 1860.
17. MS. *Suraj Prakash* of about V.S. 1860.

CF. The picture Gallery of the Jodhpur Museum—*The Journal of Indian Museums*, vol. IV, 1948.

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One more striking feature of this school is the prominence of *Vanmāl* and *Vaijayantimal* worn by Krishna which suspends down to the knees. The dancing poses of *Gopikās* reach nearer to the poses of Mewāri paintings.[18]

These paintings as it appears have been largely prepared by Udaipur painters who had domiciled themselves at Nāthdwārā. Though in the palace there are other pictures also which indicate mixed style of Rājasthān showing several features of Jaipur, Jodhpur and Northern Indian style.

In the 19th century also the same tradition continued. Shri Coomarswami in his Rajput paintings, p. 41, Plate XIV illustrates the picture of Shrī Nāthjī as manifested in the discovery of a buried image at Gowardhana of the same type. "The buried image is seen in the upper left hand corner of the picture where one of the cows of Goverdhana is making an offering of her own milk. On the right hand Sri Vallabha is in the act of establishing the image in shrine. Below to the left are seen another Tailanga Brahmans in attitude of devotion, and a servant with a bale is no doubt Rāj Singh and two Gopis, or perhaps princesses, with offering of milk and curd. The foreground is occupied on the right and left by villagers. The most beautiful figure is that of the foremost Brahman, a true *Bhakta*, whose eyes are closed and hands outstretched in fervent adoration."[19] Another example of the same style yields a group of lively compositions, depicting a group of worshipping cows, arranged in rows.[20] A variation of this theme has been noticed in the form of the worship of Shrī Nathjī by groups of cows.[21] To the same style belongs the picture of Shrī Nāthjī, located in the shrine, accompanied by Radha, groups of devotees and cows.[22]

With the accession of Goswami Goverdhan Lāljī (1876 A.D.), who was a great patron of art, and with a change in the taste of the patron as well as in keeping with the new trends of the age, modernism entered Nāthdwārā painting. The subjects popular to the Nāthdwārā painters of this period were the notable incidents of Krishna's life, Krishna playing the flute on the bank of *Jamunā*, lifting of Goverdhan, stealing of clothes of Gopies by Krishna as they bathed nude in the river, killing of demons, strolling of *Rādhā* with Krishna in the forest, Rās Lilā and

18. MS. Arsha Ramayan (illustrated, Saraswati Bhawan Library, Udaipur.
19. Coomarswāmy, *Rājput Paintings*, vol. I, p. 41.
20. 'A Pastoral Paradise', *Rupam*, No. 41-44, 1930, p. 14.
21. *Ibid.*, No. 41, January, 1930, pp. 14-15.
22. Coomarswamy, *op. cit.*, Plate XV A and B. *Rupam*, No. 30, April 1927, p. 60.

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Mān Lilā have been depicted in several pictures of various size with certain variations. The best examples of this period can be seen on the front wall of *Ratan Chowk* of the temple of *Krishna Bhandār* and *Moti Mahal.*

By the beginning of the 20th century this art reaches a phase when the artists care more for the taste of the purchasers and less for the basic art. During this period Vaishnavite themes are moulded to suit new circumstances. As for example Rādhā is shown bathing in a river or pond and Krishna is depicted watching from a balcony overrlooking the bathing platform. Similarly Krishna is painted playing on his flute longing to meet his beloved. In brief the most frequent subjects are the pranks and plays of the love scenes of Rādhā and Krishna.

Thus our age witnesses a steady decline in the fine art traditions of Nāthdwārā. The devotional phase of the art gave way to erotic representation. The only healthy sign worth noting is that the art gradually became cosmopolitan and national in accepting suggestions in its assimilation and interpretation. A sort of historic taste has been picked up with the result that the modern artist of Nāthdwārā freely paints Shri Nāthjī along with the Pratap, Shivaji, Mahatma Gandhi and other national leaders of our time with efficiency.

The detailed and critical study of Nāthdwārā School leads us to the conclusion that in this art we find a fine blending of method and style of Marwār, Jaipur, Alwar and Udaipur *Kalams.* This view is corroborated by the fact that most of the families of painters of Nāthdwārā trace their origin from Nagpur, Jaipur, Alwar, Jodhpur and Udaipur. Moreover several specimen of the paintings as cited above, dated as late as the 18th and 19th centuries A.D., ascribed to individual artists, preserve to a large extent traits of the parent stock of the Rājasthānī technique. However, in the later paintings of the 20th centuries we find greater divertion towards the adoption of modern taste and art and the distinction as pointed above practically vanishes.

Thus the Nāthdwārā school of painting is a rich and enlightened art especially devoted to Krishna's phases of life worked out by a style which evolved out of the native characteristics assimiliating therein several salient features of other sister methods and techniques of Rājasthān and Northern India.

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EAST INDIA COMPANY AND ANDHRA

Professor Y. Vittal Rao

(*Summary*)

This paper is a continuation of the subject begun in the last Congress (20th Session) dealing with the activities of the East India Company in the 17th Century, in Andhra, dealing also with the general conditions of the time, as gleaned from the sources, Records of Fort St. George, available with the Andhra Historical Research Society, Rajahmundry. The present paper dealing with the period till 1689, is a continuation of the previous paper.

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HOW THE PORTUGUESE CEDED BOMBAY

PROFESSOR D. R. SAR DESAI

(*Summary*)

THE Portuguese knew the importance of Bombay as a port. But, the English also desired its possession and had attacked the "Great Manor House" of Bombay in 1626. The war with the Dutch in 1652 emphasized the need for a good port on the western coast of India. Consequent to their defeat in Ceylon, the Dutch appeared to be concentrating on western India. This was a serious menace for British trade in India.

Negotiations with Goa authorities proved a failure. They would not even be prepared for selling the island of Bombay.

And then suddenly enough, the marriage, treaty between Charles II and Infanta Catherine of Portugal was signed on 23rd June, 1661. The dowry included besides Bombay, the port of Tanjier and a sum of 2 million cruzados.

Portugal ceded the valuable island of Bombay for a certain reason. Of late Spain was endeavouring to bring Portugal back under her Sovereignty. Portuguese needed an ally and England did not want Portugal to be swallowed by her age-old foe, Spain.

Secondly, the Portuguese had become a weak, decadent power in the East, where they had to give a fight to the energetic Dutch. Ceylon was lost in 1658 and Goa was threatened.

Both Holland and Spain were not friendly with England. Portugal therefore needed England's assistance and the inclusion of the clause in the treaty was insisted upon by them. Charles II gave such an assurance in the Secret article appended to the treaty.

When the Dutch danger was found to be not too serious, the Goan authorities did not appear to be prepared to cede Bombay and it came to be finally handed over only after a protracted correspondence between Portugal and England.

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APPAJEE RAM, EIGHTEENTH CENTURY DIPLOMAT OF MYSORE

Shri D. S. Achyuta Rau

(*Summary*)

From the earliest days of the existence of organised States there must have been diplomacy and diplomats, for States can hardly exist without relations with each other. It was common practice in India in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries for one State to maintain envoys of Vakils at the Court of other States. Diplomatic agents called *niyogis*, *rayabharies*, *dutas* and more commonly known as *Vakils* were sent to foreign Courts whenever necessity arose to carry out important and special missions. Though the office of the diplomatic agent was often a temporary one created for a specific purpose, the system of permanently accrediting representatives by one State at the Court of another had become more or less an established practice among Indian powers in the eighteenth century.

Among several notable Vakils or diplomats like Bina Visaji or Visaji Pant, Pradhana Venkappaiya, Srinivasa Rao, Seshagiri Rao and Tirumala Rao who served Mysore in the eighteenth century the name of Appajee Ram remains the most celebrated one. He was in the service of Haidar Ali and subsequently served his son Tippu Sultan. He was a Maharashtrian Deshashtha Brahmin. He was the resident Ambassador of Haider Ali at Poona. He possessed farseeing abilities and was at the same time vivacious, witty, clever and tactful. He was a man of great address who knew how to shape his conduct to the needs of the occasion. He was the chief guiding spirit in the series of diplomatic transactions that took place between Mysore and the Poona Government between 1764-80. Of these situations a few are outlined here which would reveal the diplomatic skill of Appajee Ram and the success or failure of his missions.

The study concludes with the words, " considered that a diplomat's life in his country was cast in very difficult circumstances in those medieaval times and that the diplomatic conventions of the old world were trying in their own way, the career of Appajee Ram cannot be considered a failure."

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A SHORT BIOGRAPHY OF RAJA SHITAB ROY-NAIB NIZIM OF BIHAR (1765-1773)

Professor Akhileswar Kumar

(*Summary*)

Shitabroy, a Saxena Kayastha of Delhi, after the fall of the mighty Mughal Empire, came over to Bihar to try his luck there. In Shamsudaulla's Bengal, he obtained several offices like the Imperial Dewan of Azimabad, the Government of the fortress of Rhotas and the management of *jagir* lands. As a clever statesman of his age, he succeeded in winning over to his side the sympathy and good-will of the English East India Company. He made his mark in the land of Bengal and Bihar by his act of heroism in the battlefield as well as by his presence of mind. By his diplomatic skill, he could make peace with the Nawab of Oudh and the fugitive Emperor Shah Alam and thereby kept them at bay and facilitated his own path of success. In recognition of his singular service to the English E. I. C., he was appointed as Naib-Nazim of Bihar in 1765 and served Bihar in that capacity till 1773. Warren Hastings brought charges of misappropriation and maladministration against him but ultimately he was honourably acquitted of all those charges and was restored to his former status. He could not survive the trial long and left this world for good in September 1773. He was an able administrator, a good and brave soldier and well-versed in the art of diplomacy. It was by dint of his sheer merit and sincere services that he could rise to all India stature in a considerably short period of time. He played an important role in the contemporary politics of his time.

In the present paper an attempt has been made to study the life of Shitabroy on the basis of all the hitherto known evidences.

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MEASURES TAKEN IN BIHAR ON THE OUTBREAK OF THE ANGLO-FRENCH WAR (1778-83)

Shri J. S. Jha

(*Summary*)

The French Factory at Patna was subordinate to Chandernagore. It was an important centre of French trade before the Seven Years War (1756-63). After that its importance declined, yet in March 1778, when the Anglo-French war broke out in America Captain John Macpherson, officer commanding at Danapur, in accordance with the orders of the Governor–General and Camlit, took possession of the factory, on the 16th July, without encountering any opposition. The French chief, Mons. Panar, and others in the factory were allowed to remain at large on parole. Other French subjects in Bihar were also required to give their parole. An inventory was taken of the property of the factory and also of the individuals of the French Nation, who resided out of the limits of the factory. The postal department was directed to intercept all the French letters and send them on to the Chief of the Patna Council of Revenue. Further Parawanas were issued to the Amils of Sherghaty, Chainpur, Sassaram, Shahabad, Saran and Champaran, directing them to be vigilant so that no Europeans passed their districts without proper licence. Sometime afterwards, in August 1778, it was thought necessary to assemble all the French subjects at Chandernagore, and accordingly they were all sent there and their property was returned to them.

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CHICKAVEERA RAJENDRA WADEYAR THE LAST RAJAH OF COORG

Shri D. N. Krishnayya

(*Summary*)

Coorg was a small principality on the summit of the western ghats to the west of the former Mysore State. Chickaveera Rajendra Wadeyar of the Haleri dynasty was the ill-fated prince who was deposed from his kingdom in 1834 by the East India Company. The Haleri princes had become the dependent allies of the Company after the fall of Tippu Sultan. The Company accused the last Rajah of Coorg of oppressing his people and interfered in his internal administration. Chennabasappa, a close relative of the Rajah who was alleged to have plotted against the Rajah escaped from Coorg and sought protection with the British at Seringapatam. The Rajah demanded the restoration of the fugitive back to him, but the British refused to deliver up the fugitive to the Rajah in spite of the Rajah's persistent appeals to the British officers including the Governor-General of India. Then he declared war against the Company, but fearing the consequences, surrendered to the British when the British armies marched on Coorg.

The Company wanted to annex Coorg to their dominions on account of its strategical position on the ghats and its salubrious climate. Therefore, though the Rajah confessed that he was inexperienced and guided by evil counsellors and repented for having defied the Company's authority and begged the British to allow him to remain in Coorg, the British deposed him. The charges against him had not been proved and therefore his deposition was not justifiable, but was brought about by the greed of the trading corporation, the East India Company, to possess Coorg for themselves.

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BAGHELKHAND IN 1857

Professor A. H. Nizami

(*Summary*)

The advent of British power in Central India dates from the Treaty of Bassein (1802) but Maharaja Ajit Sinha of Rewa (1755-1809) resisted British overtures with the result that when the Bhonsalas occupied southern Baghelkhand, Rewa could not invoke British assistance. The first Anglo-Baghela treaty was signed in 1812 but Sohagpur Ilaqa of Rewa State, ceded by the Peshwa to the Company, became part of Mandla district of Saugor and Nerbudda Territories in British India (1820).

In 1833 a secret mint in Nagod (State), turning out underweight brass coins of Rewa, was closed down by the British. In 1842-43 the Bundela Rebellion in the Saugor and Nerbudda Territories had its echo in the Bundelkhand Agency when the rebel Raja, Parichhat of Jaitpur, was deprived of his principality.

The discontent among the "great dispossessed," in Central India made the call of Nana Saheb to be responded to. The flames of rebellion travelled from Jhansi to Bijairaghogarh and Maihar by October 1857 *via* Sagar, Damoh and Jabalpur and to Sohagpur by November *via* Mandla, Ramgarh and Sahpur.

Osborne, the newly appointed Political Agent in Rewa, succeeded in keeping the Great Deccan Road clear at a time when Maharaja Raghuraj Sinha (1854-88); was giving lukewarm support, encouraging the rebel Thakur of Sohagpur and sheltering the four rebellious Baghela Sardars of whom Ranmat Sinha was the most outstanding and who were contacting Tantya Tope on behalf of their clan.

Osborne exploited the situation to his best advantage and his resourcefulness saved Rewa from the mutineers in the critical months of June and July. In August Kunwar Sinha of Bihar appeared on the Mirzapur frontier ostensibly to meet the vascillating Maharaja who was surrounded by moulvis from North Western Province (Agra and Oudh). In the same month the four Baghela Sardars of Rewa rose in revolt and

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were banished from the Rewa Court, thanks to Osborne of these Ranmat rose to be the leader of the Movement between Rewa and Banda and enjoyed the Maharaja's patronage.

The Baghela Thakur of Sohagpur in Mandla district was a collateral of the Maharaja of Rewa and both were in brisk correspondence during these months. When the young Thakur of Bijairaghogarh had rebelled in October, a mob in Rewa surrounded the office of the Political Agent, threatening to kill Osborne. Osborne succeeded in winning over the Brahmin family of Diwans and the fall of Maihar, at the hands of a representative force from Rewa, came to the Maharaja as a personal triumph inasmuch as he coveted it as part of his ancestral dominions. Raghuraj Sinha ultimately got neither Maihar nor Bijairaghogarh but the British would seem to have offered him the possession of Sohagpur on its fall. His support to the Sohagpuris, therefore, wanes in the same proportion as his zeal for the capture of Maihar waxes (December). Lal-Ranmat Sinha and his companions were trying in February 1858 to earn the support of Tantya Tope who was then at the height of his power. The responsibility for the arrest of Ranmat Sinha, who carried on his person a reward of Rs. 2,000/-, was thrown by the British on Rewa State, now that Sir Hugh Rose had started his counter offensive on the Jhansi front. Ranmat Sinha had been checkmated by Ajaigarh forces in the grim battle of Bhillsain and when Banda fell in April 1858, thanks to the counter-offensive of Whitlock, Ranmat went practically into hiding but continued to give trouble for a whole year. The Thakur of Sohagpur, however, held out until June when the garhi was evacuated.

The whole episode ends with the appointment of Dinbandh as Diwan with the unique title of "Bahadur," the grant of Sohagpur including Amarkantak to the Maharaja of Rewa and the surrender and execution of Ranmat Sinha.

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LETTER OF FOUR BAGHELA MUTINEERS OF REWA

Professor Avinash Chandra Srivastava

(*Summary*)

This paper is based on four original letters found by the Vindhya Pradesh History of Freedom movement Committee during 1953-57 from Faujdar Abdul Majid Khan of Tikamgarh. Faujdar Abdul Majid Khan had a bundle of original letters both in Hindi and Urdu and these four letters were amongst them which were written by four Baghela mutineers of Rewa to Tantya Tope during February 1859 making offers and soliciting help and guidance from him in suppressing the British and their supporters. These four Baghela mutineers were Lal Dhir Sinha, Lal Lochan Sinha, Lal Pratipal Sinha and Lal Ranmast Sinha.

This paper throws important light on the contribution of Rewa to the mutiny of Central India. It reveals that although Reva was badly connected so far as means of communications were concerned, regular correspondence was going on and there was contact between the rebel leaders of that region. All these four letters written in February 1858 indicate that the dissatisfaction at that time against the British had reached to the highest pitch and these mutineers considered it most suitable time to contact Tantya Tope and put forward a concerted effort.

The entire background of this paper as well as these four letters speak out that the great rebellion miscalled mutiny was an all India movement.

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SECTION IV

LOCAL HISTORY

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PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

JOSEPH MUNDASSERY

Minister of Education, Kerala

FRIENDS,

At the very outset let me thank the organisers of the Indian History Congress on behalf of the people and Government of Kerala for having agreed to hold its 21st Session at Trivandrum, the capital of the newly formed Kerala State. As most of you are aware Kerala has been the meeting place of almost all the nations, races, cultures and religions; and as such Kerala is symbolic of the composite character of the civilization and culture of India. We are really proud to welcome the distinguished delegates from the various States of India to the 21st Session of the Indian History Congress and extend to them ample opportunity to move about in this land of hoary tradition blessed with the splendour and glory of nature and to study its historic setting and development. On behalf of the people and the Government of Kerala I extend to you a warm welcome.

The promoters of this Session of the Congress have honoured me by kindly inviting me to preside over the Kerala Section of the Congress. I do not know in what capacity I have been found fit to be called upon to address you on Kerala History. I have been a student of Science throughout my schooling. Later I had to switch on to Sanskrit and Malayalam. I had to do indeed very little with History except listening to some addresses by distinguished scholars. There was a short period in my career during which I went about to visit certain places of historical importance in Kerala. To collate the broken pieces of that limited experience I read up a few documents of South Inidian History, but I was not in a position to continue the job for long. This meagre equipment on my part, I am sure, is not enough to make me fit to preside over an august assembly like this in which I am expected to speak with a certain amount of authority and fundamental grasp of things. The Ministerial Office which I am holding now should not have been construed as equivalent to what I should have possessed to preside over the scholarly deliberations of a Conference like this. While thanking the promoters of the Congress for having conferred on me the great privilege

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of being the President of the Kerala Section of the 21st Session of the Indian History Congress, I request you not to ask for any authoritative guidance from me in the matter of Kerala History which is still to a very large extent an un-explored field of varied human activities.

From pre-historic times Kerala has been a great attraction for outsiders. The Arabian Sea brought down to the shores of Kerala every nation that flourished from the days of Babylon, up to this time, in the Middle-East, on the Mediterranean coast and in western Europe, in succession. The Phoenicians, the Jews, the Syrians, the Egyptians—all these ancient communities reached Kerala in their own times to exchange their goods for the valuable products of Kerala like pepper, cardamom, ivory, pearls etc. Most of those nations have recorded their impressions about Kerala in their own chronicles. Also we have with us certain impressions of our earliest contacts in the social life of our people which if studied in the light of the ancient records would take us far into the hoary past. In addition to these we have certain writings of the early Tamil poets who have extensively described the traffic of foreigners in the emporiums of Kerala. It is regrettable that the information conveyed to us by the so far available documents and traditions is very scrappy and that those available sources of history therefore do not afford us enough material to build up a reliable history of the ancient period.

Our historians have examined all the records so far available and collated them carefully. Shri K. P. Padmanabha Menon, Mr. Logan, the author of the Malabar Gazetteer, Shri C. Achutha Menon the author of the Cochin State Manual and Shri Nagamayya, the author of the Travancore State Manual have been some of the pioneers in writing the history of Kerala. Their efforts are commendable in so far as they enable us to have a peep into the set up of ancient Kerala.

But it is to be confessed that nothing in the nature of scientific history has been attempted till now as far as the period up to the Middle-ages is concerned. Too many conjectures have been made by our writers on the strength of the material within their reach about the political set up of ancient Kerala up to the days of the dismemberment of the Perumal Regime. But none of them amounts to authentic history. As to the pattern of social life and the cross-breed of cultures obtained in ancient Kerala very little information has been collected so far and no sociological study has been attempted with a view to ascertain what could have been obtained in the early ages in the social set up on this side of the ghats. From the Middle Ages up to this time there is very little that is missing in the history of Kerala. And I am to tell you that our writers have written up a fairly authentic history as far as the modern period is concerned.

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The problem therefore in the field of Kerala history is that we have to collect more sources of reliable information in order to build up a true and comprehensive history of ancient Kerala. I do not know if I may be able to throw fresh light on this. Still I may be permitted to place before you certain points which have struck me.

Kerala is a land of hills and dales, jungles and lakes interrupted by short but well-fed rivers. Within every five to ten miles we have a river. The entire land is rendered fertile by these never-in-the-year-dry rivers. Most of them are navigable too. The physical features of Kerala were more or less like this even in the earliest centuries. The coastal belt which is a contiguous stretch for about 350 miles now was perhaps disconnected at various points in the beginning. The hills were occupied by the primitive tribes while the dales and other cultivable areas were probably under the plough of the agrarian communities. The products of the hills, dales and jungles moved down to the mouths of the river for sale. The emporiums at the river mouths glutted with such products were frequented by foreign traders. Probably this constant mercantile traffic strengthened the chieftaincies which sprang up at the river mouths. And the one at the mouth of the longest river of Kerala 'Periyar' by name, must have developed into the 'Chera' Dynasty which according to our tradition ruled the entire land of Kerala in the beginning of the Christian Era. The 'Cheras' have gone into south Indian History as one of the three Dynasties which controlled the destiny of the Dravidian people in the South for centuries. Their territory sometimes extended up to Salem in the present Madras State. 'Cranganore' or 'Thiruvanchikulam' known as 'Vanchimanagar' in early Tamil literature was the seat of the Cheras. They had built up an extensive capital including 'Kunavayilkottam' the famous 'Vihara' of the Buddhist intellectuals described in the great epics of 'Chilappathikaram' and 'Manimekhalai'. This great city was swept away by floods later and very little is left of it now except a few mounds here and there. The Cheras lost their overlordship much earlier than the Pandyas and the Cholas probably because they had too many chieftaincies under them which claimed independent existence. Here was perhaps the main difference between the Chera Regime and the other two Regimes. The Cheras were succeeded by elected Perumals. We are yet to know how and when the elected 'Perumals' came into power and what the content of their regime was. Legends and stories we do have in plenty to tell us about the Perumals. But so far no factual history has been squeezed out of them. The traditional list of Perumals shows import from the Chola and the Pandya Dynasties. We have still to dive deep into the lore of the country to regularise the history after the Cheras.

The Cholas got themselves mixed up with the Pallavas probably by the third century A.D. And with that coalition the Chola regime

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became pro-Aryan. More or less by that period the Namboodiri Brahmins arrived in Kerala and gradually established themselves along the coastal belt which was perhaps at that time not fully occupied by the indigenous communities. My feeling is that the Aryan element entered Kerala from the north and marched to power with the aid of the Chola-Pallavas. A comparative study of the Gramaraj of the Namboodiries in Kerala and the Pallava Polity in the South has led me to this conjecture. It is worthwhile that scholars interested in research follow up the suggestion more or less in the line indicated by the late Dr. Meenakshi in her valuable book 'Pallava Polity' by name. A comprehensive study of the social and cultural traditions of the Namboodiries of the area covered by the 32 Gramoms supposed to have been established by them, the centuries-old impact of the Brahmin scholars from the realm of the Chola-Pallavas on the chieftaincies and also the dominant families of Namboodiries in Kerala and the affinity with the Cholas implied in the tradition of the Zamorins may be helpful in ascertaining the active role of the Chola-Pallavas in moulding up the Perumal Regime after the fall of the Cheras. In this context I would like to point out that the 'Chathiramkali' of the Namboodiries and the social and cultural background responsible for the emergence of the hybrid style known as 'Manipravala' deserve further examination with a better historical insight.

The arrival of the Arabs, the Jews and Syrian Christians in Kerala is another important event awaiting our further study. I do not believe that they arrived here in terms of communities. Only handfuls of them could have reached the shores of Kerala and their stay here was most probably actuated by trading interests. Their contact was confined to the coastal region where alone there were emporiums of trade. The earliest Jewish pockets in India were in Kerala. Some of them are still alive. I believe that they have much ancient history to unfold. A closer study of their time-old customs, manners and traditions and also excavation in certain sites occupied by them from very early times would yield valuable information. The Jews like the Namboodiries chose to be a selected race without resorting to proselytisation and expansion. The Arabs and the Syrian Christians got mixed up with the upper classes of Kerala during their stay in our emporiums, converted many from among them to their creeds and paved the ground for the growth of the Christian and Muslim communities in Kerala. The Muslims and the Christians including the converts started playing the role of 'Vaisyas' from very early times securing protective rights from the then rulers and later they have established themselves as the most dominant trading communities in Kerala. Their penetration into the interior of the country has been conditioned by the navigability of the rivers and the fertility of the soil. Certain areas in Kerala have thus become exclusively theirs. It is worthwhile to study the early history of these communities along with that of the upper-class Hindus

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from amongst whom conversions were frequent. There are umpteen things in the social life of these communities to throw light upon the traffic between them and the upper-class Hindus in the early centuries.

The impact of Buddhism and Jainism in Kerala too requires closer study. Those cults have left their impressions in our art, architecture, festivities, customs, manners, etc. Some historians feel that the Ezhavas who form one of the major communities of Kerala seem to retain the active influence of the Buddhist cult much more than any other community. Their 'Putherachen' seems to be an imposition upon the pre-Aryan cult of which they are the legitimate descendants.

There is again the contact of the Chinese with the southern coast of Kerala to be studied with better insight. Quilon which is one of our early ports is still an index of Chinese influence. To me, the very word 'Kollam' which has become Quilon in English smacks Chinese contact. I do not know why I feel like that. But I may tell you that the word 'Kollam' is still a mystery in Kerala History. Many other places along the coast of Kerala are known by the name 'Kollam'. And they all happen to be in the vicinity of ports. Also there is the term 'Kollam' signifying Malayalam Era, known as 'Kollavarsha'. The Sanskritists of Kerala have transformed the term 'Kollam' in all their usages into 'Kolamba'. Colombo in Ceylon too is 'Kolambu' according to them. Does the term mean passage to the sea? Has it anything to do with the Port of 'Kowlon' between Hongkong and China? Well, I do not want to go further. I would like that the students of research explore the semantics of the term and get at its real significance in Kerala history.

Already I have taken much of your valuable time. I have just thrown out a few suggestions for the active consideration of all those who are genuinely interested in re-writing the history of Kerala with more authentic interpretation of the happenings of the past and with more emphasis on the pattern of society obtained in ancient Kerala and its later evolution. Already we have made a start under the auspices of the Kerala Sahithya Academy by organising a Section under which a certain number of students would be enabled to do further research in Kerala history. We hope the new University of Kerala also would take up the study of Kerala history and culture with a new vision and interest.

The great lesson of the history of Kerala is tolerance imbued with the spirit of assimilation. I mean assimilation of all that is good from outside. And I may confidently tell you that it is this time-old tolerance and assimilation that has reared up a people of talent, vigour and tenacity in Kerala.

Thank you.

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SOME EASTERN TESTIMONIES CONCERNING EARLY AND MEDIEVAL CHRISTIANITY IN INDIA

Rev. Dr. E. R. Hambye, S.J.

Our knowledge concerning the existence and history of Christianity in India before the 16th century is not very complete. There is no other reason for this partial ignorance than the lack of sufficient documentation. For, besides the local traditions of the south, we have but relatively few texts that mention either the origins or the subsequent growth of Christianity in early times.

Therefore it is not out of place to offer here a few testimonies concerning this question. Of these some are but little known, while others are not known at all. They have been gathered mostly from Eastern sources. By the adjective 'Eastern' we mean documents written in the Near East, and more precisely by Syrian Christians. Eastern is opposed here to Greek and Latin.

Most of the texts that will be used in these notes originated in the Syriac-speaking Church of Mesopotamia and Persia, whose Christians were and are still known as 'Eastern Christians'. Much has been written and published about this Church, which underwent a remarkable development between the 5th and the 13th century of the Christian era. From all we know today, it seems clear that it was from this Church that the Indian Christians received then their hierarchy and ways of worship. A witness to this fact today is the liturgy of the majority of the Syrian Christians of Malabar; those who are commonly known as the Syro-Malabar or Chaldaec-Malabar Catholics. Another proof of that ascendancy is the special Syriac vocabulary transliterated into Malayalam and used by all Syrian Christians in India to indicate liturgical and other Christian terms. When transferred into Malayalam script and uttered thus such words are still pronounced by all according to the spelling of the East Syriac language, though Jacobites and Malankara Catholics speak Syriac according to the West Syriac manner.

It is but reasonable to expect that we shall find in the documents available from writers of the Eastern Church of Mesopotamia allusions and information on the state of Christianity in India.

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In this connection it should not be forgotten that the name 'India' (Syriac : *Hêndo*) was not always given the precise geographical signification it possesses today. For instance, there was some hesitation among Egyptian Christians about the exact geographical position of their southern and eastern neighbours. Thus one finds occasionally the name 'India' given to Ethiopia in writings published in Egypt. However, it seems quite certain that no such hesitation was entertained by Syrian Christians, particularly by those belonging to the Church of Mesopotamia. Owing to the early and close relations between the latter and the Indian Christians, the country of Hindustan was sufficiently well identified, and when they spoke of India, they meant the whole subcontinent as we know it at present. The testimonies of Eastern Syrian writers are all the more precious for this reason.

We do not intend to list all the possible sources at our disposal. We will be satisfied with commenting upon the most important ones. Some have not been given their exact meaning. Most of the evidence found in these pages shows every sign of authenticity. A few may not be as reliable as they appear, but they may help either to corroborate better-founded testimonies, or to provoke further studies of controverted points.

The testimonies we shall mention here may be divided into two classes and commented upon accordingly :

1 :—Those concerning Christians living in India ;

2 :—Those pointing to hierarchical relations of the Indian Christians.

It is useful to keep in mind that the sources we use over a period extending from the 3rd to the 13th century of the Christian era.

1. *Eastern Testimonies about Christians in India* :

The first document to be listed comes from an Eastern Christian chronicle, generally known as the *Chronicle of Seert*, from the place in Mesopotamia where it was discovered at the beginning of the century. It was most likely written in the 13th century and in Arabic. It was published in 1907-1919 by the late Archbishop of Seert, Mar Addai Scher, in a scientific collection still being continued, called *Patrologia Orientalis* (Oriental Patrology). The reliability of this chronicle has been ascertained by comparison with other Eastern and Western sources.

In this source, the purpose of which is to recall the annals of the Mesopotamian Church, one finds twice the following entry. At a time between A.D. 250 and 300 David, the Bishop of Basrah, known then as Perat-d'Maishan, left his episcopal see, journeyed to India and did

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conversion work there. Many are supposed to have accepted his leadership and submitted to his preaching. David was considered by the chronicler as one of the eminent doctors of his Church.[1]

From this reference we could conclude that as early as the second half of the 3rd century, a Christian missionary came to India from Mesopotamia and established a community there. But we are not given any more details. This enterprise might have been connected with some difficult situation affecting the Malabar Christians, as appears from their local tradition, but this is mere hypothesis.

According to the great prelate J. S. Assemani (1687-1768), who did so much for the progress of Oriental studies, there is supposed to have been a certain *Bôd*, an Eastern priest, who acted as a kind of visitor to Christian communities in India and Persia. At the end of the 6th century he bore the title of *periodeutes* (Syriac : *Peridiota*), which means a delegate of a bishop entrusted with the teaching and visiting of Christian communities, generally in the country-side or in regions situated away from the centres. This *Bôd*, is supposed to have been conversant with Sanskrit, according to the source used by Assemani. Again here we have an allusion to relations existing between Indian Christians and the Mesopotamian Church. Unfortunately the text is not completely authenticated.

We might be induced to surmise from this testimony that the Indian Christians were numerous enough to be in need of some special visitation, which, according to the writings attributed to *Bôd*, would have been called for on account of heretical infiltrations, perhaps of Manichaean origin.[2]

Much more secure is another testimony from the abovementioned *Chronicle of Seert*. When a certain Bishop *Maruta*[3] was sent to Seleucia-Ctesiphon as ambassador of the Byzantine Emperor Maurice (582-602) to the Sassanide Emperor Khosrau II (590-628), he met the Eastern Patriarch Sabrisho I (596-604), and he was presented perfumes and gifts by the patriarch, which had been sent to him from India and China.[4] This meeting must have taken place between 596 and 601. From the reference to presents sent to the patriarch from India, what can we infer ? Not immediately that they must have come from local Indian

1. ' Chronique de Seert, Histoire Nestorienne Inédite ', *PO*, vol. IV, p. 236 (26) and 292 (82).

2. J. S. Assemani, ' *Bibliotheca Orientalis*,' Rome, 1719-28, vol. III, pp. 219-22.

3. Or called also *Pharwa*. At any rate he has not to be identified with another Mârûta, who was Jacobite Metropolitan of Tagrit some thirty years later (629-49).

4. ' Chronique de Seert,' *op. cit.*, vol. XIII, p. 497(177).

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Christians. However, if the relations existing already between Mesopotamian and Indian Christians are taken into account, we could perhaps see in this text a possible hint of tithes, ecclesiastical taxes, sent in kind to the patriarch by Indian Christians.

Fifty years later we get much more precise information from the pen of Patriarch Ishôyahb III, whose short pontificate is attributed to the years 650-1 or 647-8. He was living during the troubled years of the Arabic invasion, and had to face great difficulties in his own Church. This was particularly the case of the Metropolitan of Rew-Ardashîr, a town, now destroyed, situated in south-western Persia, in the region called the Fars. This metropolitan had broken hierarchical relations with the supreme head of the Eastern Church. This was tantamount to real schism. In two of his letters to Simeon, the guilty metropolitan, Ishôyahb did not stop at reproaching him with halting Christian life by indulging in illegitimate ordinations; the indignant patriarch clearly mentioned first that he thus interrupted 'the sacerdotal succession from the peoples of India',[5] and in the second place, that he received taxes from the far away peoples of India, as a sigh of ecclesiastical primacy over them.[6] Now the indication is quite clear. There were then Christians in India, who depended on the Metropolitan of Rew-Ardashîr, but who should have ultimately acknowledged the supremacy of the patriarch, according to ecclesiastical rules. The Indian Christians were therefore closely connected with the East Syrian Church. This is but a confirmation, about 130 years later, of the well-known description of Christian communities living in Ceylon, Malabar and around Kalliana, near Bombay, made by Cosmas Indicopleustes in the years 520/5.[7]

The last series of documents of this first section all belong to the times of the Eastern Patriarch Timothy I (780-9-823), who was one of the greatest organizers of his Church.

Thanks to the considerable number of letters, left by him, we can gather some interesting information about Christians in India. For instance, we find mentioned the possibilities of inter-marriages between Christians of Mesopotamia and of India.[8] To a metropolitan he had just ordained for the see of Sarbaziyah, a town situated in the old Greek-named Gedrosia, today in south Balushistan, he told not to delay his journey thereto, and to take the utmost precaution on his way. The

5. 'Ishôyahb Patr. III Liber Epistularum,' *CSCO*, text 11, pp. 251-2, transl. 12, p. 182.

6. *Ibid.*, 11, p. 257-8 ; 12, p. 186.

7. E. O. Windsedt, *The Christian Topography of Cosmas Indicopleustes*, Cambridge, 1909, pp. 119, 821 ff., and notes pp. 332, 344 and 346.

8. J. Labourt, *De Timotheo I.....et Christianorum Orientalium Condicione sub Califis Abbasidis*, Paris, 1904, quest. XXXI, p. 63..ff.

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good bishop, a rather simple monk, replied sharply : ' But I need something for my expenses '. And the patriarch retorted pointedly : ' Many monks voyage to India and China with only a stick and a purse. Consider yourself to have gone by sea with as much money as they had'[9] Hence, we know from this authoritative source that a great number of missionary-monks, hailing doubtless from the numerous monasteries of northern Mesopotamia, were accustomed to travel cheaply by sea to India. This shows also a renewal of Christian activities in India during Timothy's I pontificate.

Two other letters of the same prelate seem to render still more likely a greater expansion and consequent organisation of the Church in India. These letters are found inserted in the canonical collection of the Eastern Christian, Abulfarag Ibn-at-Taiyib ; during the first half of the 11th century he published in Arabic a book entitled *The Law of Christendom*. He was a well-informed man since he occupied in his Church important positions, such as priest, philosopher, even physician, and above all secretary to Patriarch Elias I (1028-49). His collection, that contains many extracts from previous collections and other documents, is usually accepted as reliable, though he tended to summarize the sources he utilized.[11]

The first letter is indicated as having been written by Timothy I to the Indian Christian Community as such, and it can be summarised as follows : ' In case of the election and ordination of the metropolitan [the metropolitian was usually elected by the people, in the presence of the suffragan bishops, especially in distant sees], the Indian Christians must not follow the king's advice but the patriarch's ; only after the latter's approval,will the metropolitan's affair be directed to the king.[12] Here we have to deal with a very interesting, though somewhat obscure, text. First of all there is little doubt now that there was a well-organized Christian community somewhere in India at the time. This community seems to have had particular relations with a king, who possessed some right in case of the election and ordination of the Metropolitan of India. Could we find here a confimation of the constant local tradition of a Christian king in Malabar ?[13] At any rate, this text is by far one of the most important of the period, but it is almost supplanted by the second summarized letter of Timothy I, as reported by Ibn-at-Taiyib·

9. ' Timothei Patr. I. Epistulæ', *CSCO*, text 74, p. 107 ; transl. 75, p. 70.

10. E. Tisserant, *Eastern Christianity in India, Calcutta*, 1957, p. 15.

11. G. Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur*, Città del Vaticano, 1947, vol. II, pp. 173-6.

12. ' Ibn-at-Taiyib, Fiqh An-Nâsranîya ; " Das Recht der Christenheit" *CSCO*, text 167, p. 119 ; transl. 168, p. 121.

13. L. W. Browne, *The Indian Christians of St. Thomas, Cambridge*, 1956, p. 13, and note 5, pp. 13-14.

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Here the always watchful patriarch touches upon some canonical abuses that crept into the Christian community of India, particularly those involving the clergymen entitled to impart Sacred Orders on metropolitans, bishops, priests and deacons. Still more interesting for us was the addressee of the letter. He is called ' Arkn , the head of the faithful in India. '[14] The name ' Arkn ', though puzzling at first sight, is simply the shortened form of ' Archdeacon ' in Syriac, ' Arkan ', instead of the original borrowed from the Greek, 'Arkidiaqon '.[15] This use of shorter form for the word ' Archdeacon ' is similar to that of ' Metran ', ' Mitron ' for ' Metropolita ', also borrowed from the Greek to designate a metropolitan bishop. The archdeacon of the Indian Christians is also called by the patriarch ' the head of the faithful in Indid '.[16] This also can be easily understood since we know the great role played by the archdeacon in India and more precisely in Malabar.

According to the East Syrian law, the archdeacon was the closest collaborator of the bishop or of the metropolitan. He ranked first after the bishop and he had to perform important liturgical functions. But his administrative duties were no less capital. He was in charge of the whole clergy of the diocese ; he had to examine candidates to Holy Orders, to give leave to clerics to travel, to receive their complaints and hear their quarrels, to supervise the temporalities of the Church, to look after the good order of churches and monasteries.[17] In India his importance was further enhanced for two reasons : he was a cleric from the land, whereas the metropolitan and other bishops were foreigners ; his office seems to have been hereditary, in the Pakalomattam family. Thanks to that situation the Indian archdeacon enjoyed much wider faculties than his Mesopotamian brother. Four main rights were recognized to him : that of granting dispensations of all kinds ; that of appointing candidates to churches and other benefices ; the exclusive right of preferring candidates to Holy Orders ; the administration of the properties of the Church. These weighty prerogatives were still such in the 16th century.[18] Their existence must have been due also to the fact that Mesopotamian prelates could not be sent regularly to India, to Malabar. There is no wonder therefore that until the 17th century we find the archdeacon of the Syrian Christians of Malabar signing letters with the title of ' Archdeacon of the

14. ' Ibn-at-Taiyib, Fiqh An'Nasräniya,.....,' *op. cit.*

15. A. J. Maclean, *East Syrian Daily Offices*, London, 1894, glossary, p. 291.

16. In Arabic, ' Muttaqaddima,' the head of a group., a community. It contains the same root as the Syriac, ' Qdam,' ' to precede, to go before. '

17. ' Ibn-at-Taiyib...,' *op. cit.*, text 161, p. 37 ; transl. 162, p. 33 ; 161, pp. 86-7, 100-1, 126 ; 162, pp. 78-9, 92-116 ; text 167, pp. 143-4, transl. 168, p. 141, See also *Liber Patrum* (Latin transl. by I. M. Vosté, O.P.), Città del Vaticano, 1940. pp. 29-80.

18. Placid of St. Joseph, T.O.C.D., *Fontes Iuris Canonici Syro-Malankarensium*, Città del Vaticano, 1940, pp. 78-4.

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whole India'. This last title corresponded almost exactly to the one given to him by Patriarch Timothy I.

With those letters of Timothy I to the Indian Christians of his jurisdiction we close the first section of our short survey.

2. *Christian Hierarchy in India*:

From what we have mentioned above, and from other sources which cannot be quoted here, it seems clear that the Indian Christians were not given a real hierarchy till perhaps the beginning of the 6th century. But they must have been visited by bishops and priests, as we have also indicated.

Since the middle of the 5th century, the ecclesiastical organization of the East Syrian Church was excellent, and it improved in quality and efficiency during the next centuries. From what we can suspect, the Indian Christians most probably depended first on the Bishop of Basrah, Pêrat d'Maïshan, the third in rank among the metropolitan sees of the centre. In the course of the 5th century, the metropolitan see of Rêw-Ardashîr, was erected. It bore the title of Persia and of the islands of the sea. The last epithet could have included India and Ceylon. From Ishôyahb's III letters, which have been already reviewed, it seems certain that the Indian Christians depended on Rêw-Ardashîr by the middle of the 7th century as far as the metropolitan jurisdiction was concerned, though, according to Cosmas Indicopleustes, there were already one or two bishops residing in India during the first quarter of the 6th century.

M'ana, Metropolitan of Rêw-Ardashîr between 485 and 497, sent his translations of Diodorus of Tarsus (d. before 394 A.D.) to India and elsewhere.[19] This seems to indicate that the Indian Christians already depended on that metropolitan see at the end of the 5th century.

When was the Indian metropolitan see established? According to another text of Ibn-at-Taiyib, there was already a metropolitan in India at the time of Timothy I (780-9-823), since the great patriarch was obliged to forbid the bishops to ordain the metropolitan and reserved this right to himself.[20] Hence, it seems that, at least as far as India was concerned, the metropolitan was not ordained previously by the patriarch, though it was the custom for other metropolitan sees, even those of 'the exterior'. This 'exterior' was attributed to the sees

19. 'Chronique de Seert,' *PO*, vol. VII, pp. 116-7.
20. 'Ibn-at-Taiyib...,' *CSCO*, text 167, p. 118; transl. 168, p. 120.

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which did not take part in the election of the patriarch, and which kept some sort of secundary status.[21]

On the other hand, around 650 A.D., there was no Metropolitan of India as yet, a state of affairs which can be deduced from the letters of Patriarch Ishôyahb III to the Metropolitan of Rêw-Ardashîr. Hence it can be concluded that the Indian see was set up between c. 650 and c. 790 A.D. If we ought to follow again Ibn-at-Taiyib the Indian metropolitan see was erected by Patriarch Ishôyahb,[22] but he does not say which of the two patriarchs of the same name, Ishôyahb II (628-44-46) or Ishoyahb III (650-7). At any rate, owing to its precedence over China, the Indian metropolitan see existed already at the same time of Ishôyahb III, about the middle of the 7th century. Perhaps it was created to prevent the Indian Christians from falling a prey to the intrigues of the Metropolitan of Rêw-Ardashîr.

The title of metropolitan, as we know it from the sources quoted above as well as from later one, was never given a particular place or town in India. This practice was in common with the metropolitan sees outside Mesopotamia. They were often meant more for peoples than for a particular city.[23]

However, as far as India was concerned, it is almost certain that during the Middle Ages until the Portuguese period the metropolitan was living in Malabar, and more precisely at Cranganore. This can be inferred from the colophon of a Syriac manuscript written in Malabar, and now kept in the Vatican Library. It contains the Epistles of St. Paul. It was completed in June 1301, near the church of St. Cyriacat Sengalê, city of Malabar, by the priest Zacharias Bar-Joseph Bar-Zacharias. The latter mentioned also the names of Yahbalaha III, the Patriarch of the Eastern Church (1281-1317), who was actually a Mongol[24] and of the Indian Metropolitan, Mar Yaqôb.[25] Now the name of Sengalê was also found in another Syriac manuscript of the same library and written Malabar. Though it dates only from March 1510, it provides us with a clue that serves us to establish the exact emplacement of Sengalê. For the colophon of this second Malabar manuscript clearly identified Sengalê with Cranganore which is written ' Qarungalor ' in Syriac, an obvious corruption of ' Kodungalûe ', the exact spelling of

21. J. Dauvillier, ' Les provinces chaldéennes ' de l' Extérieur" au Moyen Age ', *Mélanges offerts au R.P.F. Caovallera*, Toulouse, 1948, pp. 270-2.

22. *Op. cit.*, text 167, p. 121 ; transl. 168, p. 123.

23. J. Dauvillier, *art. cit.*, p. 278.

24. *Ibid.*, pp. 270, 304, 307.

25. E. Tisserant, *op .cit.*, p. 17 ; G. Levi della Vida, *Ricerche sulla formazione del più antico fondo di manoscritti orientali della Biblioteca Vaticana*, Città del Vaticano, 1939, pp. 176-7.

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the original name. Besides, Yule and K. P. Padmanabha Menon have sufficiently investigated the names given to Kodungalur, so that we have a whole string of testimonies for the middle-ages pointing to the use of ' Shenkala, Singuyli and even Jangli '.[26]

During the 16th century the residence of the metropolitan seems to have been shifted to Angamali, then an important centre of the Syrians, since they had there a kind of training school for priests. This change of residence was likely motivated by the undisirable presence of the Portuguese on the coastal area, comprising also Cranganore, which had become one of the Portuguese strongholds against the Zamorin.

From the few testimonies which we have adduced in this paper, one can find confirmation of the already known fact of close relation between the Mesopotamian Church and the Indian Christians. By the end of the 8th century they were well organized and the position of their archdeacon was prominent. This situation leads us to conclude that local traditions of the Syrian Christians of Malabar are strengthened a good deal by those outside testimonies. Already then they must have been most numerous in Kerala. Hence it is not surprising to find that already in the 13th century the metropolitan resided there. It might have been the case at a much earlier date.

One can only wish and hope that more sources hailing from the Christians of Mesopotamia and Persia will be made available in critical editions. They will help us to throw more light on that period of history so momentous for the past history of the Syrian Christians of India.

26. G. Levi della Vida, *op.cit.*, p. 183 ; K. P. Padmanabha Menon. *A history of Kerala written in the form of Notes on Visscher's Letters from Malabar, Ernakulam*, 1924, Vol. I, pp. 311-6. H. Yule, H. Cordier, *Cathay and the Way thither*, London, 1915-6, vol. I, p. 82 ; vol. II, pp. 134-6 ; vol. IV, p. 78.

Abbreviations : *PO* for *Patrologia Orientalis*, Paris.

CSCO, Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium, Louvain-Washington.

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THE MYSTERIOUS NAMPŪTIRI

Shri K. V. Krishna Ayyar

Descended from the earliest of Brahmin settlers in Kerala, the Nampūtiri seems to be as hoary as the Himalayas. Free till recent times from all vulgar assaults on his seat of Himalayan eminence at the top of Kerala Society, he seems to be also as mysterius as the Himalayan snow-man, about whom every climber has something to say, though no one has actually seen him. On closer analysis it will appear that the peculiarity of his customs and manners is due to his early separation from the parent stock and isolation or adaptation to a new environment.

He performs the annual ceremonies for the departed according to the presiding star of the day of death; this was also once the rule for the other Brahmins, though now they have adopted the phase of the moon on the particular day. Even this latter reform was adopted by some Nampūtiri families: till A.D. 1792 the annual ceremony for the Cempakarseri Brahmin was being performed on the New Moon Day of *Vriscika* (*November-December*) in the Guruvayur temple. Among the non-Nampūtiris also the funeral rites for the dead are completed only at the end of the year after the death. The Nampūtiris however did not adopt the new practice—which the others have added—of performing the rites in advance also, lest the person, who cremates the dead, and therefore has to perform the rites, should die before the end of the year. The daughters of Tamil and Tulu Brahmins do not indeed perform the annual rites for their departed parents as their Nampūtiri sisters do. But certain practices show that they used to perform these rites also. While the sister's husband is invited as a matter of courtesy, the sister and her children are invited to participate in the *pradakṣiṇa namaskāra* or circumamabulation and prostration, of the distinguished guests, who represent the departed ancestors.

Consummation after marriage was the rule among other Brahmins also till child marriage came into vogue. They observe the old custom by insisting on the bridegroom sleeping at night, though alone, in the hall of his father-in-law's house, where the *sapta padi* or ceremony of the seven steps which completes the marriage, has been performed.

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Among the Tulu Brahmins, the *Mantras* of the consummation ceremony are recited over the child-wife and boy-husband by the officiating priest.

The Nampūtiris prohibit *Sati* and *Muṇḍatva*, or the shaven head for the widow. The *Smṛtis* also do not insist upon *Sati*, though they praise it as an act of supreme devotion and an ideal to be followed They insist however upon the widow leading the life of a *Sannyāsin*. and later practice improved upon the injunction by appearance also conforming to the rule.

The Nampūtiris prohibit the practice of taking money for giving ; away a girl in marriage. The *Smṛtis* also condemn it as *Āsura*, or befitting the *Āsuras*.

The plunge-bath for purification is not unique. The *Smṛtis* prescribe two baths a day for the *Brahmacāri*, or student, and the *Gṛhastha*, or householder, and three baths for the *Vanaprastha*, or forest-dweller, and the *Sanuyāsin* who has formally renounced the world. In addition, the Brahmins had also to purify themselves by a bath whenever they are polluted by the touch of a non-Brahmin or a Brahmin woman in her periods and their approach within certain limits. This rule of course is however relaxed for the sick and the ailing and in regions where water is scarce.

The prohibition of cleaning the teeth with sticks is found in the *Smṛtis*. The rules forbidding the eating of stale food, the taking of food in the company of the uninitiated or women, and the marriage between the children of the mother's brother and father's sister are common to all the Brahmins of North India. Apastamba recognized these customs as peculiarly southern. So the prohibition of these customs for those Nampūtiris who are guided by the *Śūtras* of Āpastamba gives us a clue to find out the period when their ancestors left North India for the south.

The Nampūtiri villages do not consist of a number of houses standing in a row or street, but of lonely houses within extensive compounds, widely separated from one another. There is no necessity therefore for a common crematorium. There is room enough in every family compound for setting apart a small plot for burning the dead body of the departed member. The influence of the environment can been seen in other customs also. The top-knot in which the Namputiri lady neatly gathers up the rich flowing hair of the head is the best means of keeping it dry, healthy and free from stench. In a hot and moist climate clothing has necessarily to be light ; where it is scarce it has also to be minimal. Further, Kerala is a country of ups and downs,

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with deep and narrow lanes, sandy or prickly when dry, slushy or slippery when wet and furious though shallow streams when raining. And with thorny shrub to right and left, it will be certainly unwise to encumber oneself, with four or five yards of cloth—for a woman it may be even nine—as in Tamilnad, east of the Ghats.

For the restriction of marriage to the eldest son, for polygamy, for the free connubial unions with women immediately below in the social hierarchy, and for the impartibility of property the *Smṛtis* themselves are in part responsible. They confer a special distinction on the eldest son as *Dharmaja*, or begotten to fulfil the *Dhrama*, while the younger sons are all *Karmajas*, or begotten of lust. They impose certain religious obligations on the house-holder which prevent him from freely moving out of his village. To enable—or to induce—young men to go out to earn their livelihood or to take the vow of *Naiṣṭika Brahmacārya*, or lifelong study, they declare that a son born to an elder brother not only releases the father but also his brothers from their debt to the ancestors and entitles one and all to *Mokṣa*, or salvation. They say, further, that so long as the family property remains undivided and food is prepared in common for all, it is enough if one of the members offers worship to the ancestors, gods and guests; but as soon as the family property is divided and food is cooked separately, ancestors, gods and guests should also be worshipped separately. They also permit *Mantra varja* unions or unions without *Mantras* with non-*Dvijas*.

In spite of the restriction that a Brahmin might have recourse to a non-*Dvija* only after he had contracted a *Mantra-pūrva* marriage with a woman belonging to each of the three *Dvija* castes of Brahmana, Kṣatriya and Vaiśya, *Mantra-varja* unions increased day by day. The younger sons preferred them as they did not entail hard and irksome religious responsibilities. The eldest brother encouraged them lest the younger brothers should demand a partition of the family property. In the end however the *Mantra-varja* unions became a social problem. It became increasingly difficult for parents to get suitable husbands for thir daughters. So Vasiṣṭa prohibited the *Mantra-varja* unions altogether.

While in the lands east of the Ghats the prohibition was observed, in Kerala the rule became a dead-letter. In the first place, Kerala lies far away from the great Brahmin centres of the north. Secondly, the people of Kerala welcomed unions with Brahmins. The matrilineal Nayars were attracted by the learning and spirituality of the Brahmins, in strong contrast to their own murderous occupations of hunting and fighting. Their women also preferred Brahmins as they were exempt from the risks which their warrior consorts were exposed to. The Brahmins welcomed these unions as they were able to enjoy all the

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advantages of a domestic life without any of its worries. Moreover, if they were lucky enough to be selected for a lady belonging to a noble or princely house they were maintained with all the luxuries which their lady consorts could command and even given some pocket money. Above all, there was the vast undefined prestige and influence which he could command as the father of the heir presumptive who might ultimately by efflux of time become the ruling chief himself. The younger sons keep up the fiction of conforming to the *Smṛti* by claiming to be *Naiṣtika Brahmacāris*. However high and exalted their position may be outside, how many so ever their children by the non-Brahmin lady, and whatever their occupation, merchant, broker, money-lender, etc., their legal status in the family is that of the *Naiṣtika Brahmacāri*, who has taken the vow of life-long study, neither less nor more!

In these circumstances the equilibrium between the sexes can be maintained only by polygamy. And polygamy is allowed by the *Smṛtis*. As a matter of fact with the elaboration of sacrifices, it was becoming also a necessity. The preparatory and ancillary work was growing beyond the capacity of a single wife; as the poet suggests, Kaundiya Virunandayan, one of the most respected of Brahmins, could complete his twenty-one sacrifices (three groups of seven sacrifices, all of which every orthodox Brahmin was expected to perform) only by the hearty co-operation of his wives, each doing her allotted task (*Puram* 166).

Perhaps the *Purdah* system came into vogue as a mark of distinguishing the Nampūtiri lady from the Nayar ladies to whom overtures could be made freely. (By this it is not meant that they were licentious or immoral. After all morality and incest are only relative to time, place and circumstance. Not only among the most civilized Ptolemys of Egypt and Incas of Peru but also among a branch of the Ikṣvākus brothers married sisters). Perhaps it was intended to help the *Naiṣtika Brahmacāris* to keep their vows and protect them against the temptations of *Aṣtanga Maithuna*, or eight limbs or forms of lust.

The mother-tongue of the Nampūtiri, like that of the Nayar, is Malayāḷam. But the later immigrants retain the language of their original homes, the Emprāntiri and the Pōṛṛi their Tulu, and the Ayyar and the Pallāi their Tamil, though they are more proficient in Malayāḷam. This shows that the Nampūtiris had entered Kerala long before the Tulus and the Tamils; on account of their separation and isolation from their original homes they completely forgot their original language and adoptd the language of the people of the land; as this language gradually became Malayāḷam, Malayāḷam also became their mother-tongue as that of the others. And as Malayāḷam has grown out of the language of the Samgham Age, represented by the first three centuries

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of the Christian era, the Nampūtiri is the lineal descendant of the Brahmin of the Samgham Epoch.

The Brahmin of the Samgham Age was as influential as the Nampūtiri of the early British days and even before. The Cera kings bent their knees only before them, and they gave them whole districts. One of them, Kapilai, is said to have received all the lands as far as the eye could see from the top of a hill! In Melattūr Agnihōtṛi we have the spiritual descendant of Viṇṇan dayan; the Poygaiāḷvār we have the priestly Counseller Talappaṇṇa, poet and devotee Mēlputtūr and Saint Pūntanam all combined; and in Paranar and Kapilai we have the fore-runners of Ceruśśēri.

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THE VILLARVETTAM ROYAL FAMILY

Shri V. C. George

In those far-off days when Kerala acknowledged the paramountcy of the Perumals, who governed the entire land with their capital at Thiruvanchikulam, situated in the vicinity of modern Cranganore, there were many subordinate kings and kinglets who administered component states, varying in size, and enjoying different degrees of sovereignty, from one end of the country to other. Scions of several such ruling houses are still with us, reminding us of the achievements and glories of their ancestors; but some others have left only their indistinct names in the pages of history, and sundry ruins and relics in *terra firma* to announce their one-time existence. The Villarvettam or Villarvattam family of Udayamperur belongs to this latter group.

The origin of some of these ruling houses is shrouded in black oblivion. The extent and situation of their territories also remain unknown. Just as dukedoms and earldoms used to be bestowed in medieval Europe by Emperors and Kings on their relatives, friends and dependents for acts of chivalry and daring in fields of battle or for significant and selfless services rendered in other spheres, so the Perumals in Kerala conferred titles and territories on those of their officers and retainers who deserved special recognition at their hands. Kingdoms and principalities also sprang up a new, due to the splitting up of old ones owing to various causes. The number of ruling houses in Kerala increased still further, when the last of the Perumals abdicated the throne, and had his territories distributed among a chosen few of his military leaders and friends. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries of the Christian era, we come across more than a score of ruling houses in Kerala, the noteworthy among them being Cochin, Cranganore, Venat, Calicut, Parappanat, Kottayam, Beppur, Vettath or Tanur, Kadathanad, Idapally, Alingat, Parur, Ayirur, Vadakkankur, Thekankoor, Parakatt, Quilon, Attingal, Kayenkulam, Moothedath, and Elyedath. Besides these there were Nambidis, Kaimals, Karthas and Mambiars and other minor rulers who exercised quasi-regal authority over numerous portions of the country. Included in this category were Kodassery Changarankotha, Chankarankanda and Kunnatheri Karthas, Murianad and Velloos Nambiars, Punnathoor, Kakad and Venganad Nambills and the five Kaimals of Cheranalloor and other localities known as Anjikaimals.

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The minor rulers mainly belonged to three classes regarding their powers and privileges: Svarūpis, Prabhus and Madampis, and were obliged to render military and other services to the overlord concerned. Some writers use the terms Rajahs, Naduvashees and Desavashees to denote respectively the three classes mentioned above. The vassals though possessing territorial jurisdiction were not to mint coins or to engage in war without the consent of the overlord. Some of them were never allowed these rights. Many of the minor ruling houses belonged to the Nair community, others to the Brahmin and Kshatriya communities, and some to the Christian community. Of the seventy-two Lords, or Madampis of Karappuram, which lay between Cochin and Porakatt, one was a Christian, and the rest were Hindus belonging to the Nair community.

Personal virtues according to the standard of the time and military gallantry came to be valued very much in those days; and the Christians of the country due to their commercial and martial achievements attained a position of influence far in excess of what their numerical strength warranted. All over the land there were Christian Panikkers who taught in their Kalaries the art of warfare to Christian and Nair pupils alike, as there were Nair Panikkers and their Kalaries rendering the same service. Sirdar K. M. Panikkar alludes to this fact thus: "The Christians of Malbar formed an important community with special rights and privileges of their own. The great majority of them, as their tradition declares, were converted from high class Hindus, Nambudiris and Nairs, though at a later period a considerable number of lower caste men seem to have been converted. They followed all professions, commercial and agricultural, and also were recruited into separate companies for warfare by some Chieftains.....Socially the Christians occupied an important position. Important commercial privileges and absolute religious freedom had been guaranteed to them from the earliest days of their existence in Malabar. They were governed by their own Metrans or Bishops. Politically also they enjoyed considerable influence. There is a tradition that they had amongst them a ruler of their own known as the Rajah of Villiarvattam. The tradition of an extinct royal family of that name is still prevalent in Malabar; but accounts vary as to whether it was Brahmin or Christian in religious faith. However that be, before the Portuguese arrived on the scene the family had become extinct." (*Malabar and the Portuguese*, p. 22). The following extracts from recognized works point decisively to the Christian character of the Villarvettam Royal family: "Tradition testifies that St. Thomas Christians had a king of their own with his capital at Diamper (Udayamperur). Some monuments still remaining in Diamper favour this tradition. There are also a few documents which support it. When Vasco Da Gamma arrived in Cochin in 1502, the St. Thomas Christians sent to him representatives. They informed

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Gama that they had a king of their own in former times and showed him the sceptre of the last king. It was a red rod tipped with silver, having three crosses at the top. They presented the sceptre to Gama and sought protection against the Muhammadans. Gama solemnly accepted the sceptre and promised protection in the name of the King of Portugal. (*Travancore State Manual*, vol. II, p. 147). In process of time the prosperity of the Christians of Quilon and Cochin so increased that they gave themselves a King. The first Beliartes, called King of the Christians of St. Thomas, reigned in Malabar; and when after him some of his sons had reigned, at last by adoption the dynasty passed from the Christians to the Heathen Kings of Diamper. When the Portuguese first came to the shores the Malabar Christians were obeying the King of Cochin."[9] (Assemani, *Bibliotheca Orientalia*, T. IV, p. 442).

It does not require much critical sense to understand that Villarvattam, Villiarvattam, Villarvettam and Beliartes are variations of the same word come to use through the course of the ages owing to various causes. The original term in which these variations depend is Villal-vottam composed of the two Malayalam words Villal (archer) and Vottam (light) the composite word meaning "Light of Archers." It has been already stated that the Perumals of Kerala used to bestow ruling authority over portions of the country to their dependents and officers in reward for proved martial skill or some service to the State of an extra-ordinary nature. A Syrian Christian named Thomman, as tradition would have it, earned the Perumal's favour by means of his skill in archery, and the ruler, to honour him as well as the Syrian Christian community gave him the title 'Villalvettam" and made him ruler of a portion of Kerala territory with Udayamperur as its capital. It is believed that the Cheraman Perumal who welcomed Thomas of Cana and his fellow-immigrants into Malabar in the fourth century A.D. set up the Villalvettam royal house of Thomman, the Syrian Christian. The opinion of Giraud (*Bibliotheca Sacra*, p. 1276) that 'The Christian Dynasty seems to have lasted from the fourth to the fourteenth century' corroborates this view. The familiar saying current in the country "Velleduthavarial Villalvattathinu Thulyanilla," (Among Archers None Equals Villalvettam) gives us an idea of the circumstances under which the Perumal choice fell on Thomman, the Syrian. Though The royal palace at Udayamperur was demolished some centuries after the setting up of the dynasty, during the ravages of wars frequent among Kerala rulers of old its site may still be observed at 'Kovilakathum Vely' (Palace Maidan) close to the 'Kovilakathum Kulam' (The Palace Tank) at Udiyamperur. It is believed that the ancient church at Udiyamperur was built on a votive offering by the Villalvettam Rajah. But since the year of the foundation of the church according to available records appears to be A.D. 510, it is reasonable to think that it was not

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be first ruler of the dynasty that had the sacred edifice build. It must be a gift of the first or second successor of Rajah Thomman.

The Rajah of Villalvettam had special privileges and rights recognised by the other Rulers of Kerala, as the national head of the Syrian Christian Community. He shared such rights and privileges with the Bishop or Archdeacon, the spiritual head of the community. The Rajah and the spiritual head had their special rights and privileges recognised in all the states and territories where Syrian Christians were residing. What Sirdar Panikkar remarks with reference to the socio-religious conditions in ancient Kerala helps us to appraise the situation properly. Here is this well considered opinion : " Politically divided into small principalities Malabar was one from the point of view of social and religious organisation. The very fact that there were no kingdoms and states but only Rajhas and Chiefs who had often rights and proportions in each other's territory helped the growth of an extra-political socials amity " (*op. cit.*, p. 17). The author adds : " Like the Catholic Church in Europe before the Reformation the Nambudiri Brahmins did not recognise political boundaries : and what is more the Rajahs themselves had no such territorial notions as to expect powerful religious or social organisations within their areas to yield unitary obedience to them. The authority of religious organisations was placed clearly above political divisions." (*Ibid.*, p. 18). And again " there was a theocratic oligarchy which managed its own affairs without any considerable intervention of temporal power." (*Ibid.*, p. 19) The Villalvettam Rajahs formed for several centuries part of the 'theocratic oligarchy' of the Kerala Syrian Chrisian Community. The Community did not lag behind the pre-Reformation Catholics of Europe or the Nambudiri Brahmins of Malabar in the enjoyment of their religious and social rights and privileges.

We have not, at our command, data that can help us to draw up a list of the Rulers of the Villalvettam family from the first Rajah to the last of the line. There is reason to believe that this roal house attained the zenith of glory in the ninth century of the Christian Era, during which two Chaldean Bishops Mar Sabor and Mar Proth carried on the administration of the Kerala Syrian Christian community, one having his episcopal seat at Udayamperur and the other at Quilon. We have the authority of Le Quien (*Oriens Christinaus*, Tom II, p. 1276) in support of this view. In 1330, Pope John XXII sent Friar Jordanus Catalini to India appointing him as the first Latin Bishop of Quilon. The Friar had with him a letter of recommendation addressed to the Nazarani Chief of Quilon and to all the Nazarani Christians of the place. Since the Villalvettam ruler was the " Lord of all Nazaranis " throughout Kerala, the Nazarani Lord referred to in the Papal Letter must have been the head of the Villalvettam family at that time. Another

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Papal Letter addressed to the Villalvettam ruler was sent by Pope Eugene IV in 1430. Therein the Pope addresses the ruler his "Beloved son in Christ, Thomas the Emperor of India" and wishes him "All Prosperity and Apostolic Blessing." The following passage in the letter deserves special mention: "There has often reached as a constant rumour that Your Serenity and all who are subjects of your kingdom are true Christians." This letter is quoted by Mekenzie in his chapter on Christianity in Travancore incorporated in the Travancore State Manual. (*Travancore State Manual*, vol. II, p. 147). This Letter was in recommendation of a Franciscan Friar, Albert Sartiano, appointed Papal Legate to the East.

At one time, the territorial authority of the Villalvettam Family extended towards the north and covered Chennamangalam on the Alwaye river. That part of the river close to Chennamangalam was called Kanjirapuzha, and the land adjacent to Kanjirapuzha came to be known as Kanjirakara. Ibn Battuta, the famous traveller, visited Calicut in 1342 and from there journeyed southwards to Quilon. During the journey he visited Kanjirakara and wrote that it was ruled at that time by an Emir. The Cochin State Manual says that this Emir was none other than the Villarvettam ruler. (Chap. 2, p. 158).

This shows that at the time of the visit of Ibn Battuta the Villalvettam rulers had their residence at Chennamangalam. The circumstance under which the ruler removed his capital from Udayamperur to Chennamangalom is not known. We are also ignorant of the events that led Paliyath Achan who was, according to the *Cochin State Manual*, 'an insignificant chief under Villarvettam Rajah' (*Ibid.*) to be the Lord of Chennamangalam. The site and remains of the place of the Villarvettam Rajahs are, according to the same authority, to be seen on the top of a hill towards the eastern portion of the present Chennamangalam village.

Tradition gives us only scant details about the extinction of the Villarvettam Family. The last male ruler of the line, Yokob Svarūpi, and his Rani had no issue after several years of wedded life. Praying for a child they sought the intercession of St. Thomas, the Apostle, and went on a pilgrimage to the Mylapore Shrine with costly votive offerings. The Rani, some time after, was enciente, and gave birth to a princess. This only child of the royal couple, heiress to the throne, was given in marriage to a Prince of the Perumpadappu royal family, who had been converted to Christianity; and the peaceful administration of the state went on for some time after the demise of Rajah Yokob. Subsequently the prince-consort reverted to Hinduism, the

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princess died, and the territories of the kingdom of Villarvettam were distributed among some of the neighbouring Hindu rulers, the Cochin royal family getting the major portion of the same. Thus began the special right of protection which Cochin assumed over the Syrian Christian Community of Kerala. Raulin in his work on the Synod of Diamper and K. P. Padmanabha Menon in his history of Cochin have dealt with the last phase of the story of the Villarvettam royal house. The meteor-like career of this royal family in the vast firmament of Kerala History is referred to by the historian Milne Rae in these words : 'How long the kingdom lasted it is impossible to say. The story like so many parts of the story of this Church ends with a sigh. Their royal crown fell to the hands of a neighbouring sovereign of superior strength. Their king dying, they plaintively relate, without a male heir, the Rajah of Cochin came into possession by inheritance, and so they have ever since been a subject people, subject to the non-Christian Rajahs of Cochin and Travancore. (*The Syrian Church in India*, pp. 179—80).

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FOREIGN CONTRIBUTION TO KERALA CULTURE TILL THE ISLAMIC PERIOD

Rev. Fr. C. K. Mattom

1. *Kerala Geographically* :

Kerala, as she is at present, is the tract of land between the Arabian Sea and the Western Ghats, comprising the erstwhile states of Travancore, Cochin and Malabar with a portion of South Canara.

2. *Origin*:

Tradition asserts the creation of the country to Paraśurāma, the Warrior Sage. He, it appears, threw his axe southwards from Gokarnam and it fell at Kanyakumari. This fact is said to have happened in the 'Treta Yug' a (yoga) 1500 B.C. Afterwards he brought people from Ahi-kshathra (old U.P.) in the North and they are known as Namboodiri Brahmins. But the Nāgas seem to have occupied Kerala earlier. They were at loggerheads with the immigrants with the result that the latter wanted to leave the place, but this was prevented by the introduction of certain peculiar customs by Paraśurāma, which turned the immigrants into a particular community. The new community was known as Namboodiri Brahmins. Though this story of the origin of Kerala is denied by scholars, the advent of Namboodiri Brahmins is accepted by all. They formed the highest strata of society. Scholars say that Kerala has sprung up from the sea through volcanic erruption.

3. *Antiquity* :

In the second Chronicles of the Old Testament Chap. 9 Verse 21, we read 'For the King's ships went to Tharshish with the servants of Hiram every three years, once came the ships of Tharshish bringing gold and silver, ivory and apes and peacocks." Evidently these were from Malabar. The Mahābhāratha mentions a pilgrimage to Cape Comorian and Varkala. The Chera King Udian Cheral is said to have supplied provisions to warriors of Kurukshetra. In the Ramāyaṇa it is stated that Sugriva sent emmissaries to Kerala in quest of Sita. Hewit says that the teakwood imported from Kerala was found in the ruins of UR. Many scholars rightly conclude that trade with the

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West was in vogue in Kerala as early as 3000 B.C. The Phoenicians came in search of sandal-wood, ivory, and spices. Cranganore (Muziri) was the most important sea-port in the whole of the East in those days. Pepper, Cinnamon, Cardamoms, Ginger, Cassia and other spices were exported to the nations of the West from Kerala. The Romans had trade with Kerala on a larger scale. In Cranganore there was even a temple of Augustus. Roman coins found in the various parts of Malabar prove that Roman influence existed in the early days. At Kuravilangad, my native place, I have found in my younger days, a lamp-post in the church with the Roman Emperor's emblem. Megasthenes in the 4th century B.C. has mentioned Thripunithura as a sea-port. Kaduthuruthy near Vaikom, and Thuruthy near Changanacherry, now several miles inland, were other sea-ports. The languages of the West, according to Caldwell, contain a large number of Malayalam words. These words found their way into the Roman vocabulary through centuries of commercial intercourse. Hippalus guaged in 45 A.D. the monsoon winds of the Indian Ocean and this shortened the voyage from Red Sea to Cranganore to 40 days. Shri T. K. Velu Pillai in his *State Manual* says that Sahyadri is very much older than even the Himalayas. Herodotus (5th century B.C.) asserts that the trade in Cinnamon and Cassia, the two Malabar products, was in the hands of the Egyptians and Phoenicians. Pliny's Natural History (50 A.D.) and Plotomy's Geography (150 A.D.) possess Dravidian words. This fact shows that contact existed in those days between Rome and Kerala.

4. *The immigrants* :

The Pulaya, Paraya, Kurava and Vetta are considered to be the aborigines of Malabar. Then came the Dravidians. Nairs also seem to be one of the earlier settlers. But their arrival and the place of their origin are purely conjectural, according to K. P. P. Menon (*vide History of Kerala*, vol. III, p. 178). When the Namboodiris migrated to Malabar the Nagas were the prominent people. They were serpent worshippers. In my younger days the Naga worship was very common. They combed their hair and gathered it up so that the knots standing on one side of the head looked like the expanded hood of a cobra. Mr. P. T. Sreenivasa Iyengar also makes a reference to it in his *History of the Tamils* on page 93. When the Aryans came to Kerala, they found that the land was enjoying a high standard of civilisation under the Dravidians. This fact is attested by Will Durant in his *History of Civilisation* vol. 1, p. 395. According to Hewit and Risley, Kerala was the cradle of civilisation. The excavations at Mohanjo-daro and Harappa testify to the culture of the Dravidians even in the pre-Christian centuries.

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5. *The Namboodiri Brahmins* :

They formed the upper strata of society in Kerala. They settled down in Kerala long before the Christian era. But Logan is of the view that they came to Malabar only by the 8th century. Mr. T. K. Velu Pillai in his *State Manual*, has categorically denied this contention. According to Mr. K. P. P. Menon Namboodiris came to Malabar earlier than the Christian Era (see *Kerala History*, vol. 1, p. 76). Oollur S. Parameswara Iyer in his *History of Kerala Literature*, vol. 1, p. 36: says that the Namboodiris reached Kerala long before the 12th century B.C. Vedas were in vogue in Kerala and the vedic cult existed long before the Christian Era. This is admitted by all.

6. *The St. Thomas Christians* :

It is an undisputed fact that St. Thomas, one of the 12 disciples of Jesus Christ, came to Malabar in A.D. 52 and converted several caste Hindus among whom were four prominent Namboodiri Illoms, *viz.*, Kally, Kalikavu, Sankarapuri and Pakalomattom. The descendants of all these four illoms are still living in my native village at Kuravilaṅgāḍu. A story is current in Malabar about St. Thomas and the Namboodiri Brahmins. St. Thomas once went near the Palyur Hindu temple dedicated to Siva. Then the Namboodiris were taking bath in the temple tank. They were throwing water into the air chanting Gayathri Mantram. The Apostle, on seeing this, approached them. A discussion followed as to the object of throwing water up and at the end St. Thomas told them that if he threw water up into the air it would remain suspended there instead of falling down. Namboodiris agreed that, if Thomas could do so, they would all embrace his religion. St. Thomas entered the tank, prayed, took some waer in his hands and threw it up into the air, and lo ! the water remained high up without falling down. Eventually, the drops turned out to be beautiful flowers. The majority of the Brahmaṇas who witnessed this miracle, kept their promise and became Christians immediately. A minority refused and they left the place saying ' Inniethekuly Vembanadu ', a place three miles away, from Palayur. They cursed the locality and the place is known as ' Chavakkadu ' even to this day. The Brahmins of those parts to this day abstain from drinking water from Palayur. I have personally visited this place and have heard the people of the place narrate this story. (See my book *Charithra Charcha*). It is said that there is a ' Nagara Grandha Variola ' kept even today in Kolathum Illom in North Malabar, which mentions in detail the whole event, testifying to its veracity. I have tried to get at it, but have failed. It is hoped that it will one day see the light of day. Nagam Iyah in his *State Manual*, vol. 11, p. 22, says that there is no doubt as to the correctness of the tradition that St. Thomas came to Malabar and converted a few families of Namboodiris.....He further states that certain Syrian

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Christian women wore clothes as Namboodiri women do and moved about screening themselves with huge umbrellas.....and would not marry.....but from families of aristocratic descent. *idem.*, p. 123.

7. *The Immigration of the Ezhavas*:

From Ceylon seems to have taken place towards the end of the second century A.D. The Brahmanas who came to Kerala did not mingle with Dravidians. But they imposed their culture on them. The exclusiveness of the orthodox Namboodiris must have paved the way for the spreading of Buddhism and Jainism. The exponents of both were learned men. Amara the famous lexicographer is a Jain. No book was so popular as his Kosha. Monuments found in different parts of Kerala today testify to the prevalence of both Buddhism and Jainism in early days. Soon after the advent of the Namboodiris, Kerala was divided among a number of petty Rajahs under the suzerainty of the Chera Kings, who were also known as Perumals later. The Namboodiri Brahmins were all in all. Sukasandeśa, a very ancient book, mentions the rule of a Perumal in Thiruvanchikulam. The Christians in course of time chose their own king, Villalvettam.

8. *Thomas of Kana*:

Thomas of Kana, a Syrian Christian merchant, came to Kerala in A.D. 345 with 372 families of Syrian Christians from Bagdad, Nineve and Jerusalem. The major part of these got mingled with the Namboodiri Christians who were very high in social status just like their Namboodiri brethern. They formed themselves into a separate community, known as Nazranis or The St. Thomas Christians. The Nazrani Community comprised the old Syrians who were already in Malabar, the high caste converts and the new Syrian immigrants. They have played an important role in moulding the Kerala culture. They made themselves very strong and enterprising in trade and commerce and enjoyed foreign connections to a great extent thus improving the economy of the country. Coming as they did from centuries of Christian education and civilisation, they served to enrich the cultural outlook of Kerala too. The Syrian Christians were the prominent merchants in Pepper. Their importer was Venice. Thus venetian gold coins began to flow in large quantities into Malabar.

That the old Testament was read in Kerala from early days can be seen from the fact that St. Thomas on his arrival at Cranganore visited the Synagogue on a Sabbath day and opened the book of Prophets and began to explain to the Jews that Jesus is the Messiah. Tradition says that the rabbi then in charge was Paul.

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As for the New Testament St. Thomas brought with him the Gospel of St. Matthew, written in Syria, and this was read to the Syrian Christians in those days. Pantaenus (A.D. 190) saw a copy of the New Testament in Syriac when he visited Malabar. See *Duchen*, p. 194. Thus one can see that the contents of both the Old and New Testaments were not unknown even in those early days in Kerala. St. John Chrisostome (4th Century A.D.) says that the holy scriptures have been translated into the Indian languages. The St. Thomas tradition is not a creation of fancy. It is not a legend not founded on fact. On the other hand the co-existence of co-ordinate facts points to the definite conclusion that the Apostle did come to Malabar to make the earliest beginnings for the propagation of Christianity. (See *State Manual*, vol. 1, p. 662) says T. K. Velu Pillai again in his *State Manual*, on page 9, vol. 1 : "The Syrian Christian Community, which has been growing since the time of St. Thomas, is large in numbers, prominent in wealth, industry and trade. Sardar K. M. Panikkār says that the Syrian Christians and the Nairs had common teachers (Panickers) in warfar and "Yudhabhyasa."

9. *Conclusion* :

Kerala today represents a complex culture which is very distinct from the rest of India. It is a happy combination of what is best in the West and in the East ; and the harmonious blending of both has given its special characteristics. The aboriginal tribes still continue to exist with their special features, but largely influenced by the Aryan culture. Of course, the caste system (of Brahmaṇa, Kshatriya, Vaiśya and Śudra) as in other parts of India, also existed here, but bereft of its extreme rigour. The existence of temples and churches in very close proximity is a special feature of Kerala which has caused great surprise to foreign visitors. But the people of Kerala have found no difficulty in having a quiet and harmonious existence side by side, without offending the special features of each caste or community. The aboriginals, the Dravidians, the Aryans and the Syrians have contributed largely to the present complex culture. The influence of Romans and Greek cannot be overlooked. Peaceful co-existence is a fact accomplished in Kerala even in ancient times, serving as a model to the rest of India.

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THE KUÑÑNĀLI MARAKKĀRS OF KŌTTAKKAL

PROF. A. P. IBRAHIM KUNJU

THE Kuññāli Marakkārs of Kōttakkal were the Māppiḷa admirals of the Zamorins in their classic fight against the Portuguese attempt to dominate the foreign trade of the country. "During the hundred years of war with the Portuguese this family produced a succession of four remarkable sea captains, whose prowess makes the name of 'Malabar pirates' resound still in history. In initiative, courage, navigational skill and persistence they bear comparison with the great figures of naval welfare. Undoubtedly in the manner of the period they were ruthless, cared little for the rights of others, 'but compared to their Portuguese opponents, they were humane and civilised. They were never responsible for the kind of atrocities that Gama and his successors committed."[1]

The origin and early history of the Kuññāli[2] Marakkārs[3] are shrowded in mystery. The original seat of the Kuññāli Marakkār family seems to be at Ponnāni, a naturally strong port at the mouth of

1. K. M. Panikkar, *India and the Indian Ocean* (1951), p. 45.

2. In Logan's opinion, the term 'Kuññāli' is a honorific title, conferred upon his naval commanders by the Zamorin. It is probable that the name of the first distinguished captain of the sea was conferred as a title on his successors also, for it was Kuññāli Marakkār I who first organised and developed the naval wing of the Zamorin's army in order to fight with the Portuguese on equal terms. Pāttu Marakkār, who distinguished himself in the siege of Chāliyam (1571), was conferred the title 'Kuññāli', and was known as Kuññāli III. In recognition of his services, he was allowed to fortify his base of operations, Kōttakkal.

3. Accordingly to Logan the term 'Marakkār' means 'Mārggakkāran' (follower of the law) and "is applied, as a title, to persons of a foreign religion like the Christians and Muhammadans" (W. Logan, *Malabar* (1951), vol. I, p. 330). In K. V. Krishna Ayyar's opinion, the term 'Marakkār' was a title conferred by the Zamorin upon distinguished Māppiḷas, the privilege accompanying the title being the wearing of a silk turban (Zamorin's of Calicut, pp. 262-3). There seems to be no historical basis for such a conclusion. O. K. Nambiar, derives the word from 'Marakkalam', the Tamil word for ship, 'Marakkar' therefore means captain or owner of a ship. *Portuguese Pirates and Indian Seamen*, p. 98.

More probably, the term is the honorific plural form of the word 'Marakkān,' which is a surname found among the Mukkuvans, the Hindu fishermen caste (Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, vol. V, p. 112). In several parts of Kerala, Mukkuvans are still called 'Marakkān'. Obviously, the Ārab sailors must have come into early contact with the Mukkuvans, both on account of their occupation of the sea and their settlements along the seacoast. The word 'Marakkān' itself is probably an abbreviation of the word 'Marakkāran', one who goes to sea in a 'maram' (Catamaran).

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the Ponnāni river. At the time of Portuguese advent into India, Ponnāni was carrying on a prosperous trade in spices and other articles. The establishment of Portuguese power at Cochin made the place too hot. Moreover in November, 1507, Francisco de Almeida, the Portuguese Viceroy, made a descent on Ponnāni harbour. The Portuguese effected a landing and succeeded in destroying the earthwork, but had to face a stubborn resistance from the Muslims who swore to die as martyrs and attacked the Portuguese. Lorenzo de Almeida, the son of the Viceroy, was wounded and the Portuguese withdrew to Cannanore next day.

The proximity of Ponnāni to the Portuguese stronghold of Cochin induced the Kuññālis to move their headquarters to Putuppa (tta) ṇam, on the south-bank of the Akalappula. The change might have taken place between 1507 and 1524, the first and second sacks of Ponnāni by the Portuguese, and Kuññāli Marakkār I is believed to have been responsible for the change. The only reference to Kuññāli I comes from Zainuddīn, who says : " In the same year (i. e., 1524) some of the faqihs in Kōshi (Cochin) like Ahmad Marakkār, his brother Kunj Āli Marakkār, their uncle Muhammad Āli Marakkār and other dependents felt their desire to wage war against the Portuguese. They left Kōshi for Kālikūt"[4] It is probable that the Zamorin realising the insidious intentions of the Portuguese, readily accepted the proffered help of the Marakkārs. Kuññāli Marakkār was employed to organise and develop the naval wing of his army in order to fight with the Portuguese on equal terms.

The alliance of the Zamorin with the Marakkārs made the Portuguese captains uneasy. Consequently, the Portuguese admiral Lope Vaz de Sampayo made a furious attack on Ponnāni in Dec, 1524. But Kutti Āli Marakkār attacked the Portuguese fleet off Cannanore the same year, and drove them out of the Malabar seas. The Zamorin and his admirals realised that the small Calicut vessels had no chance of victory in pitched battles, and therefore, they took to a course of sea-guerilla, which, as subsequent events proved, was eminently successful. The Portuguese vessels were heavy, and therefore difficult to manœuvre in engagements, while the light Calicut ' paroes ' could be navigated even in shallow waters. Manned by 30 or 40 rowers, these paroes were very fast, and being small they presented a difficult target to the enemy's cannon. Hundreds of them streaked out of every river-mouth and creak at the sight of a Portuguese fleet and closed with the enemy. In hand-to-hand fight Indian seamen often proved better than their Portuguese counterparts.

4. *Tuhfat-ul-Mujāhidīn* (Tr. S. Muhammad Husain Nainar), p. 66.

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Small Portuguese fleets were now immobilised by fear to encounter Malabar naval squadrons. The Portuguese were obliged to convoy their merchantmen in these waters. As a result there was great dimunition in the volume of their trade. The opportunity was utilised by Malabar merchants to send their goods to the Red Sea ports. In 1523 as soon as Menezes' squadron had sailed away from the Malabar seas, Kutti Āli Marakkār loaded eight ships of Calicut with pepper and despatched them to the Red Sea before the very eyes of the Portuguese.

The Portuguese who now found that their superiority on the sea was threatened, made a determined effort to destroy the Zamorin's naval power. Vasco da Gama, who had come to India for the third time, sent one of his ablest captains, D'Souza, against the Calicut seamen. D'Souza engaged Kutti Āli's fleet off Kāppād. After a fiercely contested battle, Kutti Āli withdrew to Pantalāyini for replenishment. D'Souza came upon the Malabar fleet the next day and drove it as far as Cannanore. In the fight off Cannanore, D'Souza was victorious and he destroyed several Malabar vessels. But the contest was continued by Chinna Kutty Āli, who harassed Portuguese shipping in the north. But soon a similar fate overtook him, when the Portuguese captain, George Tellia, compelled him to fight a pitched battle off Goa. In the meantime the Zamorian had taken the Portuguese port of Calicut after a prolonged siege (Nov. 1525).

Lopo Vaz da Sampayo, who succeeded Henry Menezes as Governor, undertook vigorous measures to put an end to the actvities of the Malabar seamen. In 1528 he proceeded against Kutti Āli with a powerful fleet. Kutti Āli gave him the slip for the time being, but in the battle which developed off Bārkūr, Sampoyo's ships overwhelmed the Malabar fleet. In March, the Portuguese scored another victory over the fleet of Chinna Kutti Āli and took him a prisoner. He was later released for a big ransom, but only after he was made to swear on the Qur'ān that he would not fight against the Portuguese.

In spite of these reverses, Kutti Āli's son, Kuññāli II carried on the struggle with greater vigour. Kuññāli carried the war into enemy's territory by attacking Portuguese possessions in Ceylon. The Calicut fleet under Kuññāli II established themselves at Kote and supported Mayadunne against his brother, who was a partisan of the Portuguese. The Malabar seamen continuously harassedP ortuguese shipping from their base at Kote for seven years. Kuññāli is reported to have captured not less than fifty ships in one year and the Portuguese were hard put to maintain their coastal lines of communication. In 1537 Kuññāli II rounded Cape Comorian and attacked the Portuguese settlement at Negapatam, but his plans were upset by the unexpected arrival

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of a Portuguese squadron. In the fight that ensued, the Calicut fleet was defeated, and Kuññāli escaped overland in disguise. But early next year, Kuññāli was able to fit out another fleet, which successfully preyed upon Portuguese shipping. The Portuguese found it extremely difficult to put a stop to such activities, as it was Kuññāli's policy to to avoid decisive engagements. It was only in February, 1538 that Martim De Souza was able to compel Kuññāli to fight a pitched battle, in which the Malabār fleet was worsted.

The Zamorion had in the meantime entered into a coalition with the Sultān of Gujarāt and the Ottoman Emperor for driving out the Portuguese from the Malabār seas. Sulaiman Pāsha was sent with a powerful fleet by the Ottoman Emperor to co-operate with the Zamorin, but he returned after a demonstration.

After the return of Sulaiman Pāsha, there was a lull in the fighting. The failure of the Turkish fleet helped the Portuguese to secure for themselves a long period of peace. The Zamorin, who was left in the lurch by his allies, was compelled to negotiate for peace. He sent Kutti Āli 'Marakkāt to Goa and a peace was arranged. But the high-handedness of the Portuguese compelled the Zamorin to take up the attack again. In 1540 Kuññāli sacked the Portuguese settlement on the east coast, Punnaikayal and destroyed the shipping in the port. He once again adopted the sea-guerilla and preyed upon Portuguese shipping and trade. For not less than 15 years, Kuññāli eluded the vigilance of the Portuguese, and kept the Calicut coast clear of enemy vessels. It was only in 1558 that Liuz de Mello was able to force an action off Cannanore. In a hard-fought action, the flagship of Kuññāli was sunk and three others were captured, but the rest retired unmolested since the Portuguese were unable to pursue them.

The piratical activities of Captain Mesquita caused the war between the Zamorin and the Portuguese to flare up again. The inhuman cruelties of Mesquita had estranged even the Kōlattivi, one of the staunch supporters of the Portuguese on the Malabār coast, and compelled him to declare war on the Portuguese. The Portuguese fort at Cannanore was closely invested in 1558. When the Zamorin also entered the fray the war became hot. The Zamorin sent Kuññāli II with a fleet to Bhatkal to cut-off reinforcements from Goa. Paulo de Lima, who was sent in 1564 from Goa for the relief of Cannanore, was intercepted by Kuññāli. "After the usual salutes with their respective cannon, Kuññāli, with three of his ships, boarded Dom Paulo's vessel.....Dom Paulo, who was so seriously wounded that he could not proceed to Cannanore, returned to Goa."[5]

5. F. C. Davners, *The Portuguese in India*, vol. I, p. 529.

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After Lima's discomfiture, Goa sent a bigger fleet under Dom Mascarentras against Kuññāli. As the fleet sailed down the coast, Kuñ̃ñāli fell upon it with only three paroes and , " succeeded in doing great damage." Another fleet under Luiz de Mello also did not fare any better. As Caesar Frederick had observed, in consequence of these disasters, Portuguese ships were afraid to sail " but with great ships and very well armed, or else they must go in company with the army of the Portuguese."[6] As a result of the war Portuguese trade with Calicut and Cannanore came to a standstill. The trade with Cochin also had declined on account of the hostility of Piementa (Vadakkumkūr). Thus the Portuguese were compelled to begin overtures for peace with Cannanore.

The peace with Cannanore enabled the Portuguese to turn their full fury against the Zamorin. In 1569, the Portuguese Viceroy despatched Martino Affonso Miranda with 36 ships to crush Kuññāli. Kuññāli however gave them the slip, and harassed the fleet at every turn. Exasperated, the Portuguese captain gave battle to Kuññāli at a disadvantage and was worsted. Miranda was wounded in the fight and he died reaching Cochin. The Portuguese attempt to compel Kuññāli to fight a pitched battle failed next year also. Therefore they gave up the idea for the time being, and began to plunder and destroy the coastal towns, which were believed to have been the bases of operation of the Malabar captains. The Portuguese admiral who designed and carried out the operations was Dom Diago de Menezes. With the large fleet at his disposal, he committed massacre, arson and loot at whichever place he touched. He destroyed the Muslim settlements of Pantalāyini, Tikkōdi, Kāppād, Tirūr and Ponnāni. Kuññāli retaliated by attacking Portuguese possessions in the north. He carried his depredations as far as Diu. He defeated a powerful fleet under Ruy Diaz Cabral and Henrigue de Menezes. " Falling in with fifty Malabarese ships, the two commanders rashly attacked them, with disastrous consequences, as might have been expected. Ruy Diaz and seventy men were killed, and Dom Henrigue de Menezes was carried into slavery and afterwards ransomed."[7]

The desire of the Portuguese to wreak terrible vengeance on Kuññāli for the humiliations he heaped upon them, made them spurn the offers of peace made by the Zamorin in the meantime. The Portuguese had to repent of their action very soon. The Zamorin now entered into an agreement with Ali Ādil Shāh of Bijāpūr and Murtaza Nizām Shāh of Ahmadnagar for concerted action to drive out the Portuguese from the west coast. Early in 1570 Ādil Shāh besieged Goa, while

6. *Hakluyt's Voyages*, vol. V. p. 392.
7. Danvers ; *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 548.

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Nizām Shāh invested Chaul. The Zamorin besieged the Portuguese fort at Chāliyam. In 1570 February the Zamorin sent one of his ablest-captains, Kutti Pōkker, with 21 paroes to assist in the siege of Chaul. A formidable Portuguese fleet was guarding the entrance of the harbour. Kutti Pōkker sailed into the harbour under cover of night and landed men and supplies. The Malabār fleet stayed in the harbour for 20 days, and fought a bitter, though unsuccessful engagement, and after doing great damage to Portuguese shipping and houses, stole away one night "as fortunately as he had got in." Off Cannanore, the fleet of Kutti Pōkker fell in with the fleet of De Menezes. In the engagement he fell fighting bravely and is whole fleet except two ships was destroyed.

The Zamorin began the siege of Chāliyam in June, 1570. Large numbers of Muslims from the neighbourhood came to assist in the siege operations. The siege continued for four months. All attempts to relieve the fortress or send in provisions by sea were defeated by the vigilance of Pāttu Marakkār and his fleet. Zainuddin, who was a contemporary writer, wrote of the siege of the fort, "The besiegers watched all the time by the side of the fort, so that the besieged, who could not get fresh supplies, exhausted all provisions available in the fort and ate dogs and such loathsome animals. Everyday servants, men and women, who became converts to Christianity, came out of the fort, with their permission owing to the scarcity of food."[8] At last in September, 1570 the fort capitulated. The fort was demolished "leaving not one stone upon another."

Though the defeat of the Portuguese at Chāliyam failed to drive them out from the Malabār seas, it checked Portuguese plans of political aggrandisement. Thereafter they confined their attention more and more to trade. In order to secure their communications, they found it necessary to send from Goa fleet after fleet to the Malabār and Coromandel coasts.

For the great services rendered by Pāttu Marakkār (Kuññāli III) in the reduction of the Portuguese fort at Chāliyam, the Zamorin granted him permission to erect a fort and dockyards at Putuppa (tta) ṇam, at the mouth of the Akalappuḷa, the then headquarters of the Marakkārs.[9]

8. *Tuhfat-ul-Mujāhidin*, pp. 87-8.

9. Krishna Ayyar, *op. cit.*, p. 210n. 2.

The suggestion of O. K. Nambier that Pāttu Marakkār obtained the permission of the Zamorin to build a fort at Putuppa (tta) ṇam, on account of the Zamorin giving permission to the Portuguese to build a fort at Ponnāni (1586) does not seem to be correct.

It was after the building of the fort at Putuppa (tta) ṇam that the place acquired the name of Kūttakkal and the river the name of Kōttappuḷa. The fort was popularly known as Marakkār Kūtta (cf. Pyrard's reference to 'Marcaire Coste' vol. I, p. 347).

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By 1572 Kuñṅāli III had built a strong fort at Putuppa (tta) ṇam, and established himself there as a feudatory of the Zamorin. He exercised privileges and powers equal to the Nair Chieftain of the country. References to such privileges and powers exercised by Kuñṅāli Marakkār are contained in the 'Northern Ballads'.[10]

Though the Portuguese were driven out from the mainland, they did not give up the fight on the sea. They also began to plunder and set fire to coastal towns in Zamorin's territories regularly. Worst of all, the Portuguese intercepted the rice trade with the Canarese ports, thereby causing famine in Malabar. According to Zainuddin, "(In the years 1582-83) the importation of rice was discontinued from Talner. A terrible famine came upon them, the like of it was never seen by the people, because the Portuguese stuck to the ports mentioned above, unflinchingly without caring for food."[11]

The highhandedness of the Portuguese brought them into trouble at Cochin also. They refused to allow the Rāja to collect the usual port dues, as a result of which there was considerable agitation in Cochin. One result of the agitation was that negotiations were now reopened with the Zamorin. Ruy Gonsalves de Camera negotiated with the Zamorin for the erection of a fort at Ponnāni. The Zamorin was in no hurry and put off the proposal on one excuse or other, but at last agreed to the construction of a fort there (1586). Kuñṅāli, who felt that the Portuguese fort at Ponnāni would be a constant menance to him, fought a battle with the Portuguese and defeated them. In 1589 Kutti Mūsa, the nephew and admiral of Kuñṅāli, attacked a Portuguese fleet and caused great damage. "After a tedious fight they retired in consequence, it is presumed, of the damages they had received in the engagement; the Portuguese vessels were however, reduced to such a condition that they might easily have been taken had the attack lasted much longer, but the retirement of the enemy, leaving the Portuguese in possession of the field, entitled them to claim the victory."[12]

These two victories gave the Marakkārs complete command of the Malabār seas. For over two years Portuguese navigation in the Malagbār and Coromandel coasts was nearly interrupted. Kutti Mūsa with a fleet of galleys made himself absolute master all along the coast of Coromandel. He captured several Portuguese ships and contemplated making an attack on the forts of Colombo and Mannar. Realising the gravity of the situation, Mathias de Albuquerque, the Viceroy, sent a powerful fleet under Andre Furtado to chastise Mūsa. "At the mouth

10. *Vide*, Ballad no. 10 in C. Achutha Menon, *Ballads of North Malabar*, vol. I.
11. *Tuhfat-ul-Mujāhidīn*, p. 93.
12. Danvers, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 84.

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of the river Cardiva, Furtado met and fought with Cotimuza, and had nearly captured him, but he only saved himself by swimming, leaving his whole fleet in the hands of the Portuguese."[13]

The destruction of Mūsa's fleet only confirmed Kuññāli's determination to drive out the Portuguese from the Malabār seas. He immediately organised another fleet and harassed Portuguese shipping and trade. Speaking of Calicut, Ralph Fitch (1683-91) says : " The King hath always peace with them (*i.e.*, the Portuguese); but his people goe to the sea to robbe and seale. Their chiefe Captaine is called Cogi Alli ; he hath three castles under him.....They range all the coast from Ceylon to Goa, and go by four or five parowes or boats together ; and have in every one of them fifty or three-core men, and boord presently. They do much harme on that coast, and take every yere many foists and boats of the Portugals. Many of these people be Moores."[14]

The Portuguese now realised that without coming to terms with the Zamorin, it would be difficult to crush Kuññāli's power. Fr. Franscisco da Costa, who was then a prisoner at Calicut, persuaded the Prince to make peace with the Portuguese. As a result, terms of peace were settled " to the content of both parties, and Zamorin not only released all the slaves in his kingdom, but encouraged the Jesuits to build a church, himself laying the first stone."[15]

As usual peace did not last long, because the Portuguese insisted upon taking out cartas by all Malabar ships, and taking ships without them as prizes. Kuññāli set upon and took a richly laden Portuguese ship returning from China almost in sight of Goa in 1594. To avenge this defeat, the Viceroy despatched a powerful squadron under Andre Furtado. He fell in with three ships belonging to the Zamorin and took them after a severe contest.

In 1595 Muhammad Kuññāli Marakkār (popularly known as Kuññāli IV) succeeded as the chief of Kōttakkal. Foreseeing that the Portuguese would seek his ruin, he fortified the town by land and sea. The following is Fariya Y Souza's description of 'Marakkār Kōtta.' " On the land side he made a deep ditch with double trenches two yards and a half thick from sea to sea. At distances he raised towers planted small cannon. Between the two creeks, he built a strong wall which secured the town with two towers, one at each end and along the sea-shore struck palisadoes, where were also two bastions, one greater than

13. *Ibid.*, p. 85.
14. *Hakluyt's Voyages*, vol. V., pp. 502-3.
15. Faria Y Souza, *Portuegues Asia*, vol. III, p. 66.

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the other, planted with gross cannon to secure the entrance to the harbour, which besides was difficult even to small vessels by masts strongly chained together. "[16] "From hence he began to make war upon us" complains Fariya Y Souza, "taking many of our ships richly laden. He assaulted the village of Tana in the island Salsette near Bacaim and carried away a rich booty, taking the opportunity of doing it, when those who should defend it were at the Devotions of the Holy Week."

These successes seem to have turned the head of Kuññāli and he became proud and haughty. Consequently the relations between the Zamorin and Kuññāli became strained. The cause of estrangement are variously stated. According to Fariya Y Souza, "Zamorin was now sufficiently incensed against Kuññāli, who called himself 'King of the Malabar Moors" and 'Lord of the Indian Sea'. It was not these titles, or his pride, or the compaints of the Portugueses, that provoked Zamorin, but that Cunnale had caused the tail of one of his elephants to be cut-off, as also the privy parts of a Nayre which were also fastened to his mouth."[17]

Pyrard says that Kuññāli violated the honour of a noble lady, wife of a lord, whose land lay close to Kōtta.[18] The real reason seems to be the machinations of the Portuguese. Fariya Y Souza says, "Our Viceroy conceived at the increase of is power, resolved towards the end of his government to weaken it, and by D. Alvano de Abranches, the Admiral of the sea, advertised Zamorin how the pirate was equally prejudicial to him as to the Portugueses, and therefore it would be convenient they should both joint to extirpate him. That prince being made sensible of this truth, a new peace was concluded, and they agreed, that he by land, and the Portugueses by sea, should jointly undertake the expulsion of Cunnale, and razing the fort." The proposed expedition could not immediately be carried into effect on account of a change of Viceroys.

Dom Francisco da Gama, who came out to India in 1597 now resolved to put into effect the articles of agreement entered into with the Zamorin. Great preparations were made for the expedition (1599). The Zamorin attacked from the land side, assisted by a Portuguese contingent, but it was easily repulsed. The attack of Luiz da Gama from the sea side also miscarried, and resulted in heavy losses. "So this proved the greatest disgrace the Portuguese received in Asia," wails Fariya Y Souza.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 76.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 99.
18. *The Voyage of Francois Pyrard de Laval*, vol. I, p. 852.

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A new agreement was made in December, 1599 between the Zamorin and the new Portuguese commander, Andre Furtado. Furtado who had learnt from the mistakes of his predecessor, proceeded with caution. He cleared the river of obstacles, and erected shore batteries to attack the fort effectively. The attack was pressed with vigour and Kuññāli finding his position untenable, opened negotiations with the Zamorin. He promised to surrender to the Zamorin on condition that his men be spared. The Zamorin wavered in his decision, but Furtado, who was bent upon destroying Kuññāli's power, pressed forward the attack. Finding his position hopeless, Kuññāli surrendered on condition " but his life. " He surrendered his sword to the Zamorin, who jielded him up to the Portuguese. Kuññāli and his nephew, Chinna Āli and 40 Māppiḷas of note were sent as prisoners aboard the ship and carried to Goa. As soon as some of the prisoners were set ashore at Goa, they were torn to pieces by the populace. Kuññāli and his nephew were publicly executed, without any regard for the promise of life granted to them. " So did that government and rabble go hand in hand in murder and breach of faith, " is the final comment of Fariya Y Souza.

The act of the Zamorin in yielding up Kuññāli and his followers to the Portuguese is indefensible. There is no explanation why the Zamorin betrayed his trust. It is significant that no provision as to the disposal of the person of Kuññāli on surrender is included in the treaty entered into between the Zamorin and Furtado in December, 1599. Surely some understanding in the matter must have been made between the parties. The whole transaction smacks of treachery on the part of the Zamorin.

Thus ended the power of the Kuññāli Marakkārs. The fall of Kōtta and the death of Kuññāli did not avail the Portuguese anything. The Mīppiḷa seamen began to harass Portuguese shipping and trade with a vengeance. So great was their fear of the depredations of the Malabār seamen that they ventured forth only in large ' cafilas '. In the words of Pyrard de Laval, " At Goa, the whole city looks out for these cafilas as in Spain they await those of the Indies. And when they arrive not at their due season, everyone is in apprehension of the Hollanders or the Malabaris, or the Cambayanes themselves who frequently stop them when they endeavour to put in at Goa, as happened the year I left Goa. "[19]

He continues : " When this fleet the Cafila does arrive the joy of the merchants and the whole people is marvellous ; and in truth it is a very pretty and pleasant sight to see so many sails together ; but it is seldom that the Malabar corsairs fail to capture some of them. "

19. *Ibid.*

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William Finch writing in 1608-10 wrote of the activities of the Malabār seamen : " This moneth here was also news of an Ormus ship taken by the Malabars and three frigats from Cochin, whereof sizteene were taken and burnt by the Malabars, which the rest escaped, if miserable spoile be an escape ; also of fiftie frigats and galiots of the Malabars spoiling on their coast. In January came another news of thirtie frigats, which put for Diu richly laden, taken by the Malabars, being at this time masters of the seas. "[20]

The fame of the Kuññālis still resounds in Malabār. The great sacrifices they had made in defence of the rights of their countrymen for over a century against the encroachments of the Portuguese, form a glorious chapter in the annals of our country. It is to the valour and energy of these seamen that Portuguese hold on our land is no more than the trifling and precarious hold that it is.

20. W. Foster, *Early Travels in India*, p. 129.

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A CHAPTER IN THE HISTORY OF KERALA

Dr. T. I. Poonen

(A study based on Western source documents preserved in the Madras Record Office)

With the formation of the Kerala State comprising the entire Malayalam speaking area, the transformation of the erstwhile Travancore University into the Kerala University and the institution of the Kerala Sahitya Academy with a historical wing attached thereto, the opportune moment seems to have been reached for making a serious effort at the reconstruction of the history of Kerala based on a critical study of all available sources. Though the smallest of Indian States in area and population, Kerala has nevertheless a history which is particularly fascinating by reason both of the wide range it covers and the diversity of people with which it is concerned. The history of Kerala dates back to the pre-historic past. The Aborigines, Dravidians, Aryans, Jews, Syrians, Arabs, peoples of alleged Ceylonese origin, the Portuguese, the Dutch, the French, the English and Mysorean Muslims have all been actors in the drama of the history of this picturesque region. Consequently, a wide variety of sources has to be tapped for evolving a comprehensive history of Kerala through the centuries. The more recent arrivals have fortunately for the historian bequeathed to posterity documents of unique historical value which are within fairly easy reach and give detailed information of important aspects of Kerala history and polity. This is especially true of European nations who have played a part in this history, namely the Portuguese, the Dutch, the French and the English. Of these, the Dutch and the English have left behind a large mass of historical material which is carefully preserved in the Madras Record Office and provides a rich quarry for the historian.

(i) *Dutch Sources* :

The Dutch records now in the custody of the Madras Record Office were produced during the years 1677 to 1795. A useful introduction to these records is furnished by Galletti in his " The Dutch in Malabar " (Madras Government Press, 1911). When Cochin, the headquarters of the Dutch Administration in Malabar, was taken by the English in 1795, the Dutch records available at that Capital town came into the

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possession of the victorious nation. After being retained for many years at Cochin, they were transferred to Calicut, and finally removed to Madras in 1891. They consist of 1400 large volumes bound in leather or paper and packets of loose paper. Of the 1648 items of records mentioned in a previously prepared topical Dutch list, 248 had disappeared by the time of the English capture of Cochin. After the records were transferred to Madras, the Madras Government got a Dutchman long resident in Madras to prepare in English an elaborate press list of these documents. This press list is of immense value as, without a considerable knowledge of the rather difficult Dutch script of the 17th and 18th centuries, it is not possible for ordinary research workers with a tolerable working knowledge of Dutch to decipher the original Dutch documents, the calligraphy of which baffles the comprehension of even the most painstaking student of antique writings and there seems to be very little chance that these documents in their entirety will ever be properly examined by qualified people with adequate financial backing. Time has injured many of those documents and even those which were in good preservation half a century ago must since then have necessarily undergone further deterioration. All the available historical memoirs left by the Dutch Commandeurs of Malabar to their successors—the title 'Commandeur' which indicated an office of lesser dignity than that of Governor was given to the Chief Controlling Officer in Malabar—have been printed in Dutch by the Madras Government. They have also made two of these memoirs available to a wider circle of readers by getting them translated into English and ably edited with exhaustive explanatory foot-notes; with this exception, no Government, University or learned body has evinced appreciable interest in the study and interpretation of these documents. Credit is therefore due to the former British rulers for the valuable contribution thus made by their Government in Madras towards the furtherance of historical investigation. In the Madras collection of Dutch Records we have, as Galletti observes, the contents of a Dutch Chief Factory in much the same condition as they were at the end of the Eighteenth century when the administration was still being carried on. The Cochin records thus contain an unexplored wealth of material for the history of Kerala in the 17th and 18th centuries. Besides describing the affairs of the Dutch East India Company in Malabar during the period covered, these documents also impart very valuable information on the general history of the region during two centuries so that their usefulness to the historian is very great and they deserve to be fully utilised.

The earliest Dutch Record in the Madras collection is the Memoir of Hendrik Van Rheede, Commandeur of Malabar, composed in 1677 for the use of his successor. This gives an account of the political geography of Kerala at that time as also of the aims and achievements of the Dutch

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in Malabar during the foundation period of their power in this region (1663-78). The narrative also gives a detailed account of the various peoples inhabiting the area. By the time this Memoir was written (17th March 1677) the Dutch had replaced the Portuguese as the sole European power enjoying commercial supremacy on the West Coast and exercising full and undiluted overlordship over the rulers of Cochin. All the Chieftains of Malabar had either voluntarily or as a result of military pressure entered into treaties which stipulated the entire exclusion of rival European nations from their lands and the grant of unduly favourable terms for themselves. The ruler of Cochin had virtually become an abject feudatory of theirs and in them were now vested complete political overlordship over the restored royal line of Cochin.

Political Divisions of Kerala in 1677

At the time when Van Rheede wrote, Kerala was practically divided among four great and suzerain princes or kings who ruled paramount over others. From south to north, these were the rulers of Travancore and Cochin, the Zamorin of Calicut and the Kolattiri of Cannanore. There was in addition another kingdom with a considerable area and a large population called Tekkenkur, which was an independent principality not included in nor subject to any of the four main kingdoms each of which had several feudatories. Some of these figure prominently in Dutch Records.

At this time Travancore was a very small principality embracing only the southern extremity of what was known as Travancore at the end of the Eighteenth century, a strip of land about 700 square miles (35 × 20) or one-tenth of Travancore in the days of British rule. Cochin was in those days a more important kingdom with subordinate princes ruling over Purakkad (Chembakasseri), Moutan, Vatakkumkur, Coereornadu or Anjikaimal, Parur, Mangatty (Alangad) Bypeen, Cranganore and Airur. The Zamorin was the third king of Malabar and had no smaller authority than the other kings. The kingdom extended from the province of Oenetterie on the border of Cranganore in the south and ended at the river Kottakal. Under him were seven subordinate rulers. Kolattiri, the fourth king of Malabar with four feudatories under him, ruled over the extensive territory lying between Kottakal and Nilisaram on the border of Kanara.

Quite a different picture is to be found in the Memoir of Johan Gerard Van Angelbeek who quitted office in 1793. This is the last Dutch Memoir on Malabar as the story of Dutch activities in this part of the world came to a close with the surrender of all Dutch settlements in Malabar to the English in 1795 by Lambertus Van Spall, the last Commandeur to hold office in Malabar. This last Memoir shows that

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the two northern kingdoms of the Kolattiri and the Zamorin had disappeared. They had been merged in the territories of the English East India Company. The Cannanore and Calicut kingdoms which had been annexed by Hyder Ali during his invasion of the West Coast—this invasion is described in Dutch Records—had to be surrendered to the English by Hyder's son, Tippu Sultan, in 1792. The only kingdom now left in Malabar were Cochin and Travancore.

The Cochin kingdom now comprised a much smaller area than in the days of Van Rheede. It has been considerably diminished by the conquests of Martanda Varma of Travancore in the south and of the Zamorin in the north. Some territory had been taken by Hyder Ali and Tippu Sultan. Parur and Alangad had been ceded to Travancore in consideration of help rendered by that kingdom to Cochin when the latter kingdom was further threatened by the Zamorin. The Cochin kingdom in 1793 comprised only the following territories.

(1) The kingdom of Cochin proper, consisting of the piece of land bounded on the north by the river of Cochin, on the east by the lake or backwaters, on the south by the offshoot of Manikordes and on the west by the backwaters and sea. The kingdom thus appeared to have the form of an island, and on this the Dutch possessed the town of Cochin with jurisdiction over it and the king of Travancore possessed a piece of Manikordu on its southernmost edge.

(2) The island of Bypeen down from Palliport on which the Palliyatteer owned several villages under the sovereignty of the king. The Dutch Company had independent possession of the southernmost projection and the other side of this fort.

(3) On the mainland, the land of Anjikaimal and the district of Tripunithura where the king had a sort of palace and resided most of the time.

(4) The islands of Kastella, Bendoorthy, Bolgatty and Balaparte with some smaller ones of less importance. Dutch protection was confined to the above mentioned lands.

In addition to the above, the king possessed extensive lands north of the Travancore Lines which he had rented in 1790 for all time from the English company and over which the said Company itself possessed sovereignty. These were lands conquered from Malabar princes by Tippu Sultan who was dispossessed of them by the English. Thus the king of Cochin was serving two masters. The northern portion of his kingdom was under the English and the southern under the Dutch. The way was thus being prepared for the total eclipse of the Dutch in Malabar in 1795—a contingency which the writer of the Memoir of 1793 does not seem to have anticipated.

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The other kingdom, Travancore, was at the end of the Eighteenth century far more important than Cochin. It had expanded considerably in size. The Dutch by the treaty of Mavelikara (1753) concluded with Martanda Varma of Travancore renounced all alliances with the other Chiefs and nobles of Malabar with whom the Travancore ruler desired to wage war. The Dutch promised not to thwart the latter in any respect, give asylum to any such person, or oppose His Highness's enterprise. The result was that the kings and old allies were abandoned by the Dutch Company and left exposed to the fully fury of the onslaughts of Travancore, whose ruler succeeded in conquering all kingdoms south of Cochin and a part of the Cochin kingdom. Out of respect to the Dutch Company, a little land was left to the king of Cochin. Partly by guile and in an unlawful manner and partly by force of arms, Martanda Varma of Travancore came into possession of the kingdoms of Elladaswarupam, Peritallay, Marta, Quilon, Kayamkulam, Purakkad, Tekkumkur, Vadakkumkur and a part of Cochin. Thus Martanda Varma became master of the whole of Southern Kerala and a part of Northern Kerala.

The Dutch records of Malabar give a complete account of the train of events which resulted in the altered political geography of Kerala at the close of the Eighteenth Century.

The years 1679-1728 marked the heyday of Dutch power in Malabar. During these years the Dutch steadily developed their power over the chieftains of Malabar and strengthened their commercial position. Contemporary Dutch documents clearly prove that during this period the Dutch company had established its power and overlordship not only over the principal kings of North Malabar, but also over the minor chieftains or great landlords of that region. But the sky was not altogether free from clouds. In spite of treaties excluding other European nations from trade in her dominions, the Rani of Attingal allowed the English to establish a factory and later build a fort at Anjengo. The English Agent at Calicut often instigated the Zamorin to act against the Dutch and lent him support in his aggression. The Zamorin who was the most powerful and aggressive of Malabar princes had expected that the Dutch would make him king of Cochin as a reward for his having entered into an alliance with the Dutch against the Portuguese. The Dutch were not disposed to oblige him in his matter. Continual acts of hostility from the Zamorin followed as a result of the Zamorin's disappointment. As a matter of fact, war between the different princes was chronic in Malabar. The route by which the Zamorin could invade Cochin lay along the shore by Chetway and Cranganore. The Payancherry Nair, the owner of Chetway, and the prince of Cranganore were tributaries of the Zamorin. After forcing the Zamorin in 1710 to sign a treaty ceding to them the suzerainty over the Payancherry Nair and the

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Cranganore Chief, the Dutch proceeded to build or extend a fort at Chetway. The Zamorin surprised the fort in January 1715, thereby lowering the prestige of the Dutch and increasing the number of their enemies. However, initial rebuffs notwithstanding, the Dutch by the campaign of 1716, regained their prestige and there were no further troubles during this period.

The years 1729-58 witnessed the discomfiture of the Dutch and the emergence of Martanda Varma of Travancore as a powerful ruler who dealt a decisive blow to Dutch pretensions. He gained a signal victory over the Dutch at Colachel (1741). The treaty of Mavelikara referred to above which was a triumph for Martanda Varma and a humiliation to the Dutch facilitated the expansion of Travancore and made it impossible for the Dutch any longer " to play Emperor in Malabar " and to prevent the absorption of the smaller kingdoms in Travancore.

In August 1729 the English merchants at Tellicherry recorded their belief that the Zamorin and other princes were not well inclined towards the Dutch and they would endeavour to disturb them if they could. " Encroaching measures not being agreeable to mankind," the Tellicherry factors observed, " it is natural to think they will not be submissive to them if it be in their power to hinder it." The possibility of a war against the Dutch by the Zamorin was indicated by the English merchants of Tellicherry in their letter to the Directors in England dated 23rd September." " It is our opinion," they wrote, " that he (the new Zamorin) in conjunction with the King of Cochin and other petty princes in general to the southward of us intend to levy war on the Dutch in a short space of time." This was probably the result of a threat which the Zamorin had given to the Cochin ruler. This is a reasonable surmise from the report of the Dutch Resident at Kayamkulam that the Zamorin had sent calls to the King of Kayamkulam asking the latter to meet him with the Raja of Tekkumkur in order jointly to attack the King of Cochin as well as to facilitate the merger of Vadakkumkur in Tekkumkur. It was the policy of the Dutch to prevent the amalgamation of the small kingdoms lest they prove too strong for the Dutch. It is clear that from 1729 Dutch influence in Malabar was distinctly on the wane. Detailed accounts of the expansion of Travancore and the steady decline of the Dutch are furnished in the Memoirs of Stein Van Gollenesse (1743), Fredrik Cunes (1756) and Adriean Moens (1781). The last document also refers to the invasion of Hyder Ali into the Malayalam country. The Dutch documents also give some indication of unsuccessful efforts made by the Dutch to introduce Protestant beliefs and practices among the Syrian Christians. It is also seen that the Dutch continued the Portuguese policy of extending potection to the Latin Christians against the unjust demands of the King of Cochin and other rulers. Rival sections of Hindus also asked for Dutch intervention in their mutual

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disputes. Thus there is an amusing reference to Dutch protests against the Nambudiris praying in the Chembukkavu temple against ancient usage.

(*ii*) *English Documents* :

Unlike the Dutch at Cochin who do not seem to have kept the Town diary regularly and the few extant volumes of whose Diaries convey no useful information, the English at Tellicherry and Anjengo kept very informative diaries which can serve as useful raw material for the history of Kerala. The Tellicherry Diaries from 1725 to 1751 have been printed in twenty volumes. There are also several volumes of later years available for consultation in well bound volumes of manuscripts preserved in the Madras Record Office. In addition, there exist in print twelve volumes of letters to Tellicherry (1726-1750) and six volumes of letters from Tellicherry (1729-1751). Of the Anjengo Diaries dating from 1744, only three volumes are available in print. The rest have to be looked up from the bound manuscript volumes in Madras. "Diary of Mr. Strutter's Commission, 1714-1715" and reports of Military Officers operating against the Nawab of Carnatic in the interests of the ruler of Travancore who had sought British protection are also important source materials. The Anjengo Diaries help us to reconstruct the economic history of the enlarged Travancore State of the mid-eighteenth century, while the Tellicherry records tell us much about the political and economic conditions of North Malabar and the rivalry between the English of Tellicherry and the French in Mahe.

The importance of the Anjengo Diaries should not be underrated on the ground that they deal with nothing but the pepper and cloth trade of the English in that locality. For the second half of the reign of Martanda Varma we have a wealth of information in the Anjengo Diaries which are continued even after the close of that reign. The customs duties paid by the Syrian Christian merchants of Chattanur and Parur engaged in the pepper trade and the Chetty merchants of Kottar doing business in the cloth trade formed an important source of income to the State. Large sums were advanced by the English Company to these merchants for purchasing stock. Often the intervention of the King had to be sought to compel the pepper and cloth merchants to fulfil their engagements. Despite promises to supply goods exclusively to the English Company, there were attempts to break these agreements. The King often made the supply of arms at low price by the English a condition of his permitting them to carry on trade in his dominions. Sometimes the failure of the merchants to supply the promised goods was found to be due not to any fault of theirs, but to the King's insistence on the merchants supplying him with pepper at very low price before the supply at the market rate was made to the English. The King

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wanted to do some trade of his own and he made unsuccessful efforts to get the English transport his merchandise to Europe in their ships. The arrival of merchants from the East coast trying to outbid the English company was a frequent cause of vexation. The Rupee—Fanam exchange problem had to be carefully handled. When East Coast Merchants arrived with large stocks of rupees, the exchange value of the rupee in terms of Fanams which were the media of exchange for cloth and pepper purchases went down, and the Anjengo Merchants were seriously inconvenienced. The records show that persistent efforts were made to keep up the value of the rupee pretty high. There are evidences in the records that it was the supply of firearms by the English that helped Martanda Varma to fight the other Kings and annex their territories. It was the superior military position of Martanda Varma that compelled the Dutch to give up their old policy of guaranteeing the continued existence of the small kingdoms and preventing their absorption in bigger ones. Interesting references occur in these records to the conflict between the English and the French. We have indications of the French threat to the Coast of Travancore and of the steps taken to ensure its defence. The ravages of the Maharattas in different parts of India are alluded to. We hear of disputes between the Travancore ruler and the Nawab of the Carnatic who considered the former only as a polygar of his. It appears that Travancore owed a double loyalty to the English Company and the Nawab. English Generals had to undertake military operations to defend Travancore againt attacks by the Nawab. The Anjengo Diaries reveal that it was Martanda Varma who constructed the canal connecting Quilon and Trivandrum and thus opened the way for increased facilities of communications between Trivandrum and places to the north.

Enough has been said above to show that useful material for the study of an important period in the history of Kerala is to be found in the Tellicherry and Anjengo Diaries of the English Merchants on the south-west coast of India. While the study of Dutch records presents formidable difficulties because most students are not conversant with the intricacies of Dutch script, no such difficulty exists in the case of the English Records and it is a matter for surprise and regret that serious attention has not hitherto been given to the study of these English Records by Indian Students of History. Whether better and more effective use could not be made of these Dutch and English Records dealing with Kerala if they were placed in easier reach of investigators in Kerala by being transferred to the Kerala State rather than being locked up in the Archives of the purely Tamil State of Madras, is a matter well worth the consideration of organisations interested in historical research. It will be only in the fitness of things if the Indian History Congress supports such a move.

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REVOLT OF THE DIWAN OF TRAVANCORE 1809

Shri Krishan Lal

Travancore entered into political and commercial relations with the East India Company in 1673 ; and supported the British in the wars against Hyder Ali and Tipu Sultan. Two treaties had been concluded with the Rajah, one in 1795, which guaranteed his territories, and merely bound him to furnish what troops he was able to send, and another in 1805, which bound him to pay a certain amount for a subsidiary[1] force.

Question of arrears :

In the month of September, 1808, a balance of rupees 626,669 remained undischarged[2], and when the payment was demanded, the Rajah protested that the treaty of 1805 was forced upon him and the payment for four battalions with which it saddled him, was a far heavier burden than his revenues could bear. In fact the working of this system (Subsidiary Alliance) was eating into the vitals of the state. The Raja and the Diwan desired that the burden might be reduced. It was also believed that the difficulty in the realisation of the subsidy arose from the company's refusal to receive payment in pepper. The Resident on the other hand insisted that difficulty in paying subsidy was owing to the expenditure lavished on a body of useless troops, maintained by the Rajah under the name of the Carnatic brigade. The real question in dispute thus was whether the subsidiary force or the brigade should be reduced, the Rajah advocating the former and the Resident the latter. Here the British rule impinged on the Raja, as the brigade in question was as indispensable to his personal safety as its removal was to the security of the Resident. The Raja made representations to the Government of Bengal and Madras against the menaces of the Resident, but to no effect.[4]

1. Henry Beveridge, *A Comprehensive History of India*, vol. II, p. 835.
2. *Foreign Department, Secret Proceedings*, Letter no. 24 of 2nd January, 1809. (National Archives of India).
3. S. B. Choudhuri, *Civil disturbances in India during the British Rule*, p. 134.
4. James Mill, *History of British India*, vol. VII, p. 175.

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Dewan Valoo Tambe :

He had been appointed a Diwan in 1801. It was maintained that the Rajah had suffered a whole part of the state to fall into the hands of the diwan who entertained views of direct hostility[5] towards the British. Velu Tempi, the minister, indeed was the great leader of the country who shaped the policies of the state during the critical times. There was a personal feud between him and the Resident whom he hated as the 'scourage' of his country, and his own 'inexorable foe'. The Resident likewise looked upon him as the chief instigator of the refractory spirit of the king, and consequently demanded his removal.

Efforts of the Diwan to liberate Travancore :

It is quite evident that the Diwan wanted to overthrow the British influence in the sate of Travancore and planned its reassertion of liberty. For this purpose, he organized the internal forces and invited foreign help. He took the following measures for the fulfilment of this object.

1. *Refusal to pay subsidy* :

He had encouraged the Raja to inform the British Resident that he could not pay the subsidy. The Resident blamed[6] him for allowing the subsidy to fall into arrears and insisted on his removal.

2. *Alliance with the neighbouring rajah* :

He also entered into communication with the neighbouring rajahs, and gained their support for the defence of the religion. He also issued a 'Violent Proclamation' and possibly circular letters to the neighbouring Rajahs to defend caste and Hindu religion against British[7] encroachments. Resident Macaulay wrote to George Buchan, Chief Secretary to the Government of Fort St. George, "I have received two letters from the Acting Commercial Resident at Anjingo respecting three persons stated to be Armenians, and some other who landed there from an Arab vessel."

The Armenians received the permission of the Commercial Resident to travel by land to Fort St. George, and as Trivandipooram, the ordinary residence of the Rajah of Travancore, lays on the route from Anjingo to Tinnevelly, they necessarily passed through that place, it so happening that the Dewan of Travancore and the Minister of the Rajah of Cochin were both there at the time.

5. *Parliamentary Papers*, 1831-32, vol. XIV (Commons), paper 735-vi.
6. Beveridge, *op. cit.*, p. 835.
7. Mill, *op. cit.*, p. 176.

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That a communication between the Diwan and the Armenians took place is certain, but what nature has not been ascertained; all that has transpired on the subject is that soon after the communication took place, the Minister of the Rajah of Cochin accompanied by an officer of rank in the Civil department of the Rajah of Travancore's Government, a person who has long enjoyed the confidence of the Dewan quitted Trivandipooram and proceeded to the residence of the Rajah of Cochin, and which they reached on the 15th (December) ultimo where the offensive proceedings relative to Travancore sepoys took place."[8]

3. *Organisation of the Internal forces*:

He ordered the arming of natives with all kinds of arms. Lieut.-Colonel Macaulay further wrote, " The Dewan of Travancore however on his side has not scrupled in this respect to go very daring lengths, he has ordered a portion of the population of every district within Travancore to train to the use of bow and arrows, the Nayers who are clothed and armed with firelocks have been ordered to drill constantly and to fire ball cartridges, immense quantities of bows and arrows have been bought by the Dewan's orders to Quilon and are deposited within a short distance of the cantonments of the Subsidiary force."[9]

4. *Appointment of the Commander in chief*:

Not only the people were supplied arms, but even a Commander-in-Chief of the forces was appointed. The Resident Macaulay wrote on the 5th December, 1808, " The Dewan has thrown off the mask completely, and has most probably determined to set the whole country on a flame rather than yield. He recently revived an appointment that had long been dormant, and has placed in it a younger brother of his own; an active bold youth the appointment is styled Generalissimo of the forces, and it confers and concentrates the whole Military authority. Colonel Daly also must receive orders from him."[10]

5. *French Aid*:

It appears that he sought the help of the French to expel the British from Travancore. " The Dewan's agent stated by his orders to the Rajah of Cochin that the Dewan had received some information that a considerable French force might be expected to arrive on the coast of Malabar in the course of next January (1809) and therefore that the Rajah of Cochin must unite himself to the Travancoreans and the French for the purpose of expelling the English from the country."[11] Again

8. *Foreign Department, Secret Proceedings*, Letter no. 5, and January 1809.
9. *Ibid.*, para 6.
10. *Ibid.*, Letter no. 5a, 2nd January 1809.
11. *Ibid.*, Letter no. 49, 22nd December 1808, para 4.

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the Resident wrote,[12] " It is now whispered that the Dewan has actually sent to Mauritius two persons (Mahomedans) on a Malderih vessel to solicit a reinforcement of 500 artillery which he alleges would be sufficient to place him in a situation to resist with effect all the forces that could be brought to bear on him by the English." On the 11th September,[13] 1808, he had reported, " I wrote you a public letter on the subject of the French serving on the board an Arab vessel—I have frequently seen when at Alippe half a dozen belonging to one ship." Thus the French phobea appeared to be in full swing in the Southern India to the British. How far it was a reality, it is difficult to state, but the French forces under Napolean were fighting a severe war against the English at that time. Either the Dewan believed in the actual arrival of the French forces or wanted to coerce the British Government. Mr. Macaulay wrote, " It will perhaps be deemed of no moment to enquire whether this extraordinary conduct of the Diwan is to be ascribed to a belief actually reposed by him in the truth of the intelligence respecting the speedy arrival of a French force or whether that intelligence be used by him as a cover for exciting the people to train with such publicity to arms with the scheme of thereby administering the British Government into a passive acquiescence in his bold contimacy and daring resistance.[14]

Order to arrest the Diwan :

Sir George Barlow ordered the Resident to arrest the Diwan. G. Buchan, Chief Secretary to the Government of Fort Saint George, wrote to Lieut.-Colonel Macaulay to arrest the Diwan and conveyed the following instructions, " The Governor-in-Council observes with concern the course of proceedings which has been adopted by the Dewan of Travancore but in actual state of affairs it appears in every view of essential importance that no time should be lost in adopting the most effectual means of frustrating any dangerous intention that he may have entertained.

The Governor-in-Council is of opinion that this object will be best accoumplished by securing person of the Dewan as well as any other who may be considered most active in the support of his improper schemes and by continuing them under restraint until the administration of affairs in Travancore shall be established on a sound and satisfactory footing."[15]

12. *Ibid.*, Letter no. 33, 16th December 1808.
13. *Ibid.*, Letter no. 24, 2nd January 1809.
14. *Ibid.*, 2nd January 1809, letter no. 49, para 7.
15. *Ibid.*, Letter no. 51, 15th December 1808.

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Madras forces were set in motion for Travancore. At this posture of events, the diwan simulated submission and arrangements were made for his removal from Aleppi to Calicut on the night of 28th December 1808, but on the very night, he actually broke into rebellion by an attack on the house of the Resident. Perhaps he had got the news of the secret order for his arrest.

Attack on the Residency :

The Resident sent the following details of the attack. He wrote,[16] " The Honourable the Governor-in-Council will learn with concern the deradful act of treachery with which the Dewan of Travancore has crowned his long course of perfidy I doubt whether anything more base and atrocious has ever occurred, for some days past I had been engaged in negotiations with the Dewan at his own earnest solicitation, and had concluded everything to his entire satisfaction, and was waiting only his arrival from Aleppe to carry into execution the measure upon which he had resolved of removing to Calicut and had at his request had weakened the party with me to provide for his security, and had at his suggestions placed my boats and Palanquins in convenient places to take him on which comfort and expedition, when a little after midnight a party of Nayers to the number of about one thousand headed by the Dewan's confidential friend Palpanah Pillay, and by the minister of the Rajah of Cochin, surrounded my house to prevent all escape, and commenced a smart fire musketry at every opening, first disarming the guards and killing a few, who attempted resistance, and then broke into the place to destroy me—their design was providentially and somewhat miraculously defeated and after having broken open every place and package and pillaged the house of the whole effects, they withdrew at the break of the day." In the morning Colonel Macaulay escaped on board a vessel, which proved to be a transport with part of the expected reinforcements.

Deamands of the British Government:

Three demands were made on the Rajah of Travancore.

First : " That the persons principally concerned in the atrocious attacks on the sacred person of the British representative should be delivered into our hands, if they should not have been already punished.

Secondly : That the Diwan should be dismissed from his office and banished from the country.

16. *Ibid.*, Letter no. 80, 23rd January 1809.

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Thirdly : That the validity of the Subsidiary force should be distinctly acknowledged by the payment in full of the arrears of the Subsidiary. Other points necessary to maintain the just influence of the British Government and to secure its agents from insult or danger may occur in the course of discussion." [17]

The War:

After the attack on the Residency, Colonel Chalmers commanding the subsidiary force, which had its station at Quilon, immediately commenced operations, but the natives became so powerful that the Colonel was obliged to return to Quilon. Here he was joined early in January, 1809 by Picton from Malabar. The disparity of force was still very great, for the dewan was advancing at the head of nearly 30,000 men, with eighteen guns. The British lines were defended by Col. Picton and Major Hamilton supported by an European regiment and three battalions of sepoys. It was a stiff engagement lasting for five hours, the diwan's forces even attempted to storm the camp, but the battle formation of the British troops set at naught all attempts to overwhelm them. Seven hundred of the native troops were slain in addition to the loss of fifteen pieces of artillery.[18]

Attack on Cochin :

After this repulse Vailoo Tambi, despairing of success at Quilon, hastened off to Cochin, which was held by Major Hewitt with only two companies of the 12th regiment, and six companies of native infantry. The rebels advanced to the attack in three masses each 1000 strong and were again repulsed.

During this time (January, 1809), a small party of British soliders on board a vessel at Alleppy were induced to land, and then murdered.[19]

Defeat of the Diwan :

The Government of the Fort St. George now mobilised their full strength. Coloned Cuppage, commanding in Malabar, entered the province of Cochin, from north with His Majesty's 80th regiment, and two native battalions ; Colonel St. Leger was marching from Trichinopoly with His Majesty's 69 regiment, a regiment of native cavalry, three native battalions, and a detachment of royal artillery, and was moreover to be joined by a Kaffre regiment expected from Ceylon,

17. *Ibid.*, Letter, no. 43, 23rd January 1809.
18. S. B. Choudhury, *op. cit.*, pp. 135-136.
19. Mill, *op. cit.*, vol. VII, pp. 177–9.

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Colonel St. Leger directed his march through the province of Tinnevelly, across the mountains range by which the Western Ghauts are continued to Cape Comorin. For this purpose it was necessary to diverge far to the South as in that direction the most practicable passes are situated. The one which he selected was the pass of Arambuli or Aramuni, which leads westward across the mountains by the highroad from Palamkota. The pass was defended by formidable lines, but was accomplished by a surprise, and the British troops began on the 17th of February to advance in the direction of Trivandrum, the Travancore Capital, Colonel Chalmers was also advancing upon it from the opposite direction, while Colonel Cuppage, who had crossed the northern frontier, was continuing his march southward without opposition. The Raja and the Diwan gave up all hopes of resistance ; the former threw himself on the British protection unconditionally. The Raja accepted all terms of the payment of the subsidy. He surrendered himself to the subsidiary force for protection, accepted a new diwan agreeable to the British interest, and disbanded the Nair battalions and the Carnatic brigade.

Death of the Diwan :

The Dewan had in the meanwhile fled. The Raja despatched various parties in search of the Dewan, who was at last forced to take refuge in the temple of Bhagwadi. Though venerated as a sanctuary, his pursuers did not hesitate to force it. The Dewan was found expiring of wounds, apparently self-inflicted ; his brother who was with him, was taken to Quilon and hanged. Yet the dead body of the Diwan was taken to Trivandrum, where it was exposed upon a gibbet. The gibbetting of the body of the Diwan was shocking in the extreme. This proceeding was strongly censured by the Governor-General Lord Minto, who held that the Resident had made himself responsible by neither preventing the exposure nor proclaiming his disapprobation. The ends of justice were served when the Dewan ceased to exist, and the attempt to carry punishment further was, his lordship remarked, repugnant to humanity and to principles of a civilized[20] government.

Thus ended the heroic attempt of the Dewan Vailoo Tambe to throw off the foreign yoke. His failure should be attributed to the better organization of the English army and the lack of the French support at the critical time.

20. Beveridge, *op. cit*, p. 837.

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MALABAR COINAGE IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

PROFESSOR P. K. K. MENON

THE eighteenth century has, of course, been a formative period in the modern history of Malabar. It had for long remained a land of petty powers for, the process of political integration under the Zamorins had been arrested by the littoral activities of the Portuguese who were prone to uphold those powers for their own commercial advantages. But the sudden Mysorean invasions and occupation of Malabar brought about revolutionary changes in the political and administrative system of the country. The Mysoreans were pioneers. They uprooted the feudal traditions of the past and brought disgrace to the royalty and aristocracy of the land. Theirs was the first attempt to establish a regular land revenue system based upon survey and assessment. They improved the means of transport, developed the trade, introduced a new variety of coinage and overhauled the administrative system. They settled great foundations upon which the English, after the Treaty of Seringapatam, 1792, built up their own superstructure.

An attempt is made, in the following pages, to study briefly the system of coinage in Malabar during the Mysorean regime and the modifications effected by the early British administrators in the eighteenth century. The information is based upon the the records of the English East India Company preserved at the Madras Record Office. The English officers in Malabar had made systematic efforts to collect, as much as possible, information about coinage in the earlier period.

It would appear that there was no uniform coinage in the land before the advent of Hyder Ali. In south Malabar small gold coins called 'Fanams' were in circulation. Probably there were many types of them bearing separate names and different stamps, for example, 'Katemany' fanams, 'Kanna puthan' fanams, 'Kotaputhan' fanams, 'Raja puthan' fanams, etc. They are rare at present and it is said that they were all, more or less, of the same value. The 'Bely' or silver fanams were popular only in the region between Calicut and Baliapatam or Kavayi in the north. Such coins were being issued by the Raja of Kottayam, the Arakal family of Cannanore and some times by the East India Company at its Tellicherry settlement. They

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could be exchanged in South Malabar, if at all, only at a loss. Besides there appear to have been in existence in Malabar also small silver coins called Taroms.[1]

From 1774 onwards we notice two kinds of gold fanams, the cannanore and the Vir Rayen. Four of the former type made a rupee in the transactions of the shroffs and $3\frac{7}{8}$s of them in those of the Government. Similarly the Vir Rayen Fanams could be exchanged with the Shroffs at the rate of $3\frac{3}{4}$ for the rupee and with the Government at the rate of $3\frac{5}{8}$ for the rupee.[2] Both the types were made use of in the payment of land revenue.

In 955 M.E. (1779-80) Hyder stamped the letter (H) on one side of the Vir Rayen fanam and it came to be called Hyderee or Bahadur fanam. Perhaps its value was a little higher than that of the Vir Rayen. Hyder also struck the Hyderee Hoon or Pagoda valued at four rupees.. $14\frac{1}{2}$ Hyderee fanams could be exchanged for a pagoda in the receipt of the Government and 15 in that of the shroffs.[3] He also minted the silver Taroms and copper pice, each bearing the figure of an elephant on one side. The value of Hyder's coins often varied in exchange. He continued to retain the figures of a man and a woman, the old mark of Canara (or the so-called Ikeri) pagodas, on the coins minted by him.[4]

Tippoo had no less than twelve mints in all including the two situated in Malabar at Calicut and Ferokabad.[5] The latter took the place of the mint at Calicut after its destruction. Tippoo issued from Calicut gold fanams and two varieties of double rupees in silver. The issue of the latter was limited. The copper coins consisted of paisas and quarter paisas. The coins minted at Ferokabad consisted of gold fanams and double, single, half and quarter paisas in copper.

In 962 M.E. (1786-87) Tippoo discontinued the Hyderee fanams and pagodas and substituted the Sultanee fanams and pagodas (or Hoons) in their place. The pagoda was the equivalent of four rupees. Thus $3\frac{1}{8}$ fanams made a rupee and $12\frac{1}{2}$ of them a Sultanee pagoda. The Sultanee fanams gradually became depreciated in value and in 1790-91 only $13\frac{1}{2}$ of them could make a pagoda of the value of four rupees. This was either due to their large number or the manipulations of the Shroffs. Anyway though the Sultanee fanam was $16\frac{3}{4}\%$ higher in value than the Hyderee fanam which it supplanted its excess value in process of time fell to $13\frac{3}{8}\%$ and still later even to 10%[6].

1. Mr. Agnew's account, July 1793.
2. *Joint Commission report*, 1793.
3. *Ibid.*
4. Mr. Agnew's account, July 1793.
5. Henderson, *Coins of Hyder Ali and Tippoo.*
6. *Commissioner's report*, 1801.

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In the schedule attached to the Treaty of Seringapatam, 1792 it may be noted that Tippoo had valued his mint profits at 30,000 pagodas. It is possible that they might not have reached that level.

At first Tippoo's revenue accounts were maintained and reckoned in Cunterai pagoda, nominal like pound sterling. Such a pagoda or hoon was valued at 10 fanams. Its rate of exchange was often arbitrary though generally it ranged from $3\,^1/_9$ rupees to $3\,^1/_{13}$ rupees. Fanams upto forty were reckoned only as such ; but fifty fanams would be put down as five Hoons. Thus the Cunterai Hoon was only a matter of account, used for simplicity in reckoning. Subsequently, however, Tippoo appears to have adopted the Sultanee Chakram as the standard of his accounts. He fixed a certain rate of which the different types of coins were to be received in his treasury. Singam Pillai, one of the principal revenue officers under his government, refers to instances in which nearly 120 different coins were received in his treasury and reduced at first to Sultanee fanams and then to Sultanee Chakrams. The Sultanee Chakram was a nominal coin equal in value to the Cunterai pagoda ; their mutual difference was only in name. But once again the Cunterai pagoda or hoon became the accepted standard and in the treaty of Seringapatam it was made use of in preparing the revenue accounts shown in the attached schedule.

After Malabar passed under the English Company the mint was removed back to Calicut. The new coins, called Vir Rayen fanams, were small in size. They bore the Zamorin's stamp and were in circulation in his territories. The fanam was composed of copper, silver and gold and enjoyed no standard value. Sixteen visoms constituted such a fanam. In contrast to the old coinage, the new one possessed in every ten fanams (or one Hoon of account) $1\frac{1}{4}$ grain of superior touch of metal. Just like the Sultanee fanam, the new Vir Rayen too became rapidly depreciated in value so that in spite of superiority in weight $10\frac{1}{2}$ Vir Rayens could purchase only ten Sultanees. The Zamorin also minted copper pice called Puthans and there were double, single, half and quarter pice.

At first all the utensils of the mint were with the Zamorin. In 1792 the Calicut mint was farmed to him[7] for Rs. 15,000. But in June, 1793 it was arranged that the direction and control of the mint in all details should be subject to the orders of the Company. The net profit was to be equally divided between the Company and the Zamorin.[8]

7. *Bombay Commission's diary*, 5 September 1792.
8. *Agreement with the Zamorin*, 1793.

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There were, in Malabar at this time, several coins in circulation. The troops from Travancore brought with them the silver Chakrams eight of which could be exchanged for an old Vir Rayen fanam; they rapidly died out. Similarly the Hyderee and Sultanee fanams also were fast disappearing. The old Vir Rayens once again were becoming popular. The Venetians, Moidores and Dollars were common but they held no fixed standard of exchange. Bahadur, Sultanee and Ikeri (or Mangalore) hoons also were current.

In the south, the ryots paid their rent to the land-owners in gold fanams, old or new and sometimes, in other coins as well. There was no fixed rule, however. The Company accepted the Bombay rupee as the standard for estimating the value of other coins. The pay of the soldier was fixed in Bombay rupee. At the Tellicherry treasury, in north Malabar, gold Venetians, rupees, pagodas and silver fanams were received.[9]

It was soon realised that the Company should have one standard coinage for its establishment. One of the suggestions was that the Zamorin's coinage should be made current throughout Malabar. But the coins were too small for convenient exchange. Mr. Murdoch Brown proposed the minting of gold mohur (sixteen rupees) and half, quarter, one-eighth and one-sixteenth mohurs and silver coins like half and quarter rupees and fanams (at the rate of five for a rupee). He was of the view that the Company could have its copper coins brought from Europe. Sir John Shore, in his minute on the Joint Commission Report, expressed his desire to have new coinage for circulation in Malabar. As already stated, the new Vir Rayens had become very much depreciated in value and so the local merchants were unable to make their foreign payments in debased coinage except at a loss. This was another reason that prompted the idea of new coinage. Moreover the Company felt that the old inscriptions on the coins were inconsistent with its sovereignty in Malabar. In 1796 it was therefore resolved[10] that the minting of gold fanams at Calicut should be discontinued. The stoppage was however temporary as the coins were popular among the people of the interior. In case of the introduction of new coins, the Company would purchase the fanams at its own expense in anticipation of huge profits in the future.

In 1796-97 the coins circulating in north Malabar were very much inadequate in number. Hence the Company agreed to pay and receive in gold fanams also in future.[11] There was a large quantity of such coins in the treasury at Calicut and they could be easily diverted to the

9. *Joint Commission's diary*, 28 March 1793.
10. *Second* (Malabar) *Commission's Revenue diary*, 15 July 1796.
11. *Government Committee Diary*, 14 July 1797.

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north for circulation. Such a step would also facilitate exchange between the merchants of the north and those of the south. Yet the ryots in the north continued to pay their revenues in silver fanams only.

In the region of Palghat the accounts were kept in Feringy or Portonovo pagodas or Varahans, Pudamani or Vir Rayen Fanams and Kas (copper). Various other types also prevailed. The minting of Kas was exclusively farmed to a person for a fixed annual sum to be paid to the Government. It was in circulation in the villages and the bazars in Palghat. The farmer issued the Kas coins at the rate of 22 for a fanam and at the end of the year bought the old ones at the rate of forty. The petty traders were of course at a disadvantage. In 1797, therefore, the Government decided to abolish the Kas farming and introduce its own copper coins in the region.[12] As far as the copper coinage at Tellicherry was concerned, it consisted of Paisas, ten of which made a silver fanam.

Towards 1800-01 the Company's accounts, as sent to the head-quarters at Calicut, came to be reckoned in Rupees, Quarters and Reas, one hundred Reas making a quarter. The revenue settlements were effected in terms of Hoon, Fanam and Kas (Forty Kas were equal to a fanam and ten fanams to a Hoon). In the bazars the Rupee remained the standard of exchange.

With the help of the administrative reports of Mr. Wye and Mr. Strachey, the relative values of the different coins as prevalent in 1800-01 may be given below :—

(*A*) *South Malabar* :

(1) 1 Hoon	= 10	new Vir Rayen Fanams
(2) 1 old Vir Rayen	= $\frac{7}{8}$	,, ,, ,,
(3) 1 Star pagoda	= $12\frac{1}{2}$	,, ,, ,,
(4) 1 Portonovo pagoda	= $11\frac{3}{8}$	,, ,, ,,
(5) 1 Bombay rupee	= $3\frac{3}{4}$	,, ,, ,,
(6) 1 Surat rupee	= $3\frac{1}{2}$	,, ,, ,,
(7) 5 Silver fanams	= $3\frac{1}{2}$	,, ,, ,,
(8) 1 Gold Mohur	= 56	,, ,, ,,
(9) 1 Moidores	= $64\frac{3}{4}$	,, ,, ,,

12. *Government Committee diary*, 8 October 1797.

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(*B*) *North Malabar*:

(1) 1 Bombay rupee	= 5	Silver fanams	
(2) $3\frac{1}{2}$ gold fanams	= 5	,,	,,
(3) 1 Venetian	= 25	,,	,,
(4) 1 Star pagoda	= $18\frac{1}{8}$	,,	,,
(5) 1 Portonovo pagoda	= $16\frac{1}{4}$	,,	,,
(6) 1 Mohur	= 80	,,	,,
(7) 10 Copper pice	= 1	,,	,,

In 1802 it was felt that the existing rate of exchange should be modified and regulated. For example, the star pagoda was found to contain seven fanams' value of pure gold and according to the prevalent rate it was exchanged in south Malabar for $12\frac{1}{2}$ Vir Rayens which contained only $5\frac{7}{8}$ fanams' value of gold. To remedy this it was proposed to regulate and equalise the exchange of all the current coins according to a prescribed table of rates. Such a measure was expected to remedy the loss that Malabar sustained in its trade with the adjacent countries. The Beypore proclamation on 31 August, 1802 erroneously fixed the exchange rates of nearly 23 current coins received and issued in the treasury as they were then rated and exchanged in Coimbatore. The new exchange was to be obseeved from 15 September, 1802. The new table of rates lowered the value of gold fanams from $3\frac{1}{2}$ to $4^{7}/_{32}$ per rupee (from $12\frac{1}{4}$ to $14^{49}/_{64}$ per star pagoda) and the value of silver fanams from 5 to $5\frac{1}{2}$ per rupee (from $17\frac{1}{2}$ to $19\frac{1}{4}$ per star pagoda). It was later reported[13] to the Board of Revenue that the rates promulgated "in fact raised the revenue in every individual.....20 % in gold fanam and 10% in silver while, for their commodities in the markets.....they could get only the old rates of $3\frac{1}{2}$ gold and 5 silver fanams per rupee." Anyway the new table of rates was cancelled in 1803.

In 1805 the Government authorised the opening of a mint at Tellicherry for making silver Vir Rayen fanams.[14]

In 1807 the Government announced, by-proclamation, the withdrawal from circulation (in the territories under Madras Government) of gold and silver coins like Ikeri pagodas, Venetians, Headed Venetians, Moidores, Dollars, Spanish Dollars, Sultanee Rupees and Pondicherry Rupees. It returned to the treasury, at Calicut their equivalent was to be paid in other coins at the established provincial rates of exchange.

13. From Mr. Rickards to Board of Revenue, 27 April 1803.
14. *Collectorate records*, vol. 2240 (12-3-1805).

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Even after 1807, Bombay and Surat Gold Mohurs and Surat Rupees were current in Malabar. The internal coinage continued to consist of gold and silver fanams, old and new. Even as late as 1820 there still continued five kinds of new and nine kinds of old fanams in Malabar.

The period under review therefore was characterised by a variety of types of coins with their rates of exchange changing from time to time. It is one of transition indicating the changed political status of the Company as well as the ruling chiefs of Malabar. The reduction of the system of coinage to uniformity and simplicity was certainly a long-sketched process.

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EARLY RELATIONS OF THE PORTUGUESE WITH THE SYRIAN CHRISTIANS OF MALABAR 1500–1552

Dr. George Moraes

When the King of Portugal sent out his men on the quest of the sea-route to the Indies, one of his most urgent instructons to these explorers was that they should diligently search for Christians in all those remote regions lying on their route. How profoundly the religious aspect of their mission inspired these pioneers is evident from the instinctive reply of the very first Portuguese whom Vasco da Gama sent ashore on reaching Calicut in 1498. When angrily accosted by a Muslim, he answered that they had come to seek the Christians and spices.

Vasco da Gama does no seem to have made any attempt to look for Christians either at Calicut or Cananore on this his first voyage to India. He could have certainly sought for them at either of these places, but would seem to have refrained from doing so for fear of rousing the suspicion of the rulers against the Christian community. And so it was left to Pedro Alvares Cabral, who headed the second Portuguese expedition to India in 1500,[1] to make the acquaintance of the Syrian Christians of Malabar.

Despite the conclusion of a treaty with the Zamorin of Calicut, Cabral found his relations with the latter steadily deteriorating, and he had perforce to turn for an alliance to the Zamorin's rival, the King of Cochin.[2] In the friendly atmosphere of Cochin there was no need for observing any reserve, and the native Christians freely fraternized with their brethren from distant Europe. The relations between them grew so intimate that two of these Malabar Christians, the brothers Matthias and John, successfully prevailed on Cabral to take them to Portugal. They wanted to go on a pilgrimage to Rome and Jerusalem, and then visit their Patriarch in Antioch. Matthias died in Portugal, but John was able to proceed on his journey to Italy. At Venice he was lionized by the citizens who were curious to know something of his Christianity which was reputed to have been planted by St. Thomas the Apostle. And from the information he gave them a whole volume was compiled in Latin entitled *Novus Orbis*.[3]

1. João de Barros, *Da Asia*, decada I, l. V, ch. I, p. 384.

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The relations between the Portuguese and the Christians took a somewhat political turn in 1502 when Vasco da Gama came on his second voyage to India. At Cochin he received a deputation of these St. Thomas Christians. They complained to him that they were being persecuted by the non-Christians among whom they lived, and the community was in danger of being completely destroyed. They begged da Gama to take them under his protection, and save these Chirstian people who were a memorial to the work and martyrdom of St. Thomas. In return they offered their allegiance to da Gama as the representative of one of the most Catholic and powerful kings of Christendom. And as a token of their submission they offered him what they had always prized as their valued possession, the rod of justice. This rod was coloured red, and appeared like a sceptre. It was also embellished with silver at both ends, one of which had three silver bells attached to it.

Vasco da Gama was highly pleased with this offer and assured them that it was his mission to look after the interests of the Christians wherever they be. He knew the oppressive conditions under which they lived, but regretted his inability owing to shortness of time to do anything at the moment to assuage their distress. He however promised that he would leave instructions with one of his captains, who was then at Cananore, and that they should have recourse to this captain in case of need. He also told them that he would move the King of Portugal on their behalf and they could confidently expect a a royal writ by the very first fleet to leave Portugal and with this writ they would be consoled. And in order that they may go satisfied with the result of their deputation he made them a present of a sword.[4]

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 442.

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 446-47. The author here refers to the Latin translation of the book by Simon Grynaeus, published at Basle 1532. The original works written in Venetian Italian by Fracan-Montalboddo, and published in 1507 under the title: Paesi nouamente retrouati et Novo Mondo da Alberico Vesputio Florentino initulato with the Colophon: Stampato in Vicentia con la impensa de Magistro Henrico Vicentino & diligente cura & industria de Zanmaria suo fiol nel Mccccc. VII a/di III de Nouembre. It is an extremely rare book. According to Fr. George Schurhammer there are additions and omissions in the Latin translation, which what the essential changes made by the editor is not true to the original and therefore unreliable. This Latin translation gives the narration of Alouise da Ca da Mosto about his voyage to West Africa in 1463, a relation of the voyage of Vasco da Gama to India in 1497, and the Indian countries, of the voyage of Cabral in 1500, of those of Columbus and Vespucci, and finally in the 6th book some contemporary letters from Lisbon about Cabral's voyage, to which the editor adds chapters 229-242 about Joseph the Indian according to the relations of those who conversed with him during his sojourn in Venice. Earlier in 1490 this Joseph had joined the delegation from the St. Thomas Christians to the Catholicos of the East Syrians in Gazarta Bet Zabdai in Mesopotamia, to ask for bishops to the Malabar Church, and was himself ordained priest by the Catholicos, 'being fairly well-instructed.' This information is found in the MS. referred to in note 4 below and also in the present work. Schurhammer, "The Malabar Church and Rome before the coming of the Portuguese, Joseph the Indian's Testimony," *Kerala Society Papers*, II, 11, pp. 291-92. In this important article Fr. Schurhammer has given excerpts from the original edition of 1507 in Venetian Italian alongside the translation of these passages into English.

4. Barros *op. cit.* II, pp. 62-65.

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Vasco da Gama was as good as his word. It was no doubt at his instance that D. Manoel wrote a letter to one of these Christians, also named Matthias, who was possibly the leader of the deputation. Matthias was a man of substace. Two years later he is found supplying a cargo of spices to a number of ships in the Portuguese fleet homeward bound.[5] In his letter the Portuguese monarch promised succour to these ancient Christians. And on their behalf Matthias thanked him for the help that he had so generously promised, saying, 'All of us were in need of (learning) many things (of the Faith) which we did not know; nor had we teachers to teach them to us. But God opened for us this route which permits your people to come to this country for the salvation of our souls.'[6]

The appearance of the Portuguese in Malabar with considerable military power was indeed a great encouragement to this Christian minority threatened with extinction by the power, numbers and weath of the followers of the crescent who were in league with the Hindu princes of the Malabar coast. Thus it was that when the bishops Mar Yahballaha, Mar Denha, Mar Thomas and Mar Jacob, who had been sent by the Catholicos of the East Syrians in Mesopotamia to govern this Indian Christian community, landed in Malabar in 1503, they wrote to the Catholicos in the most enthusiastic terms of the Portuguese: 'May you also know, Fathers, that from the Occident powerful ships have been sent to these countries of India by the king of the Christians, who are our bretheren the *Franks*. Their voyage took them the whole year, and they sailed first towards the South and circumnavigated Kush, which is called Habesh. From there they came to this country of India, purchased pepper and other merchandises and returned to their land.

'By this way thus explored the said king (whom may God preserve in safety!) sent six other huge ships, with which they crossed the sea in half a year and came to the town of Calicut, people extremely well-versed in nautical science.'[7]

5. Antonio da Silva Rego, *Doeumentação para affictoria das Missões do Padroado Portuguescs do Oriente. India*, vol. I, p. 26.

6. *Ibid.*, pp. 26-28.

7. Schurhammer, "Three Letters of Mar Jacob," *Gregorianum*, vol. XIV, pp. 66. English translation. The account is preserved in a copy of the end of the 16th century in Codex of Vatic. Fondo Siriaco 204 v-160 in the Vatican Library and edited in Syriac with Latin translale on by J. S. Assemani in his *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, Romæ, 1725, III, p. I; 589-97, given in the Vatic. Syr. 204. According to Cardinal Tisserant it is a strange compilation of Arab and Syriac texts in Nestorian characters brought from the East by Andre Scander, following his mission of 1718-21. Tisserant, "Syro-Malabare (L'Eglise)," *Diclionnaire de la Theologie Cutholique*, vol. XIV, c. 8097. An earlier English translation by H. Hoston, "The St. Thomas Christians of Malabar," had appeared in *Kerala Society's Papers*, Series 5, pp. 225-53 from the same source.

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On disembarking at Cananore the Bishops were welcomed by the Factor and treated with the usual heart-warming Portuguese hospitality. And so the grateful prelates reported to the Catholicos: 'We were received by them with the greatest joy and they gave us beautiful vestments and 20 gold drachmas and honoured our pilgrimage exceedingly for Christ's sake. We remained with them two and half months and they told us, we also should on a certain day celebrate the holy mysteries, that is to say, offer the Holy Sacrifice. And they destined for it a beautiful place fit for prayer, wherein there was a kind of Oratory. Their priests offer daily the Holy Sacrifice, for othis is their custom and rite.

Therefore, on Sunday Nosardel,[8] after their priest had celebrated, we also were admitted and celebrated the Holy Sacrifice, and it was pleasing in their eyes.'[9]

Nothing much is heard of the bishops during this early period. According to the information supplied to Joao de Barros, the Portuguese historian, two of the bishops, Mar Yaballaha and Mar Denha, died soon after their arrival.[10] Mar John, who had been in Malabar before them since 1490-91, either preceded or followed them to the grave[11] and Mar Jacob and Mar Thomas divided the juridictions between themselves and established their sees at Quilon and Cananore respectively.[12]

The Portuguese continued to maintain the most cordial relations with the Christians of St. Thomas. In 1510 Albuquerque ordered the Factor of Cochin to give 10,000 fanams to the Abuna (bishop) of Cranganore either in cash or in kind for stopping leakages in the roof of the church and for other repairs.[12a] In the treaty which he concluded in 1516 with the Queen of Travancore, Lopo Soares, Albuquerque's successor, imposed a condition that the government of Travancore should rebuild the church of St. Thomas at Quilon which had been destroyed in 1505, and restore their ancient rights to the Christians of St. Thomas.[12b]

There however could have been no doubt in the mind of the Portuguese clergy that the St. Thomas Christians, though they were Cathoics in all but commnion with Rome, yet held certain notions

8. 7th Sunday after Pentecost.
9. Schurhammer, *op. cit.*, p. 68.
10. Barros, decada III, l. VI ch. XI p. 401.
11. Francisco de Souza, *Oriente Conquistado*, 2, 1, 2, 16.
12. Barros, *loc. cit.*

12a. Silva Rego, *op. cit.*, p. 68.
12b. *Ibid.*, p. 106.

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savouring of Nestorianism, which the former could not but disapprove.[12c] And so as years passed efforts were made to purge them of these notions and to bring them into line with the Roman Church. The experienced missionaries rightly felt that this was too delicate a task, which could only be accomplished by degrees. And it is significant that St. Francis Xavier during his apostolate of ten years (1542-1552) went even so far as to propose that in the invocation of the Blessed Virgin the words 'Holy Mary, Mother of Jesus Christ, Son of God' be substituted for the usual formula 'Mother of God.'[13] True, St. Francis Xavier was not working among the St. Thomas Christians when he proposed this change, but among the Paravas that had been recently converted. All the same he was in the region occupied by the St. Thomas Christians, and did not wish to offend their ear by a formula to which they had not been accustomed for centuries and excite their prejudices against the Church. But Fr. Alvaro Penteado to whose care these Christians at San Thomé (Mylapore near madras) were committed by orders of the king went the whole hog, and in so doing made himself most unpopular. 'Your Highness has sent here a priest named Penteado,' wrote Fr. Sebastiao Pires, the Vicar General, to the King in his letter of 16th December, 1527. 'He does not seem to be quite fit to instruct them, for he is impetuous and irritable, and the people who are Christians since the time of St. Thomas are greatly dissatisfied with him, and this they have told me many times. And in order to verify this Your Highness has only to consider the fact that though he has been occupied with this work for ten years he has not baptized a single person. Send me an order appointing me (for this work) and Your Highness will see what results I shall achieve in one year. These Christians are on good terms with me."[14]

12c. From the account of Fr. Joseph (*cf.* note above) it seem that their communion with Rome had been severed by circumstances beyond their control. Fr. Joseph correctly stated the position of his Church, when asked by Pope Alexander as to the source of the authority of his Catholicha, he replied : " At the time of Simon Magus, Peter was Pontiff in Antiochtia. And as the Christians in the pets of Rome were molested by the craft of this Simon Magus, and as there was nobody who could withstand him, they sent to Saint Peter entreating him to transfer himself to Rome. So he left a Vicar behind in his place and went to Rome. And this is the one who at present is calld Catholicha and he *rules in the name of Peter.* And as regards the creation of the said Pontiff or Catholicha the 12 aforesaid Cardinals betake themselves to th province of Armenia, where they create their Pontiff, which authority they say they have from the Roman Pontiff." The Portuguese historian Damiao de Goes who had met Fr . Joseph and obtained his information about the Malabar Church from the latter further elucidates the position of this Church in his *Cronica do Felicissimo Rei D. Manuel* (ed. 1926), pt. I, pp. 214-16, which leaves no doubt about its close approximation to the Catholic Church. *Cf.* Antonio da Silva Rego, *Historia das Missoes do Padroado Portugues do Oriente, India*, vol. I, p. 382. For the English translation of the passage from Damião de Goes may I refer the reader to my brochure, *St. Francis Xavier Apostolic Nuncio* 1542-52, p. 7, published in 1952 to commemorate the Fourth Centenary of the death of the great Saint and Apostle, and which had originally appeared in *JBBRAS*, vol. XXVIII, of the new series.

13. *Monumenta Xaveriana*, I, tome I, pp. 273 Sq., 283 cited by Tisserant, *op. cit.*, c. 8100.

14. Silva Rego, *op. cit.*, vol. II, pp. 143-44.

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The Dominican Friar Vincent de Laguna had heard reports against Fr. Penteado from the Portuguese on the Coromandel coast. And so he wrote to the King condemning Penteado in stronger terms: 'Your Highness knows that at San Tomé there are countless Christians, who are instructed as you have ordered. The administration of the Christians and of the church of the Apostle is in the hands of a priest called Alvaro Penteado. From what the Portuguese write about him he knows very little and is very dissolute. They wrote many things about him to the Governor, and then drove him away from there, saying that if he returned they would kill him on account of his bad example.'[15]

Penteado suspected Nestorianism in every rite and ceremony of the Malabar Church and would appear to have determined on an instantaneous reformation of the Church and its practices. Writing about the previling practices he says: 'Their baptism is in Greek, and it appears to me to be Nestorian. Before baptism they bless the beans and fruit in the mouth of the child, naming it, as of old, and which, as I believe, still continues amongst the Greeks. They go to baptism in seasons, *i.e.*, from Easter to Easter. Nor do they use salt, or have confirmation. They have no individual but a general confession. They receive the Eucharist in oil and salt. They dont elevate the chalice at all, and they divide the Host into many parts.....'[16]

But happily for the harmony among Christians the religions affairs in Malabar were in the safe hands of the Franciscans. They very wisely got round Bishop Jacob, and through his intsrumentality reconciled a large number of the St. Thomas Christians to the Catholic Church.[17] But even the Franciscans wished needlessly ot latinize the Malabar Church. 'There is a Christian (in Cranganore) called Simon,' wrote the Franciscan commissary Friar Laurenço do Goes, 'who lives nine or ten leagues from Cochin.....He is the first that buildt a church in our style. I went to help him and we made altars, and there I said mass and administered baptism to many. Through the influence of the old man not a soul is left unbaptized there.'[18] In 1541 Friar Vincent de Lagos established a college at Cranganore for the education of the sons of the St. Thomas Christians, and very soon a hundred boys from the best families were gathered in this college.[19] Mar Jacob helped the friars in their mission. He even ageed to the acceptance of the Latin rite by some of his flock. But Mar Thomas resisted. Writing to the

15. *Ibid.*, pp. 196-97.
16. *Ibid.*, pp. 359.
17. *Ibid.*, pp. 189-90.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 245.
19. J. Wicki, *Documenta Indica*, vol. II, 87, 8.

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King in December 1536 Friar Lourenço de Goes obsrved that he was of ' pouqua ajuda ', and taught many erroneous doctrines specially with regard to confession, but that he had since repented, having been well entertained as a guest for a year in the Franciscan monastery at Goa.[20]

Though they were not as statesmanlike as himself in their endeavour to make the path to Rome easy for the St. Thomas Christians, St. Francis Xavier appreciated the work of Friar Vincent and his fellow-Franciscam who were wearing themselves out in their service. And so when the Friar requested him to write to Loyola for obtaining from the Holy See plenary indulgences for the two churches of St. Thomas and St. James in the fort of Cranganore on the days of their respecive feasts together with their octaves, he readily consented, and wrote to Loyola that he should try to obtain the indulgences through his efforts ' for the greater increase of devotion among the Christians of the land who are descendants of those whom St. Thomas converted and who are themselves very devout.'[21] He also recommended for the consideration of the Portuguese monarch the old and saintly Bishop, Mar Jacob, who for forty-five years had laboured hard in the service of the Christians of St. Thomas and His Highness and who 'now in his old age was very obedient to the customs of the Holy Mother the church of Rome.' He requested the King that he should bid his Governor and the other Portuguese authorities accord him due honour and kindness, when he approached them for some favour, at the same time reminding the King that ' he stood more in need of the Bishop's prayers than the Bishop of his temporal favours.'[22]

It was Xavier's desire that these Christians of St. Thomas should find an honoured place in the ' Asia Portuguesa.' And so when he saw that they were not treated as they deserved, and that those of them that traded in papper were being actually cheated by the Portuguese merchants in regard to weights and measures, he contrived through his friend, Fr. Michael Vaz, the Vicar General, whom he deputed to Portugal to place the religious affairs before the King, that the King should order D. Joâo de Castro, the Governor, personally to see to it that these Christian merchants were no longer so defrauded and their ancient customs of trade were scrupulously maintained. On this occasion, the King was pleased to issue definite instructions in regard to the St. Thomas Christians, and in the course of this he commended them for being such good Christians as he was told thy were, and expressed his gratitude

20. *Ibid.*, pp. 248-44.

21. Schurhammer and Wicki, *Epistolae S. Francisci Xavieri* (Rome : apud Monumenta Historica Soc, Jesu, 1944), vol. I, 70, 18.

22. *Ibid.*, 77, 4.

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for the loyalty with which they served him which justified the confidence he reposed in them. He promised to favour them always, and lest the promise remain a dead letter, he charged Michael Vaz with the duty of investigating if any injury be done to them and of looking after their interests as meticulously as if they were the interests of the Crown, and instructed him that in case there were complaints, he should immediately move the Governor for redress and report all matters to him. [23]

28. Wicki, *op. cit.*, vol. I, 11, 10.

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APPENDICES

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INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS ASSOCIATION

Annual Report 1958

The Secretary has pleasure in placing before the members of the Indian History Congress Association the Report for the year 1958.

Membership

During the year under review, about 400 members enrolled themselves, distributed state-wise as follows :—Andhra 19 ; Assam 7 ; Bihar 45 ; Bombay 102 ; Delhi 20 ; Kashmir 2 ; Kerala 5 ; Madhya Pradesh 21 ; Madras 12 ; Mysore 12 ; Orissa 11 ; Punjab 6 ; Rajasthan 11; U. P. 40 and West Bengal 124. It will thus be seen that during the year our membership has increased by 150, a circumstance which shows that considerable interest is being evinced throughout the country in the activities of the Association.

Necrology

2. It is with deep sorrow that we record the sad demise of three eminent scholars, *viz.*, Sir Jadunath Sarkar, Sir John Marshall and Prof. G. B. Pandya. Sir Jadunath was one of the greatest historians that India has produced. His works on Aurangzeb, Shivaji and the later Mughals have now become classics, throwing entirely new light on the period of history covered by him. He also brought out a translation of Persian manuscripts and was at his death engaged on his last work *The Military History of India from* 323 *B.C. to A.D.* 1803, *i.e.*, from Alexander to Wellington, which is his last gift to our country.

3. In Sir John Marshall, we have lost an Archaeologist of international repute who was responsible for the re-organisation of the Indian Archaeological Survey in 1902. He co-ordinated the results obtained from the exavations at Mahenjodaro and Harappa following in the wake of the epoch-making discoveries of R. D. Banerji, in a monumental work, which gave a new orientation to the existing ideas regarding the antiquity of Indian civilisation. He believed that Archaeological knowledge could only be diffused by means of local museums ; and during his tenure of office as Director-General of Archaeology of over 25 years, he founded scores of Archaeological museums all over the country, in which antiquities as and when discovered are being exhibited and made available for study.

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4. Prof. G.B. Pandya was a promising scholar who had been recently promoted to the Chair of History in the M. S. University of Baroda. It is a matter of deep regret that a scholar holding out such high promise should be cut off by a cruel fate in the prime of life. He had projected the publication of a series of volumes from the records of the Gaekwad of Baroda ; and we understand that a couple of volumes of these records are ready for the press.

Work Done

5. Soon after we took charge of the Indian History Congress Association, one our first tasks was to get an invitation for holding the Twenty-first Session. We are happy to record that Dr. John Mathai, Vice-Chancellor, University of Kerala, promptly responded to our request and invited us to meet at Trivandrum under the auspices of the Kerala University. We are profoundly grateful to him and to the Univerversity for their kind invitation and to the State Government of Kerala for their generous help and co-operation.

In particular, our best thanks are due to His Excellency Dr. B. Ramakrishna Rao, Governor, Kerala State and Chancellor, Kerala University, for inaugurating this Session, to Shri E. M. Sankaran Nambudiripad, Chief Minister, Kerala State, for opening the Historical Exhibition, and to Prof. Joseph Mundasseri, Education Minister, Kerala State and Pro-Chancellor, Kerala University, for presiding over the Local History Section and identifying himself generally with the activities of the Association.

6. It may be mentioned that the State Government of Assam have graciously invited the Indian History Congress Association to hold its Session at Gauhati next year and the Executive Committee has thankfully accepted the invitation.

7. The Executive Committee appointed a Sub-committee consisting of MM. Prof. D. V. Potdar, Dr. P. M. Joshi, Dr. George Moraes, Dr. V. G. Hatalkar and Dr. V. D. Rao to express their opinion on the Historical Records (of National Importance) Bill, 1957, introduced in Parliament by Dr. Raghuvir Sinh. The Committee accepted the principles underlying the Bill and forwarded its observations to Parliament.

8. The Volume of Proceedings of the Twentieth Session of the Indian History Congress, held at Vallabh Vidyanagar last year, has been printed and will now be distributed to members.

Acknowledgement

9. We are happy to observe that the Ministry of Education, the Ministry of Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs, and the Ministry of Defence, Government of India, and the State Governments of Assam,

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Bombay, Kerala and West Bengal and a number of Universities and Learned Institutes, both in India and abroad, have deputed their representatives to attend the Session. To all of them we take this opportunity of acknowledging their kindness.

10. We are thankful to the Local Executive Committee and the Reception Committee for making our stay here at Trivandrum very comfortable, interesting and instructive, and to Prof. V. Narayana Pillai, Chairman of the Executive Committee, and to Prof. P. S. Raghavan, Local Secretary, Indian History Congress, for their untiring efforts in helping to make the Session an unqualified success.

SENATE HOUSE,
UNIVERSITY OF KERALA, TRIVANDRUM,
27th December, 1958.

GEORGE M. MORAES,
General Secretary.

TWENTY-FIRST SESSION, 1958, TRIVANDRUM

TREASURER'S REPORT FOR THE YEAR 1957

I herewith present the report of the income and expenditure of the Indian History Congress Association for the year ending 31st. Dec. '57. The total membership stood at 304 including 54 Life Members. Only two Life Members were enrolled during the session.

The year under review opened with Rs. 1136-56 as Cash in hand, Rs. 8015-33 in current account, so the opening balance was Rs. 9151-89 only. This includes Rs. 5000/- of Dugar's Fund set apart for specific purpose. There is in Fixed Deposit Rs. 2923-19.

The total receipts during the year under review including the opening balance and the fixed deposit amount came to Rs. 16387-11. Of this, Rs. 3735/- came from membership fee and Rs. 400/- from Life-Membership fee. The total expenditure during the period amounted to Rs. 7093-39, of which Rs. 4804-75 were spent in the publication of the Agra volume, Rs. 675/- towards salary, Rs. 474-39 towards postage and Rs. 547-53 towards printing and stationery, and the rest in other items (*vide* Balance Sheet).

So on 31st December 1957, the Congress accounts stood as follows:— Rs. 1270-28 Cash in hand, Rs. 5058-44 in current Account with the State Bank of India and Rs. 2965/- in fixed deposit.

V. G. HATALKAR,
Treasurer.

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INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS

Statement of Receipts and Payments for the Year ended on 31st Dec. 1957

RECEIPTS	Rs.	nP.	PAYMENTS	Rs.	nP.
To Opening Balance :			By Postage and Telegram	474	89
Cash in hand	1,186	56	„ Miscellaneous Exp.	122	55
With State Bank of India :			„ Travelling Allowance	204	09
In Current account	8,015	33	„ Printing and Stationery	547	53
In Fixed Deposit	2,923	19	„ Salary	675	00
„ Subscription	3,735	00	„ Subscription	—	—
„ Life Membership fee	400	00	„ Publication Charges	4,804	75
„ Received from Members collection charges ...	5	72	„ Bank Charges	21	70
„ Interest of Fixed Deposit	43	81	„ Audit fee	50	00
„ Sale of Proceedings	112	50	„ Govt. Grant Refund	168	37
„ Advance subscription for 1958	15	00	„ Adjustment for conversion into new coinage	0	01
			„ Furniture	25	00
			„ Closing Balance :		
			Cash in hand	1,270	28
			With State Bank :		
			In Current account	5,058	44
			In Fixed Deposit	2,965	00
Total	16,387	11	Total	16,387	11

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Income and Expenditure Statement for the Year ended on 31st December, 1957

EXPENDITURE	Rs.	nP.	INCOME	Rs.	nP.
To Postage and Telegram	474	39	By Life Membership Fee	400	00
,, Miscellaneous Expenses	122	55	,, Subscription	3,735	00
,, Travelling Allowance	204	09	,, Bank Collection	5	72
,, Printing & Stationery	547	53	,, Sale of Proceedings	112	50
,, Salary	675	00	,, Balance being Excess of Expenditure over Income carried over to Balance Sheet ...	2,815	17
,, Publication Charges	4,804	75			
,, Bank charges	21	70			
,, Audit fee	50	00			
,, Govt. Grant refund in respect of receipt in previous year	168	37			
,, Adjustment for conversion into new coingage ...	0	01			
Total	7,068	89	Total	7,068	89

Patna, 2nd May, 1958.

S. N. DATTA AND CO.,
Chartered Accountants.

B. B. SINHA,
Accountant.

B. P. SINHA,
Treasurer.

K. K. DATTA,
Secretary.

Please refer to our report on the Balance Sheet as at 31st December, 1957 enclosed.

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INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS

Balance Sheet as at 31st December, 1957.

GENERAL FUND	Rs.	nP.		Rs.	nP.
As per last account	4,370	89	*Cash in Hand*		
Less Excess of Expenditure over Income ...	2,815	17	As certified	1,270	28
	1,555	72	*State Bank of India*		
Dugar Rajasthan Fund	5,000	00	In Current Account as certified	5,058	44
Reserve Fund	2,967	00	In Fixed Deposit for reserve Fund *vide* Receipt No. 50776 and 50777	2,965	00
Advance	55	00	*Advance*	210	00
			Furniture as per last a/c Rs. 49 00		
			Addition during the year 25 00	74	00
Total	9,577	72	Total	9,577	72

AUDITORS' REPORT

We have checked the above statement with the Cash-Book and vouchers of the Indian History Congress.

It is to be noted that

(*i*) we are informed that the Dugar Rajasthan Fund Rs. 5000/- is not invested separately, and therefore, is mixed up with the other moneys and represented by the debit balance in the current account with the State Bank of India, Patna ;

(*ii*) the Reserve Fund Rs. 2,923-19 had been invested in Fixed Deposit and therefore Rs. 43-81 earned as interest and re-deposited in Fixed Deposit has been added to it. Thus it is represented by the total value of two fixed deposits in Receipt No. 50776-7 Rs. 2,965-00 and the balance of Rs. 2/- is mixed up with the figures in current account ;

(*iii*) the debit balance of Rs. 210/- and credit balance of Rs. 40/- in Advance of previous years should have been adjusted ;

(*iv*) the cash in Bank as on 31st December 1957 has been reconciled with the certificate given by the Bankers ;

(*v*) the cash on hand as on 31st December 1957 has been certified by the Officers ;

We further report that the Balance Sheet and the annexed Statements of Receipts and Payments and Income and Expenditure Account have been drawn up in accordance with the books and papers of the Indian History Congress, and the information and the explanations given to us and as shown by its Cash Book.

Patna, 2nd May, 1958.

S. N. DATTA AND CO.,
Chartered Accountants.

B. B. SINHA,
Accountant.

B. P. SINHA,
Treasurer.

K. K. DATTA,
Secretary.

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INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS

Trivandrum Session 1958

Draft Budget Estimates for 1958 *and* 1959

	Income of 1958	*Estimates for* 1959
	Rs. nP.	Rs. nP.
Life Membership fee	200 00	200 00
Membership fee	4500 00	4500 00
Sale of Proceedings	100 00	100 00
Interest on Fixed Deposit	40 00	75 00
	4840 00	4875 00

	1958	1959
	Rs. nP.	Rs. nP.
Establishment	700 00	700 00
Printing of Proceedings	4000 00	4000 00
Postage	400 00	400 00
Stationery	100 00	100 00
Printing of circulars etc.	400 00	400 00
Bank Commission	30 00	30 00
Audit charge	50 00	50 00
Miscellaneous	100 00	100 00
Travelling Allowances	100 00	100 00
	5880 00	5880 00

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INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS

VALLABH VIDYANAGAR SESSION 1957

MINUTES OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

The Annual Meeting of the Executive Committee of the Indian History Congress was held at Vallabh Vidyanagar on 30th December, 1957 at 6-30 p.m.

Dr. K. M. Munshi presided.

The following members were present :—

MM. D. V. Potdar
Dr. V. G. Hatalkar
Principal Shri Ram Sharma
Dr. Sukumar Ray
Dr. S. P. Sen
Dr. M. Rama Rao
Dr. K. K. Datta, (*Secretary*)
Dr. R. R. Sethi, (*Jt. Secretary*)
Dr. B. P. Sinha, (*Treasurer*).

1. Minutes of the last meeting of the Executive Committee were confirmed.

2. The Secretary's report was approved.

3. Resolutions of the History of India Publication Committee were approved. The Executive Committee further considered the resolutions of the Publication Committee, passed on 30th December, 1957 and resolved that all the documents relating to the Publication be placed before the President of the Indian History Congress and that the President is hereby authorised to take necessary steps as he thinks proper in the matters of the publication of the volumes and the supply of volume II to the members of the Indian History Congress.

4. The Statement of accounts of the Indian History Publication Committee was approved.

5. The statement of accounts for 1956 was approved.

6. Budget estimate for 1958 was approved.

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7. *Office-Bearers for the year* 1958 :

President	...	Shri K. M. Munshi
Vice-Presidents	...	MM. D. V. Potdar
		Dr. S. N. Sen
General Secretary	...	Mr. G. M. Moraes
Jt. Secretary	...	Dr. M. Rama Rao
Treasurer	...	Dr. V. G. Hatalkar.

8. *General President and Sectional Presidents* :

General President	...	Dr. K. K. Datta.

Sectional Presidents :

Section I (Ancient India)	Shri S. K. Saraswati
Section II (Mediaeval India)	Dr. Kishori Saran Lal
Section III (Modern India)	Mr. Kasim Ali Sajjan Lal.

9. M/s. S. N. Datta and Co., Chartered Accountants, Patna, were appointed to audit accounts for the year 1957.

10. (*a*) *Prof. R. K. Choudhary* : This meeting of the Twentieth Session of the Indian History Congress *resolves* that the Ministry of Education in the Government of India be moved to take immediate steps to make the study of India History and Culture compulsory at all stages throughout the country.

(*b*) *Dr. Manmath Nath Das* : This meeting of the Twentieth Session of the Indian History Congress *resolves* that the Government of India be moved to render substantial financial aid to the Indian History Congress for the publication of its Prodceedings immediately after each Annual Session.

(*c*) This meeting of the Twentieth Session of the Indian History Congress recommends to the Government of India to take proper steps to collect and preserve the family papers of historical importance of the ex-ruling families.

(*d*) *Prof. K. H. Kamdar* : The resolution was out of order.

(*e*) *MM. D. V. Potdar* : While fully recognising the need of the development projects and their implementation, this Congress wishes to draw the serious attention of the Central and the State Governments, the Parliament and also all Local Bodies to the probable damage and destruction to which the previous antiquities and objects of historical interest, will be naturally exposed in the process of the execution of such development projects which often involve the submerging or otherwise

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changing or transforming of large tracts of land wherein such antiquities and objects like images, sculptures, inscriptions, coins, manuscripts and other records, temples, mosques, samadhis, tombs, etc., lie scattered—unsurveyed, unnoticed and uncared for.

This Congress, therefore, urges upon all the abovementioned authorities to take prompt precautions and measures to prevent the likely destruction of our ancient and valuable treasures and to rescue them and preserve them in a suitable manner.

This Congress further appeals to the Archaeologists and Antiquarians, Universities and learned associations to take note of this subject and lend their support in this matter by sending necessary representations to the proper quarters and in other suitable ways.

Resolved that the Executive Committee lend support to the Bill of Dr. Raghubir Sinh.

K. M. MUNSHI
President.

K. K. DATTA,
Secretary.

MINUTES OF THE ANNUAL BUSINESS MEETING

The Annual Business Meeting of the Indian History Congress Association was held at Vallabh Vidynagar on the 1st January, 1958.

Shri K. M. Munshi presided.

The following members were present :—

1. Dr. M. Rama Rao
2. Shri P. Sree Rama Sarma
3. Shri K. L. Srivastava
4. Shri P. R. Gokhale
5. Shri G. H. Khare
6. Shri A. C. Sen
7. Shri D. P. Ghosh
8. Shri R. P. Dua
9. Shri V. D. Rao
10. Shri V. G. Hatalkar
11. Shri H. L. Gupta
12. Shri B. K. Singh
13. Shri S. H. Askari
14. Shri K. Sajan Lal
15. Shri Raghubir Sinh
16. Kum. Kamla Sethi
17. Shri Vidyadhar Mahajan
18. Shri Y. Vittal Rao
19. Shri B.S.L. Hanumantha Rao
20. Shri Akhileswar Kumar
21. Shri K. S. Khanna
22. Shri Sudhakar Chatterjee
23. Shri Aditya Pd. Jha
24. Shri Sukumar Bhattacharya
25. Shri N. G. Tavakar
26. Shri Dharma Bhanu
27. Shri G. M. Moaes
28. Shri R. S. Sharma

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29. Shri Arya R. C. G. Tivari
30. Shri Bhabani Charan Ray
31. Shri S. C. Upadhyaya
32. Shri Sukumar Ray
33. Shri S. K. Saraswati
34. Shri S. P. Sen
35. Shri A. K. Majumdar
36. Shri B. N. Puri
37. Shri Yash Pal
38. Shri M. O. Kokil
39. Shri E. R. Kapadia
40. Shri S. S. Vasishta
41. Shri R. K. Sharma
42. Shri Radha Krishna Choudhury
43. Shri K. H. Kamdar
44. Shri K. S. Lal
45. Shri K. G. Chudasama
46. Shri R. R. Sethi
47. Shri K. K. Datta
48. Shri B. P. Sinha
49. Shri Krishan Lal
50. Shri D. V. Potdar
51. Shri M. R. Majumdar
52. Shri Ram Prasad Majumdar
53. Shri P. C. Mustafi
54. Shri B. K. Mallick
55. Smt. Rajasree Das
56. Smt. Sitabangalata Ray
57. Shri Manmath Nath Das
58. Shri Kanti Sompura
59. Shri J. M. Nanavati
60. Shri Jayantilal J. Thakur
61. Shri V. K. Chanda
62. Shri V. R. Deoras
63. Shri M. B. Vyas
64. Shri Adhir Chakravarti
65. Shri S. Arasaratnam
66. Shri A. Krishnaswami
67. Shri C. Saran
68. Shri K. D. Bajpai
69. Shri R. N. Mehta
70. Shri S. K. Desai

The following condolence resolutions were moved from the Chair and passed, all standing :—

(*a*) The Indian History Congress place on record their sense of profound grief on the death of Prof. H. C. Raychaudhuri who was the General President of the Nagpur Session of this Congress.

Resolved that a copy of this resolution be sent to the members of the bereaved family.

(*b*) The Indian History Congress place on record their sense of profound grief on the death of Prof. V. Gordon Childe, one of the distinguished archaeologiests of modern times.

Resolved that a copy of this resolution be sent to the members of the bereaved family.

(*c*) The Indian History Congress place on record their sense of profound grief on the death of Shri Bhaskar Bhale Rao of Gwalior.

Resolved that a copy of this resolution be sent to the members of the bereaved family.

1. Minutes of the last meeting were confirmed.

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2. The General Secretary placed the Annual Report of the Association for the year 1957.

Resolved that the report be accepted.

3. The Treasurer placed the income and expenditure statement for the year 1956.

Resolved that the income and expenditure statement be accepted.

4. The Treasurer presented the Budget estimate for the year 1958.

Resolved that the Budget estimate be adopted.

5. The report of the Secretary, History of India Publication Committee, was approved.

6. The Statement of accounts of the History of India Publication Committee was approved.

7. The Budget estimate of the History of India Publication Committee was approved.

8. President reported the election of Office-bearers for 1958 and the President and Sectional Presidents for the 21st Session.

President—	Shri K. M. MUNSHI, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan Bombay.
Vice-Presidents—	MM. D. V. POTDAR, 77, Shanwar Peth, Poona.
	Dr. S. N. SEN, 6, Ekdalia Place, Calcutta 19.
General Secretary—	Dr. G. M. MORAES, 9, New Marine Lines, Bombay.
Jt. Secretary—	Dr. M. RAMA RAO, Nizam College, Hyderabad.
Treasurer—	Dr. V. G. HATALKAR. 16-B, Sleater Road, Bombay-7.
General President—	Dr. K. K. DATTA, Patna University, Patna-5.

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Sectional Presidents for 1958

Section I (Ancient India) —Shri S. K. SARASWATI,
6/1, Mahendra Road, Calcutta-25.

Section II (Medieval India) —Dr. KISHORE SARAN LAL,
182/3 Professors Colony,
Near Circuit House, Bhopal.

Section III (Modern India) —Mr. KASAM ALI SAJAN LAL,
4266, Sajanlal Street,
Secunderabad, Deccan.

9. The Indian History Congress Association elected the following members of the Executive Committee for 1958.

(1) Dr. R. R. Sethi, 103, Golf Links, New Delhi-3.

(2) Dr. H. L. Gupta, History Dept., Saugor University, Saugor, M.P.

(3) Dr. V. D. Rao, Ramnarain Ruia College, Bombay-19.

(4) Dr. Sukumar Ray, 2-B, Lake Temple Road, Calcutta.

(5) Dr. J. N. Banerjee, 28, Manoharpukur Lane, Calcutta-29.

(6) Shri S. K. Saraswati, 6/1 Mahendra Road, Calcutta-25.

(7) Dr. B. P. Sinha, Patna University, Patna-5.

(8) Dr. S. C. Upadhya, 294, Sardar Vallabbhai Patel Road, Bombay-4.

(9) Dr. A. S. Altekar, Director, K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute, Museum Building, Patna.

(10) Shri Ram Sharma, Principal, D. A. V. College, Sholapur.

(11) Dr. R. C. Majumdar, 4, Bepin Pal Road, Calcutta-26.

(12) Dr. S. K. Mitra, 1/1 Williams Lane, Calcutta-9.

(13) Dr. B. N. Puri, Dept. of Ancient Indian History and Archaeology, Lucknow University, Lucknow.

(14) Shri Arya Ramchandra G. Tewari, V. P. Mahavidyalaya, Vallabh Vidyanagar, Anand, W. Rly.

10. The venue of the next session of the Indian History Congress will be settled by the President.

11. Resolutions passed.

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DR. MANMATH NATH DAS.

(*a*) This meeting of the Twentieth Session of the Indian History Congress resolves that the Government of India be moved to render substantial, financial aid to the Indian History Congress for the Publication of its Proceedings immediately after each Annual Session.

(*b*) This meeting of the Twentieth Session of the Indian History Congress recommends to the Government of India to take proper steps to collect and preserve the family papers of historical importance of the ex-rulling families.

(*c*) PROF. K. M. KAMDAR. The resolution was out of order.

(*d*) MM. D. V. POTDAR.

While fully recognising the need of the development projects and their implementation, this Congress whishes to draw the serious attention of the Central and the State Governments, the Parliament and also all Local Bodies to the probable damage and destruction to which the previous antiquities and objects of historical interest, will be naturally exposed in the process of the execution of such development projects which often involve the submerging or otherwise changing or transforming of large tracts of land wherein such antiquities and objects like images, sculptures, inscriptions, coins, manuscripts and other records, temples, mosques, Samadhis, tombs, etc. lie scattered unsurveyed, unnoticed and uncared for.

This Congress, therefore, urges upon all the above mentioned authorities to take prompt precautions and measures to prevent the likely destruction of our ancient and valuable treasures and to rescue them and preserve them in a suitable manner.

(*e*) RESOLUTION OF PROF. K. K. CHAUDHURY :—

A Sub-Committee of the following members was appointed to consider it :— MM. D. V. Potdar, Dr. R. R. Sethi, Dr. K. K. Datta, Prof. R. K. Chaudhury.

The Indian History Congress views with grave concern that, in some States, History has been made an optional subject at the Secondary stage and resolve that the Executive Committee be authorised to take necessary steps to move the Ministry of Education, Government of India, and the State Governments to make Indian History and Culture a compulsory subject of study at the Secondary stage.

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(*f*) DR. RAGHUBIR SINH'S BILL.

Lends general support. Proposed by Shri R. S. Sharma and seconded by Dr. B . P. Sinha.

(*i*) This 20th session of the Indian History Congress welcomes the introduction of Historical Records of National importance Bill, 1957 and lends its general support to the principles thereof.

(*ii*) This Congress refers this Bill to the Executive Committee for detailed consideration of the details of the Bill and forwarding the suggestion to the Parliament.

(*g*) This Congress recommends to the Executive Committee to approach the Government of India to secure their support to the Indian History Congress for holding with the co-operation of the Indian Universities a Seminar of Asian History on an international basis.

(*h*) Resolved that there be a Central permanent office for the Indian History Congress and that the Executive Committee be authorised to explore the possibilities of securing the same and to submit their proposal at the next general meeting of the Indian History Congress.

K. M. MUNSHI,
President.

K. K. DATTA,
Secretary.

HISTORY OF INDIA PUBLICATION COMMITTEE

Secretary's Report for 1958

1. Sale of '*Comprehensive History of India*' (Vol. II)—2,000 copies were printed; 1595 copies have been sold.

2. As Dr. S. N. Sen, Editor of Vol. IX, continues to be ill, and as Dr. R. C. Majumdar, Editor of Vol. III, is in the U.S.A., it has not been possible to make these volumes ready for the press.

3. The three-year term of the present Committee expires on 31-12-58. Interim arrangements should be made for carrying on work till the formation of the new committee (including election of office-bearers) is completed.

Sd/- A. C. BANERJEE,
Secretary.

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Statement of Account of the Publication Committee of the Indian History Congress Association for the period from 1st April, 1957 to 31st March, 1958.

Receipts and Payments for the period from 1st April, 1957 to 31st March, 1958.

	Rs.	nP.		Rs.	nP.
To Postage and Stationery	28	31	By Balance b/fd.	1,06,766	85
„ Establishment	1,075	00	„ Interest...	1,050	00
„ Audit Fee	50	00			
„ Rent	600	00			
„ Balance	1,06,063	54			
Total	1,07,816	85	Total	1,07,816	85

BISHESHWAR PRASAD,
Treasurer.

Details of Balance C/fd. (Assets)

	Rs.	nP.
1. Cash in Hand	2	17
2. *With State Bank*		
Current account	507	64
Fixed Deposit	70,000	00
3. *Advances* :		
(*a*) With Indian History Congress ...	6	31
(*b*) With Delhi Office	24	81
(*c*) With Calcutta Office	522	61
(*d*) With Orient Longmans Ltd.	*35,000	00
Total ...	1,06,063	54

* We have audited the foregoing statement of accounts of the Indian History Congress Association with the books of account and vouchers rendered and have found the same to be correct. We have, however, observed that a sum of Rs. 35,000/- has been standing to the credit of M/S Orient Longmans' Ltd., for the last number of years. In our opinion an account should be taken from M/S Orient Longman's Ltd., and necessary entries be made in the books of account of the Association.

L. KRISHNAYAR,
Chartered Accountants.

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Budget Estimates for 1958-1959.

Office Expenses (Calcutta and Delhi)	Rs.	3,000/-
Travelling Expenses.	Rs.	2,000/-
Payment to Editors and Contributors ...	Rs.	5,000/-
Postage and Stationery	Rs.	200/-
Miscellaneous.	Rs.	500/-
Provision for Vol. III.	Rs.	35,000/-
Total	Rs.	45,700/-

BISHESHWAR PRASAD,
Treasurer,
Indian History Congress.

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Shri K. R. Srinivasan

Government of India Ministry of Education

Shri K. D. Bhargava

Government of India, Ministry of Defence

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Prof. K. N. Dutt

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Prof. S. A. Athavale

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New Salabhanjika fig. from Katri Keshavadeva, Mathura.
See p. 186

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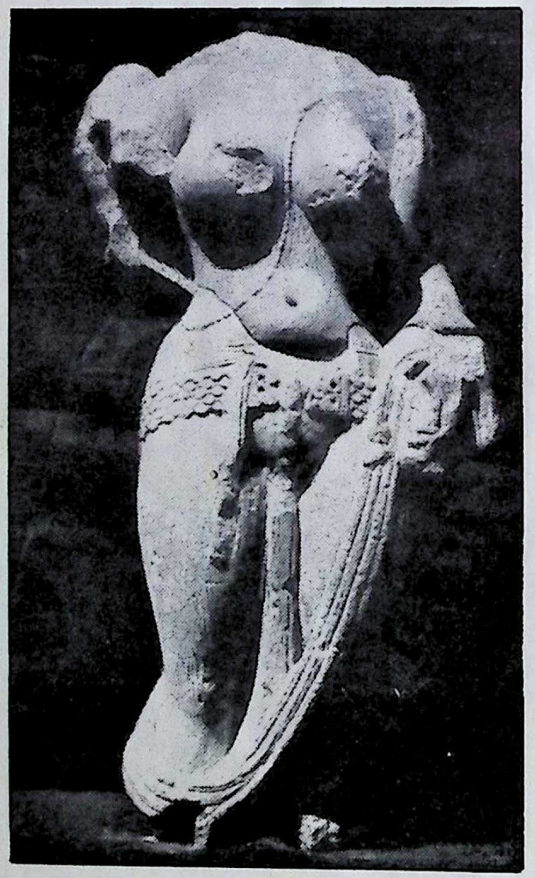
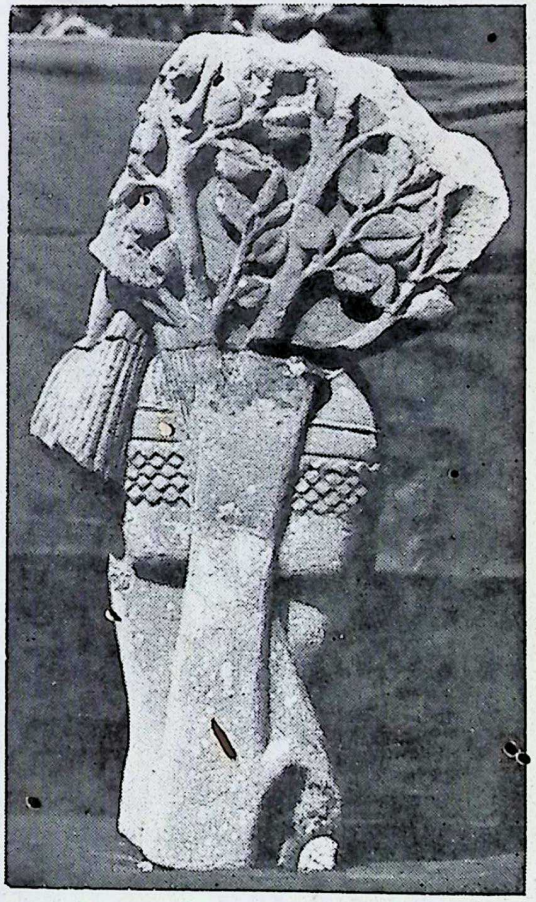


New Female torso from Mathura. Gupta period.

See p. 186



Back of the new female torso.

See p. 186

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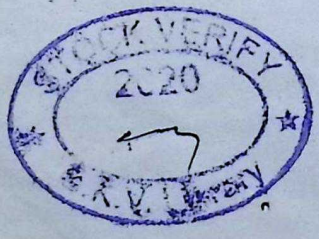

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